DUKE
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Treasure Room
UTOPIA

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

https://archive.org/details/treasvrieofavnci01mexi

D. le Jardin Thesaurarius
M. Jennett.

THE TREASVRIE OF AVNCIENT AND MODERNE TIMES.

Containing the Learned Collections, Iudicious Readings, and Memorable Obseruations: Not onely Diuine, Morrall and Phylosophicall. But also Poeticall, Martiall; *Politicall, Historicall, Astrologicall, &c.*

Translated out of that Worthy Spanish Gentleman, PEDRO MEXIO. And *M. Francesco Sansouino,* that Famous Italian. As also, of those Honourable Frenchmen, *Anthonie Du Verdier,* Lord of *Vaupriuaz*: *Loys Guyon, Sieur de la Nauche,* Counsellor vnto the King: *Claudius Gruget, Parisian, &c.*

LONDON,
Printed by *W. Iaggard,* 1613.

TO THE MAGNANIMOVS AND

Vertuous Lord, *Anne D'Urfe*, Marqueſſe of *Bauge*, Baron of *Caſtle-Morand, Lord of Urfe, Gentleman of the Kings* Chamber, and Bayliffe for his Maieſtie, in the Forreſts Countrey.

UTOPIA RBR f T 7.84 v.1

THere hath bin a great and long diſpute (woorthy Lord) among the Learned, concerning the true definition of Nobility. Some haue held opinion, that this matchleſſe Ladie, keepeth her ſeate in the Soule only; or elſe, with the Soule and Bodie together. Some other are of the minde, that her abyding is in Prudence: Others, in Iuſtice: And others, in the goodneſſe of manners. There are alſo ſome few, who ſay; that they know no other Nobility, but ſuch as proceedeth from Vertue. And if any one contemne Riches, voluptuous pleaſures, glory; yea, and life it ſelfe, hee is held to be more Noble, then all the Kings and Princes in the world. So that they are perſwaded, that al other things whatſoeuer which are in Man, are nothing els but Fortune, and meere preſumption of the wealthy and proud.

Againſt whom alſo, there are diuers and contrary opinions. For, wiſe *Plutarch* affirmeth, that the calumny is falſe, which vniuſt Sophiſters haue impoſed on Nobility. For they will admit no other kind of proofe, euen in things which are notorious and apparant to euerie eye: Albeit, to haue a good race of Houndes or Horſes, they will ſeeke after the goodlieſt and worthieſt. Likewiſe, they ſtriue to haue the beſt ſeeds for their grounds, to produce the rareſt plants and Hearbes: and yet (like Sots as they are) they dare maintaine, that Nobility by blood, is nothing auaileable to following ſucceſſion, becauſe the Originall came from the barbarous, or deſcended of the Ciuilized French; not crediting, that in the Generation of Children, the Fathers do diſtribute vnto them, ſome ſeeds and principles of Naturall vertue.

Ariſtotle repelleth their opinion, and ſtanding on much ſounder termes; ſpeaketh againſt them in this manner; *That which* Euripides *teacheth* (ſaith hee) *is not true, to wit; That the honeſt minded man is only Noble, and not he that deſcendeth of an ancient race, and is borne of generous Parents: Becauſe that in the definition of Nobility, the valour & Vertue of our Elders are comprehended, Nobility it ſelfe being nothing elſe, but a certain Vertue of that Generation, which being lawdable of it ſelfe, ought to be followed with great affection.* Wherefore, he is worthy of praiſe & commendatien, that employeth all his endeuor and diligence, to acquire the nobleneſſe of Generation; to the end, that afterward, worthy and valiant men may be deriued from him. So that at all times, and as often as the Originall of ſuch generation, finds it ſelfe to bee commendable, it ought iuſtly to be tearmed Noble. For, ſuch a beginning, beareth in it ſelfe both a naturall power and vertue, to beget and produce many other anſwereable, and like vnto it ſelfe. Therefore, when ſuch a man is met withall in any nation, as is of ſuch worth, that he can extend and ſpread his vertue to many ſucceeding Ages: his deſcendants and off-ſpring will be naturally generous, and of the beſt and manlieſt manners. Con-

377014

Contrarywiſe, he that is bad & wickedly bred, doth commonly beget as lewd and bad children: according to whom(beſide his euill examples) they will deriue from him the like wicked habitude. And therefore the Prouerb was not vnaduiſedly ſpoken: *Of a bad Crow, coms as bad an Eg.* By this reaſon I hold, that al thoſe whom we behold to be plunged in the gulfe of vices, and make miſchiefe their chiefeſt commendation, although they be neuer ſo great Lordes, they are but meere vſurpers of Nobility, beeing no way deſcended of Noblemen, but rather of *Cham*, and haue nothing elſe but the bare name of Nobilitie. Whereas on the contrary, they that are noted no way to degenerat from the vertue of their anceſtors, but truly haue followed them, euen from Father to Son (as we commonlie vſe to ſay) are ſaid to be of noble ſtem & ſtock, and diſcended of the poſteritie of *Sem*. Hence it enſueth, that in the world there are many men, Noble, Magnanimous, valiant, and like vnto their famous progenitors: among whom, you hold the place and ranke of a moſt worthy, honourable, and vertuous Lord, imitating ſo directly the tracts of your predeceſſors, that you may well be ſaid, to be Nobility and vertue it ſelfe. If it were needfull, to come to the Antiquity of Nobilitie, by the Fathers ſide, you are deſcended of the houſe of *Vrſe*, many whereof, haue held the very goodlieſt Eſtates and dignities in this Kingdome, and all by their moſt ſignale merits of vertue. What ſhall I ſay, concerning the pietie of your great Grandfather, *M. Peter D'Vrſe*, Great Maiſter of the Horſe. The Churches & Monaſteries builded by him, doe make ſufficient teſtimony of his deuout zeale. What ſhall I ſay of your Grandfather, *M. Claudius D'Vrſe*, Knight of the Order, Gouernor to *Meſſieurs les enfans de France*, Ambaſſador for the King to his Holyneſſe, & a curious obſeruer of Antiquities? Your houſe by him builded, the Statues of Marble, and ſo great number of Medalles, which he cauſed to be brought from *Rome*, do amply ſpeake, how great a friend and louer he was of Vertue. As for your Father *M. Iaques D'Vrſe*, Knight of the Kings Order, Captain of fifty men of Armes, Bayliffe of the Forreſts, and Gouernor of the ſaid Country. The memory of his vertuous deportments is ſo freſh and recent, as it would appeare ſuperfluous further ro remember them.

By the Mothers ſide, who knoweth not, that you are deriued of the illuſtrious houſe of *Sauoy*, allied to the bloud-royall of *France*? But as touching your perfections, I would haue the whol world to know it, that you are one of the very beſt Poets in *France*, as more then 100. choiſe Sonnets can teſtify, which you haue pleaſed to ſhew me. A matter redounding to your no mean honor, in not hauing atained to 18. years of age, when you made them: you are(beſide)inriched with ſo happy a memory, that you haue (*ad vnguẽ*)al the Poetical fictions, with an abſolut expoſition of thẽ, as wel in *Ouids Metamorphoſis*, *Homers Iliads*, as alſo diuers other authors.

Now in recompence of the gracious communication of your Poems, & for the ſeruice I iuſtly owe ye, I dedicate this Book to you, collected out of many Authors, *Greeke*, *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *&c.* from whom I haue traduced moſt ſinguler things, appertaining to the ſeueral intention of each Chapter, hoping to continue them on, till they compleat the number of 30. Bookes. Receiue then this former Volume, with like loue and good wil, as I ſalute your graces with my humble recommendations, praying God to ſend your Honor a long and a happy life.

From Montbriſon this 11. *of March.*

Your humble Seruant
Anthony du Verdier.

TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIP-full, Learned, and moſt Iudicious Gentleman, Sir THOMAS BRVDENELL, Baronet, all Happineſſe moſt heartily wiſhed.

SIR, this VVorke, ſo long ſince promiſed, and nowv (after much Paine, Coſt, and deare Expence of time) in part perfected, comes in al Humility to kiſſe your Hand : making no doubt of as kind acceptance, as it tenders it ſelfe in free and vnfaigned affection. It is not vnknowvne vnto me, that thoſe ſeuerall Natiue tongues , vvherein all thoſe Arguments do ſpeake themſelues, are much more familiar and readie to you, then they can receyue in English any Ornament by mee. Neuertheleſſe, I hope it shall not anie vvay be diſtaſtfull to you, that others may be benefited by the meanes of your Happineſſe : and that vvhich is thus effected for your ſake, may (from a perticuler good) extend it ſelfe to a generall.

377014

To runne into multiplicity of Wordes, when one onely is ſufficient to the Wiſe, may be but the Badge of my Folly, and an abuſe vnto your Generous patience. And therefore, committing this Labour, and my ſelfe, vnto your Fauourable Conſtruction, with whatſoeuer remaines in mee, by you to bee Commanded, I ceaſe: wishing the Happineſſe of you and yours as entirely, as any good that can happen to mee and mine.

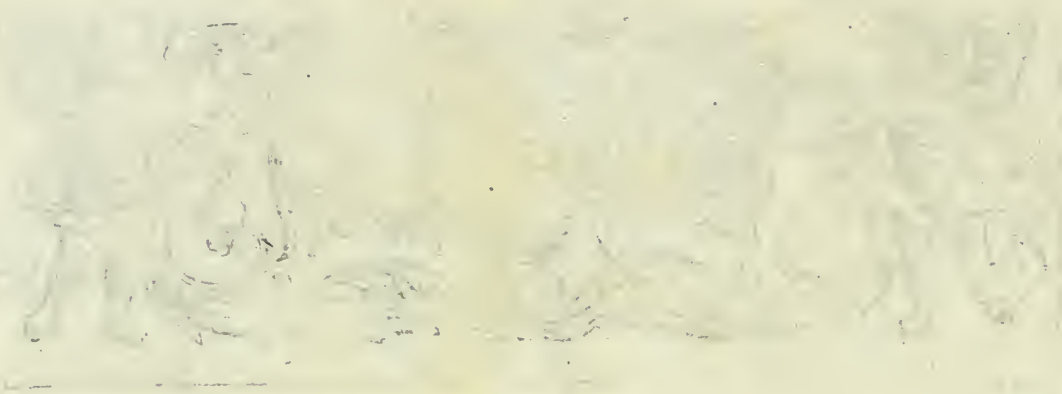
Your Nameleſſe Well-willer,

deſirous to be knowne to none

but your Selfe,

To the Reader.

I Know (Gentle Reader) that Custome commands an Epistle to thee, for Fauourable Acceptance, and honest Entertainment of such a great Labour. But I am (at this time) forced to Write vnto thee, both on the behalfe of my selfe and the Printer: in regard of many Escapes, which vsually chanceth in Printing, by reason, that immediately after the Bookes beginning, sickenesse & other infirmities, did bereaue him of his sight. If therefore any thing do or may appeare offensiue, either in Method or Matter, I would not haue thee displeased in any thing whatsoeuer, or that any Argument thorough the whole Booke, should be (in the least degree) preiudiciall to thee. Therefore, accept it with like Loue and Kindnesse, as it is sent vnto thee, in Honest Affection and Friendlinesse.



A Table of the Authors Names, mentioned in this Booke.

A.

S. Augustine.
Aristotle.
Anselme.
Adon Episc. Viennæ
Auenzoar.
Aulus Gellius.
Auicenne.
Ambrose.
Auerroes.
Athanasius.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Anthonius Sabellicus.
Archytas Tarentinus.
Anthoninus.
Annales Constantinop.
Antoninus Syl.
Æneas Sylnius.
Athenæus.
Aristophanes.
Ælianus.
Æmilius Victor.
Alexander Alexandrinus.
Albertus Magnus.
Alphonsus King of Spaine.
Attalus.
Adrianus.
Æschines.
Acamathius.
Alphraganus.
Aimonius.
Accurtius.
Azzo.
Alexander Trallianus.
Atteius Capito.
Asconius Pædianus.
Appianus Alexandrinus.
Archilochus.
Arnoldus Ferornus.
Arrianus
Ætius
Amatus
Aristarchus
Ælius Lampridius
Alexander Aphrodiseus
Antisthenes
Æmilius Macer.
Antonius Archb. of Florence
Anaximander
Albertus Crantzius
Alexander Guaguinus
Anaximenes
Appianus
Abbas Siculus.
Almadactus Arab.
Apuleius
Augurellus
Anthenor
Actuarius.

B

Biblia Sacra.
B. Westmerus
S. Basile
Blondus
Baptist. Ignatius
Baptist. Fulgosus
Budeus
Bellonius
Bedinus
Bosius
Baronius
S. Bernard
Bartholus
Baldus
Bachi. Anchisus
Berosus
Bucholcerus
Bonfinus
Beroaldus
Bœtius
Balthazar Castillanois.
Bœtius Seuerinus.
Bartholomeus Piceenus

C

Cicero
Chalcidius
Cœlius Rhodiginus
Cornelius Agrippa
Cornelius Tacitus
Claudian
Claudius Victor
Columella
Clemens
Concil. Tolletanum
S. Chrysostome
Charles de Molin.
Constantinus Cæsar
Calmatheus
Cheremon
Chronerus Pol.
Cassiodorus
Cedrenus
Cardanus
Coruinus
Crantzius
Censorinus
Clem. Alexandrinus
Chrisippus
Cratinus
Ctesippus Alexandrinus
Colophonius
Count Balthazar
Cœlius Calcaguinus.

D

Damascene
Dyonisius Areopagita
Dionisius Rhebellus
Diodorus Siculus
Don Pedro. Episc. Leon.
Diodorus
Dion
Demosthenes
Democritus
Demetrius Episc. Alexandrie.
Dioscorides
Du Bartas
Dio. Halicarnasseus
Diogenes Cinicus
Dictis Cretensis
Dares Phrygius
Damascenus Sigierus
Dyonisius Lycinius
Donatus
Dyonisius Cassianus

E.

Eratosthenes
Eras. Roterodamus
Eusebius
Eustachius
Eginus
Elpagoras
Empolis
Episcopus Tyriensis
Ennius
P. Ereb. de Reb. Ind.
Egnatius
Eutropius
Euagrius
Euripides
Empedocles
Euclide
Epicurus
Euanus
Epiphanius
Estien Pasquier
Epictetus

F.

Franciscus Georgius
Fabianus Pretor
Francisc. Philelphus
Functius
Io. Freigius, de vit patrum
L. Florus
Frontinus
Flauius Vopiscus
Festus Pompeius
Froisarde

G.

S. Gregory
S. Gregory Nazianzene
Galiotus de Nargni.
Galen
Georgius Trabezon.
Gulielmus Budeus
Garcias d'Orta
Grego. Turonensis
Galerus
Gratianus
Gloreanus
Gyldas
Gyraldus
Guidonius
Guliel. Malmesbury
Guicciardine
Gesner
Guydo Bonatus
Genebrardus
Georgius Leontinus
Gregorius Giraldus
Geber
Gregory Rech.
Gueuara

H

Hugo de S. Victor
Herodotus
S. Hierom
Hirocles
Homer
Heliconiensis
Horace
Hippocrates
Harpocration
Hiperides
Historia Dom. de Villamont.
Herodianus
Hesiodus
Hallian
Hierom Osorius
Henrie Huntingdon
Hieronimo Conestagio
Haly ben Razel
Heliodorus
Houllier
Harmes Trismegist.
Hecacleon
Hermolaus Barb.
Hermocrates
Heraclides
Herodianus
S. Hillary
Hostiensis
Himbaldus
Hephestion Græc.
Hall
Holinshead

I.

Iustinus Mart
Iulius Solinus Polyhist.
Iosephus
Iohannes Scotus
Iohannes Lodonicus Viues.
Iohannes Alexandrinus
Isocrates Iustinus
Iulius Firmicus
Ioannes de Mons Royalis

Iohannes

Isiodorus Iulius Cæsar.
Ioannet Driodonus
Iseus Iulius Capitolinus
I. Capgraue
Ioannes Mathias Tiberinus
Ioannes Vasæus
Ioannes Saxonius
Ioan. Magnus. Archiep. Vspal.
Iuvenal Iohn Functius
Ioan Annius
Ioan Monachus
Ireneus
Iornandus, or Iordanus
Iacques Bosius
Ioannes Damascenus
Iohn Stow Ingulphus.
Ioannes Baptista Egnatius
Iohn de Maulmont
Iamblicus
Iaques de Maguntia
Iohn Boccace
Ioachimus Vadianus
Ioel. Med. Alexand.
Ioubert Gal.
Ioannes Camertes Ignatius
Ioannes Carion
Ioannes Cantacuzenus
Ioannes Fernelius
Isaac Iudaicus
Iouianus Pontanus
Ioannes Lasteus Iordanus
Iacob. Faber.

L

Lactantius Firmianus
Lucane Leo Hebraico
Lodouicus Cœlius
Lucretius
Leo Sophist. Lysias.
Labeo Antistius
Lateranus. Linus
Lucius Florus.
Laurentius Surius
Lopez de Castagneda
Lucas Marinus Siculus
Lampridius Leirus
Lodouicus Viues
Lazarus de Baif.
Lodouicus Valentinus
Leo Papa Lucas de Tuy
Leonardus Camillus
Lucian

M

Macrobius
Moyses Bar. Cepha
Marcus Varro
Marsilius Phicinus
Martinus
Martianus Capellus
Matheus Palmierus
Marcus Manilius
Marcus Paulus
Metasthenes
Mathew Paris
Messala Augurius
Melancthon
M. Beroaldus Moses
Manethon Maspeus.
M. Scotus Machabes
Martial
Mathew of Westminster
Munster. Martin du Bellay
Marcus Valerius
Mercurius Trismegistus
Monsieur de Villamont
Mathiolus
Mounst. Guillaume de Paris
Marcus Damascenus
Museus
Merlin
Machiael
Mounsieur de la nouë
Mesaus
Messire Angelo Catho
Mercurius Gallo Belgicus
Marullus

N

Nauclerus
Nichol. Secondinus
Nicander
Nicephorus
Nichol. Menardus
Nicholaus Rasseus
Nigidius Figulus
Nicetas Choniates
Numenius Pythago.
Nicholaus de Cusa
Nicholaus Myrepsic.

O.

Ouid.
Orosius.
Otho. Archiepisc.
Olradus
Olaus Magnus
Olaus Archiepisc. Vspalensis
Orpheus

P

Philemon
Philo Iudaicus
Pomponius Mela
Petrus Lombardus
Plinie
Petrus Oliuerius
Polybius
Paulus Orosius
Plutarke
Proculeius
Petrus Comestor.
Petr. Crinitus
Plato
Paul. Ægnetes
Porphyrius
Philippides
Pythagoras
Platina
Propertius
Ptolomeus
Pausanias
Philostratus
Pius 2. Papa
Pomponius Latus
Paul. Iouius
Persius
Pontanus
Petr. Gellius
Petr. de Aliacus
Pedro Mexio
Polydor. Virgil.
Pedro de Albano
Policrates
Pegasus
Proculus, or Proclus
Paul. Æmilius
Pontin. Verunnius
Paul. Diaconus
Procopius
Phillip de Comines
Plataerius
Pererius
Probus
Palemon
Pindarus
Plinie secundus
Petrarch
Paulinus de Nola
Pomp. Lenus Libert.
Plautus
Piduxius
Philostratus
Poggius
Phlegonius Grec.
Popinierus

Q.

Quintus Curtius
Quintilian.
Quintus Septimius

R.

Rupertus
Ruffinus
Raphael Volateranus
Ritius
Roger Houeden
Regino Chron.
Rabbie Heli
Rabbie Isaack
Rodericus Toletanus
Rondeletius
Reuclin
Rabelais.

S.

Symonides
Suet. Tranquillus
Seruius
Suidas
Sabellicus
Seneca
Strabo
Spartianus
Surius
Socrates
Seruius
Salust
Solinus
Sigonius
Sethius
Serapio
Sextus Aurelius
Saxo Grammaticus
Sieur de Pybrac.
Sextus Pompeius
Stobeus
Schonerus
Serenus
Sigismond de Herbestein
Symmachus Scaliger
Symonides Melicus
Sauanarola
Spartianus
Sextus Aurelius Victor
Stoeslerus
Syluius Italicus
Sinesius
Sammonicus Serenus
Singonius

T

Thomas Aquinas
Thales Milesius
Trogus Pompeius
Theodorus Gaza
Timocrates
Tithalmanus
Tranquillus
Theuetus
Titus Livius
Tertullian
Theodoret.
Theophrastus
Tuditanus
Theod. Bibliander
Thucydides
Tritemius
Io. Tilius
Theophanes
Terentius
Theodotus
Trebellius Pollio
Themistius
Thomas More
Theodoret Epis. Cyprian
Tarvgnita Historia Mundi.

V

Varro
Venerable Beda
Vegetius
Valerius Flaccus
Valer. Maximus
Volateran
Virgilius
Vincentius
Vlpianus
Voxistus
Victor
Vitruuius
Valentinus Barrachius

W.

Westmerus
Wernerus
William of Malmesbury

Z

Zenophon
Zenocrates
Zarmanochegas
Zonaras.

THE Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times,

CONTEINING,

The learned Collections, Iudicious Readings, *and Memorable Obseruations : Not only Diuine,* Morall, and Philosophicall : but also, Politicall, Martiall, Historicall, *Astrologicall, &c. Of that worthy Spanish Gentleman,* PEDRO MEXIO: Likewise of that Honorable French-man, ANTHONY DV VERDIER, Lord *of Vaupriuaz, &c.*

The First Booke.

Of God.

CHAP. I.

SAint AVGVSTINE expounding that saying of DAVID, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, Non est Deus; The foole hath said in his heart, There is no God:* doeth most euidently declare, that there is not a more miserable conditiõ on the earth, then that of *Atheists.* For there is no Nation so barbarous, but it beleeues that there is some Diuinitie; or holds opinion, that there must needes be an Essence of a first efficient cause, the producer of all thinges else whatsoeuer; because the vertue of the God-head hath such powerful efficacie, that it very manifestly declares it selfe, to al such as haue the left tast of Reason. *Aristotle* writes, *That all thinges, as well superiour as inferiour, were at the first well ordained, and are still much better gouerned, by the opinion and iudgement of one onely, than of many together : because it is very necessarie, that by and from that sole beginning, all things should bee continued, ordered, & disposed.* And heereupon was it, that *Cicero* and *Varro* made a meere mockery at the plurality of Gods. *Damascene*, considering with himselfe, how the whole World was so well ordered and ruled; saide : *It was impossible, that things so contrarie and dissemblable, could alwaies consort and agree together, but by the gouernment of one onely Commander.*

Neuertheless, wee behold so much contrariety & dissimilitude in this world (as of Heat to cold, Light to darkenesse; each of these contending for particular

Psalme 53. 1.

The wretched condition of Atheists

Arist. in lib. 12. Metaph.

Cicero & Varro mocked the pluralitie of Gods.

Damascene his proofe of one only Ruler.

The diuersity of contentions in things naturally.

Regiment) as no vnitie or concordance in them can be expected, but darkneſſe wold continuallie haue the vpper hand, and neuer yeild any admittance to light: whereas we now perceiue, that the one in equality enſueth the other, by courſe or compaſſe more infallible then a clock, conſonant to the times & ſeaſons ſo well appointed by God. Heat alſo wold alwaies repulſe the Cold, and rule in an ouer violent extremity, beyond the abilitie of any ſufferance: whereby we may gather, the vrgent neceſſitie, that there ſhold be one alone, by whoſe commaund they ought to bee directed, and conſtrained to keepe that equalitie, which he hath aſſigned them.

The neceſsity of one onely commaunder ouer al things

Moreouer, it is the propertie of God, to be perfect in all thinges; All Iuſt, Almighty, al Mercifull, nothing being any way oppoſite or contrary vnto him. So that if there ſhould bee many Gods, it muſt then enſue as an eſpeciall *Maxime*, that they muſt needs be all alike, or different in their powers. If they be all alike, or equall, why then they can be but al as one: for diſsimilitude maketh the diuerſity of things onely. For this cauſe, is Ieſus Chriſt all one with God his Father, being wholly equall and like vnto him. But if there wer many Gods, diſſemblable or differing in their equality; it is apparant that they could not be iuſtly called Goddes, if there bee any imperfection in one, more then is in the other. For, he that is abſolute & moſt perfect, muſt needs be God, in regard that there is no imperfection found in him; and then, the other (being impotent, or imperfect) cannot bee tearmed Gods, but muſt needs ſubmit their vtmoſt power, to the others perfect priuiledge. It is neceſſary therefore, that there ſhould be but one God only, as (in very truth) there is no more then one; who is eaſie enough to be knowne by his Workes and effects, as the ſole beginning of all things: and yet notwithſtanding hath no beginning or ending. He created all thinges of nothing; he is inuiſible, and cannot be any way ſeene in his eſſence, according as Saint *Paul* ſaith; *Quem nullus hominum vidit, ſed nec videre poteſt: Whom neuer man ſaw, neither can ſee.*

The abſolute perfection of God in all things whatſoeuer.

Ieſus Chriſt is all one with God his Father.

A note worthy obſeruation.

God is eaſily knowne by his Workes.

God is inuiſible.

1. Tim. 6, 16.

Saint *Iohn*, in the firſt Chapter of his Goſpell ſaith; *Deum nemo vidit vnquam, vnigenitus Filius, qui eſt in ſinu Patris; ipſe enarrauit, no man hath ſeen God at any time, the onely begotten Sonne, which is in the boſome of his Father, he hath declared him.* And Ieſus Chriſt is the Image of the inuiſible God, becauſe God the Father (as *Chryſoſtome* ſaith,) *Hath no forme, quality, or any body.* And if he be all in all, and by all, why then it is moſt certaine, that hee can communicate himſelfe and appeare to the ſight of men (according to his owne pleaſure) by any thing ſubiect to him, without any imitation of himſelfe. But if wee ſpeake of the Sacred Scriptures, we ſhall finde there mention to be made of head, lips, mouth, armes, feete, eyes, eares, and other members of God; yet are not theſe things to be carnally vnderſtood, and according to the killing Letter, as ſome Iddiot ignorant people are drawn to beleeue, who do imagine, that God (in his Nature) is like vnto man, that he is ſeated on high in heauen vpon a Royall ſeate, and in a certaine place, ſomewhat anſwereable to the ſaying of Eſay; *Cælum ſedes mea, terra autem ſcabellum pedum meorum, The Heauen is my Throne, and the Earth is my foot-ſtoole.* And as the ſame Prophet ſpeaketh in another place, *Vidi Dominum ſedentem ſuper ſolium excelſum & eleuatum, I ſaw the Lorde ſitting vpon an high throne, and lifted vp.* No, no, theſe things are otherwiſe to be vnderſtood, and his high Maieſty comprehended figuratiuely, and according to the quickning ſpirit.

Chryſoſt. in Damaſ. 1. Cap.

Origē. Periarch. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Anſelm. in Lib. de memb. Dei.

Eſay 66, 1.

Eſay 6, 1.

If any man (ſaith holy *Anſelme*) doe beleeue that God hath human members and motions, or perturbations of ſoule, as wee haue; aſſuredly, hee doth but forge meere Idols in his heart. And therefore, wee are to knowe, that ſuch phraſe and manner of Language in the ſacred Scriptures, is properly vſed, to make our rude and dull vnderſtanding, the more apprehenſiue of the vnſpeakeable Maieſty and greatneſſe of the Lord and Father of all Worlds. For, he being iuuiſible, and yet willing to manifeſt himſelfe vnto his people, doth accomodate his preſence to men, by an Analogie of ſuch things as are moſt frequent and familiar to them. For example, when it is ſaid, *That God ſpeaketh in vs*; It is to be vnderſtood, that hee is diſcouered, manifeſted and reuealed in our hearts. Or, when God ſpeaketh; that is, his inſpiring (into

Anſelm. vbi ſupra.

Pſalme 84, 9.

See the explication of *Fran. Geor.* of all the members of God, in his *Hermonie. Cant. 3. Tom. 6. Cap. 3*

1. Iohn 1, 18.

(into the spirits of the iust) his wil, or reuealing vnto them succeeding things, as he did vnto the holy Prophets. The hand of the Lord (in sacred writ) plainly signifyeth his might, power, and assistance; as God answered *Moses*, saying; *The hand of the Lord, is it shortned?* And S. *Luke* speaking of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, saith; *The hand of the Lord was with him*; that is to say, his power and helpe. Sometimes the hand of God is taken for his vengeance, as in *Exodus*, *Et viderunt Egyptios mortuos super littus maris, & manum magnam quam exercuerat Dominus contra eos*; *And Israell saw the* Egyptians *dead on the Sea bank, and the great hand which the lord had shewed vpon them.*

The right hand of God, that is, the Son of God, otherwise called the glory of his Father; the euerlasting blessednesse, or, euery creature exalted vp to heauen, and on earth: euen as by Gods left hand, the Reprobate Creatures are vnderstoode; as the Deuill, the wicked and peruerse. The face of God, that is, the inuisible essence of the Godhead of his Sonne; whereof God speaking to *Moyses* by his Angel, saide; *Non poteris videre faciem meam, non enim videbit homo, & viuet*; *Thou canst not looke vpon my face, for there shal no man see me, and liue.* And a little after, *Videbis posteriora mea, faciē autem meam videre non poteris. Thou shalt see my backe parts, but my face shal not be seene.* As if he would haue said, Thou shalt see mine incarnation in the latter dayes, but my God-head or Diuinity thou canst not see.

The feete of God, doe signifie the incarnation of his sonne, being subiected to the God-head, as are the feete to the head. For as by the heade the Diuinity is vnderstood; euen so, by the feet is the humanity expressed. Sometimes by Gods feet, the holy Preachers and Doctors of the Church, are signified, of whom it is writtē in Deuteronomy. *Qui appropinquant pedibus eius, accipient de doctrina illius, They that come neere his feet, shall receiue his Doctrine.* By the finger of God (in the singuler number) the Holy-Ghost is figured, according to that place in *Exodus*; *Et dixerunt malefici ad Pharaonem*; *Digitus Dei est hic*; *Then saide the Enchanters vnto Pharaoh*; *This is the Finger of GOD.* And IESVS CHRIST himselfe, in Saint *Luke*, saith; *Si in digito Dei eijcio Dæmonia? &c. If by the Finger of God I cast out Deuils? &c.* In like manner is it of the other Corporall partes and mouings of the spirit, attributed to God, which euermore are to be interpreted spiritually; as S. *Iohn Damascene* very well declareth in these wordes: *Multa igitur quæ ad Deum spectant tenui quadam & obscura cognitione percipiuntur commode, & propriè nequeunt efferri. Itaque loquentes de ijs quæ supra nos sunt, cogimur vti verbis nobis congruentibus. Ex quo fit vt Deo & somnū & iram, & securitatem, & manus, & pedes, & alia eiusmodi tribuamus. There are many thinges which concerne God, that in signification doe carrie an obscure construction, and cannot properlie be deliuered. Wherefore, in speaking of those which are aboue vs, we striue to vse apt and congruent wordes to our capacity; whereby ensueth, that sleepe, anger, ease, hands, feete, and other such like, may seeme to be ascribed vnto God.*

The wrath or anger of GOD, is not any disquiet or perturbation of his Soule, but (according to Saint *Augustine.*) *It is a Iudgement, whereby the sin of anger is punished.* For when it is saide in Genesis; *Pœnituit eum quod hominem fecisset in terra*; *The Lord repented that he had made Man in the Earth*: It is not to be vnderstood, that God repented himselfe as a Man dooth, for any thing displeasing him: for iudgement of all thinges is to bee fully defined, as the fore-knowledge of them is sure and certaine. And the sacred Scriptures in vsing such wordes, doe not yet implie any such signification. For when the Word Diuine (Iesus Christ himselfe) spake to his Apostles, and likewise to the Pharisies; his speech was many times by Parables, and making comparison of heauenlie thinges, euen by such as were most familiarlie knowne vppon Earth. Whereupon we reade, that one while (in the Gospell) he cals himselfe a Treasure, another time a Shepheard; sometime a Lambe, then againe a Lyon; in one place a Light, in another, a Vine, a Rocke, the Way, &c. And for as much, as there is great difference betweene him and vs, therefore it is verie necessarie, that he should be vnderstood of Men by some especiall Accident; that is to say, by the meanes of reason and such knowledge, as they are best able

Damas. in Lib. 1. Cap. 14.

Numb. 11, 23.

Luke 1, 66.

Damas. in 1. & 2. Cap. de fide Orthodox.

Exod. 14, 31.

Ierem. 20, 10. Esa. 12, 14, 31 Prouer. 4, 12 Marke 14, 46.

S. Augustī. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 12. Cap. 23.

S. Augustī. de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Gene. 6. 6.

Exo. 33, 20, 23

Anselme vpon the same place. Psal. 9, 20, 38. Hebr. 10, 14. Psal. 117, 12.

God is not said to repent or be sorry, after the māner of men.

The signification of the members, attributed to God in holy scripture.

How Christ spake to his Apostles, and the Pharises.

Deut. 33, 3. Ieremy 52, 7.

Exod. 8, 19.

Luke 11, 20.

able to comprehend. *And these thinges* (saith *Origen*) *are figuratiuely spoken, to the end, that the Names vsuall, accustomed and conuenable to the bodie, may intellectually signifie their right Nature: Euen no otherwise, then when sins are said to be wood, Hay, and Rubbish.* In which wordes we doe not affirme, that delicts and offences haue any reall body: no more then vertues haue, although they be tearmed by better names; as Golde, Siluer, and precious stones.

Origen. contra Cels. Lib. 6.

The Eternall Father of Heauen then dooth neuer goe in any knowne way, neyther walkes or wanders; hee neuer sleepes, or rayseth himselfe from slumbering, but continueth alwayes in his place, or where his minde best liketh to be. He cannot be touched or seene; yet he clearely seeth and vnderstandeth all thinges: not with any Corporeall eyes or eares, but by absolute power, which cannot sufficientlie be expressed. He beholdes and knowes all actions in this World, nothing euer being, or can bee hidden from him: yet notwithstanding, hee neuer mooueth himselfe, or can be mooued by any power, neyther can bee comprized or contained in any place; no, not within the whole circumference of the wide World, because he was before the Worldes were formed, as much as to say; as from all Eternitie. He hath no neede of Name, or of any thing else, for (as *Trismegistus* saith;) *God is one, and one hath no need of any Name.*

God is not limited or confined to any prescribed place, but where himselfe best liketh to be.

Dionys. Areopag in Lib. nom. Diuin.

God hath no Name.

God then hath no Name, because he is onely and alone, nor is there any vse (with vs) of any propper vocable, but onely for peculiar difference from the multitude, to the end, that each person may be distinguished by his apt appellation. But because that GOD is euermore one and alone; his true Name is GOD, which in-effable Name in Hebrew, consisteth in one Word, composed of foure Letters, יהוה IEHOVAH, of which descendeth the Verbe היה, HAIAH, *Fuit*, which is as much to say; as *He was, is, & shall be*, and which absolutely declareth his true propertie, for God hath beene alwayes, and shall bee eternally. *Aeternitas enim nec tempus est, nec vlla temporis pars: For Eternitie is not time, neyther any part of time.* And

The reason of Gods name.

Gregor. in Theol. Orat. de die Nat. de Christ.

almost all Nations and Languages, doe especiallie write and pronounce the Word (whereby the Name of GOD is specified) with Foure Letters, which is a number euen and perfect, because he hath no imperfection in him.

All Nations write & pronounce the Name of God with foure Letters.

Beside our proofe already made of the *Hebrewes*; The *Persians* doe write the Name of God with Foure Letters, ωρὴ; The Wizards of *Persia* ὀρεὴ; The Arabes, *Alla*; The Assyrians, *Adad*; The Ægyptians, θωὺθ, or θεὺς; The Græcians, ΘΕΟΣ ἀπὸ θεεῖν, *à currendo*, of running; *Quod vbique dum opus sit accurrat, ad sit, opemque ferat; siue ab vrendo, quod improbos habitus comburat, quando, ex ea re & ignis consumens dicitur. That euerie where (while neede requireth) he runneth, is there present, and giueth helpe: Or else of burning, that he will burne the dwelling of the wicked, when he is saide to be a consuming fire to them.*

B. Westhmer in phras. diuin. Script.

So doth *Gregorie* the Great, (called the Diuine) interpret it in his second Prayer to the Sonne. Or whether it be of the Verbe θεωται, as much to say, as to contemplate. The *Latines* breaking the Greeke word, in stead of θεὸς, say *Deus*; The French-men, *Dieu*; The Spaniards, *Dios*; The Italians, *Idio*; The Dutch, *Gott*; The Englisth and Scots, *Godd*; with a double Letter *d*, as hath been obserued in Antiquitie. There are some likewise, that doe yeelde another reason, and say; that the Name of God is contained in Foure Letters, to demonstrate thereby, that it is hee who hath made and formed all thinges, that they are composed of Foure Elements, and that hee made also the Foure Elements themselues, which doe rule ouer all thinges created in this World. But *Moyses* asking of God, by what Name he would be called; God gaue him this answere: *Ego sum, qui sum; I am that I am, I am he that is*: the Hebrewes say, *Ero qui ero*, expressing thereby his Nature, that hee is Eternall, without any ending; as if they would say (speaking in his person) I am truelie hee that is, and with me there is no change or alteration. Then sending *Moses* to the *Hebrewes*, to be their Guide, Prince, and Conducter, hee commaunded him to tell them: that *He which is*, or *I am, hath sent me vnto you*. Now because wee are

The differēce of Gods name in varietie of writing it.

A reason deriued from the making of the foure Elements.

Exod. 3, 14.

With GOD there is no mutation or change, but alwaies one.

Exod. 3. 14.

are not able (of our selues) to comprehend him, or to attaine vnto the intire knowledge of him, in regard of the imbecillity of our frail vnderstanding: we finde in the Scriptures many Epithets and appellations, answerable to the manifold effects of his power, rule, and diuinitie.

He is called α and ω, *Alpha* and *Omega*, which are the first and last Letters of the Greeke Alphabet: because hee is both the beginning and the end, and yet there is neyther beginning nor ending in him. His Epithets are, *Almightie, Strong, Great, Incomprehensible, Vncircumscribde, Vnchangeable, Truth, Holie of Holies, King of Kings, Most powerfull, wonderfull*; and diuers other beside. Some haue thus defined him. *GOD is a Spirit, holie and true, of whom onely and cheefly proceede the beginning, the action and moouing of all thinges that are: To whom, and to the Glory of whom, the end and conclusion of all thinges are referred.* *Cicero* (so well as hee could) defined him in manner following. *Deus mens est quædam soluta & libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens & mouens, ipsaque prædita motu sempiterno. God is a certaine intelligence, or Spirit, free and ready, separated from all Mortall mixture or concretion, knowing and moouing all thinges, and hauing in himselfe an eternall motion.*

Holy *Iustine Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon* the *Iew*, defines God in this order. I call *Him God, that hath Essence of himselfe, and is continually permanent in one and the same kind, without receiuing any change, and hath giuen both beginning and forme to all thinges created.* PHILEMON (as the same *Martyr* declareth) describes him verie breefely thus;

What thing is God? Truely, him God I call; That (being vnseene,) is he that seeth all.

All which Definitions, and many more beside, can giue vs no true knowledge of the Essence of GOD, because it is wholly Incomprehensible. Therefore he cannot be truly described or defined, as very learnedly the Philosopher *Symonides* answered. For he being demanded by *Hierom*, What God was; and hauing a whole dayes respite graunted him to returne his answere; when that time would not serue him, but three dayes more were allowed him; at last, when he came to make his reply to the question, he said; *The more I striue to consider what God is, the more difficult I finde the matter to be.* The Philosophers say, that definition may wholy specify the proportion of a thing; or his kinde, quality, difference, or some peculiar Accident: all which seuerall thinges are not to bee found in God, which is the reason, that he cannot bee defined or comprehended. Wherefore I will conclude this point with Saint *Augustines* opinion; *Solus Deus est altissimus, quo altius nihil est: Onely GOD is most High, aboue whom there is nothing higher.* And in another place; *Quid est Deus? est id quod nulla attingit opinio. What is God? It is that which no opinion can reach vnto.*

The diuers Epithets and appellations of God in Scripture.

Definitions of God written by diuers.

Ciceron in Tusc. 1.

Lactan. Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

Iustin. Mart. in Dial. cont. Tryph

Philemon in definit. De. &c.

God cannot truely be defined.

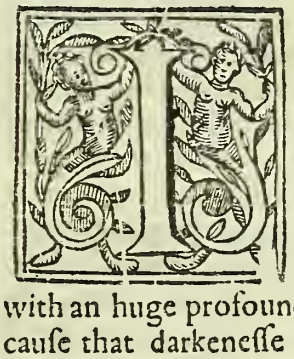
Symonides the Philosopher, his answere concerning God.

S. August. in Lib. de mor. Eccles.

Aug. Lib. 1. de Quæst. Nou. & vet. Testam.

CHAP. II.

Of the works which God created in six daies, and what day the Angels were created; with diuers other high and speciall matters, worthy our knowledge.



IN the beginning GOD created Heauen & earth, and when the Earth could not appeare or bee discerned, (being couered with an huge profound darkenesse, because that darkenesse was vppon the deepes; that is to say, vpon some confusion, not distinguished from the Earth and the Water, and the Spirit would walke vpon that *Chaos* aboue the Waters; to wit, vppon the Earth, which was hidden vnderneath them:) GOD commaunded Light to bee made, and when the Light was cleare, he diuided this bright splendour from the darknes; naming the one, Day; and the other, Night: The beginning of the Day, Morning; and the beginning of the Night, Euening. All this was done the first day, which *Moyses* tearmeth to

The creation of the World. Genesis 1.

The workes created the first day.

The second day. be one day. On the second day, he placed the Firmament of heauen, aboue all other things of this worlde, and sundering it from the rest, seated it alone by it selfe, as in a particular ranke or limit: & roofing it round about with congealed yce, tempered it sufficiently with a moist and watry Nature, to the end, that the earth might be duely watered.

The third day. The third day, hauing commaunded the Waters into their meet abyding, he caused the dry Land to shew it selfe, enguirting (as in a Girdle) all the Earth with the Seas: and the very same Day, the Plants (with their Seedes) came foorth of the Earth.

The fourth day. The fourth day, he fixed two great Lampes or Lights in the Firmament of Heauen: the one exceeding in greatnesse, to gouerne the Day; and the other somewhat lesse, to rule the Night: these were the Sun and Moone. Then did hee also spangle it with Starres, by whose influences, and hidden Vertues, he commanded that the reuolutions and seasons of the yeare should be obserued.

The fift day. The fift day, hee sent Creatures abroad, both to flye and swimme: the Fowles aloft in the Aire, and the Fishes beneath in the Waters; vniting them seuerally by a desirous instinct, to meete and company together, onely for the propagation of encrease, and multiplying in their seperate kinds.

The sixt day. The sixt day, he created the foure-footed beasts, Male and Female, tame and wilde. The same day also hee formed Man, which day is called, the tenth of the Calends of Aprill. For, *it was necessary* (saith *Adon* Arch-Bishop of *Vienna*) *that the second Adam, sleeping in a viuifying death, onely for the saluation of Men: should sanctifie his Spouse the Church, by those Sacraments that were deriued out of his side, euen vpon the self-same day, not only of the Week, but also of the month, wherein he had created Adam our first Father, & (out of one of his sides) had brought foorth* EVA *his wife; to the end (that by her helpe) mankind might be encreased.*

Adon in his Chronicle.

An especiall note, woorth Obseruation. Behold, how the Father of all Eternity created this World, and made it of visible matter, and which (in regarde of the beautie and adornment) is so called by the Greekes, κόσμος that is to say; *Fayre, or Beautifull.* Man he made by the Workemanship of his owne hands, not onely to liue and enioy the goods of the earth; but for a more especial and principall end, to wit; that hee might bee known and magnified of him. This creation of al things, was fully perfected in six dayes, for the compleate perfection of the number sixe, not that anie such length of time was needfull to GOD, or that hee could not haue created all things together, as he did (in this space) by conuenable moouings, according as *Salomon* (in his *Ecclesiasticus*) saith he did. *Qui viuit in æternum, creauit omnia simul. He that liueth for euer, created all things together.* Whereunto Saint *Basil*, Saint *Augustine*, Saint *Dionisius*, S. *Ambrose*, *Bede* and *Cassiodorus* do consent, saying: *That God created, or brought forth al things together.*

The perfection of the number sixe.

Eccles. 18, 1.

Consent of the Fathers.

Peter Lombard, sir-named Maister of the Sentences, in the second distinction of his second Booke, by Authoritie deriued from *Ecclesiasticus*, maketh this exposition. *The bodily Nature and matter of the foure Elementes, was created with the spirituall creature*, that is to say; *with the soule, and with the Angels, who were created together.* To maintain this, he brings in the iudgement of S. *Augustine*, vppon this place of Genesis, saying; *That by Heauen and earth, ought to be vnderstoode, the Spirituall and Corporeall Nature, which was created at the beginning, to wit, of time.*

Pet. Lombard. in Lib. 2. Dist. 2

August. sup. Gen. ad lit.

Heer you may note then, how the scriptures are to be cõprehended, & they to be sought into generally ouer, without instance vpon any curious wresting. In another place of the same Booke of Ecclesiasticus, it is saide, *Prior omnium creata est Sapientia: Wisedome hath bin created before all things.* Yet heereby is not to be vnderstood, either God, or his son, who is the Wisedome of the Father. For, God was not created at all; the Sonne was begotten, & therefore neither made or created: and all the holye Trinity is but one Wisedome, which hath not beene made, created, or begotten, but proceeding.

Eccles. 1, 4.

How the worldis called by the Grecians. Iesus the Sonne of *Syrach*, hee vnderstandeth by this Wisedome wherof we speake, the Angellical Nature, often termed in the Scriptures, *Life*, *Wisedom*, and *Light*: for the Angels are called, & saide to bee vnderstanding. And albeit they were created so soone as *Heauen* and *Time*, yet are they neuertheless, said to be first created, by reason of their order and

Iesus the Son of *Sirach*, concerning the Angellicall nature.

and dignitie, being (indeede) most worthy Creatures. Nor were these Angelicall powers created for any neede, or necessitie that God had of them: but to the end, that he might be contemplated, praised, and that his liberalitie should be more aboundantly knowne.

But why then is it written, that God created all thinges together, seeing in the beginning of *Genesis*, it is saide; that God produced these bodily substances, by pauses and diuersity of daies? *Dionisius Rihellus*, a religious Monke, hath heereunto made a very profound aunswere; whose very wordes therefore I was the more willing to set downe, that the learned and curious (in so high questions) might be satisfied. *Omnia hæc simul creata sunt, vel materialiter, seu quantum ad eorum materiam, vel exemplariter, vel in genere, vel similitudine. De isto enim sunt tres opiniones, vno dicentium; quod omnia vno instante à Deo producta & condita sunt in materijs & substantialibus formis suis: & formatio sequens intelligatur quantum ad formas accidentales. Omnia inquam, id est omnes principales partes mundi, scilicet corpora cœlestia & elementa. Alia opinio est dicentium, quod Cœlum empyreum cum Angelis, factum sit cum informi materia corporalium rerum, & postea in opere sex dierum, materia illa distincta sit per formas substantiales: sic tamen, quod fuit informis, id est, generali forma corporeitatis actuata. Tertia est, quod omnia simul producta sint, cum primis indiuiduis specierum perfecta in substantialibus et accidentalibus formis, & sex dies sint vnus dies sex rerum distinctionibus representatus: quæ opinio subtilior & naturali rationi consonantior reputatur. Sed aliæ duæ videntur Scripturæ Geneseos amplius concordare. Nam & glossa hic ait: Rerum substantia simul est creata, sed non simul per species est formata: & simul extitit per substantiam materiæ, non simul apparuit per substantiam formæ.*

The answere to a very serious obiection

Dionis. Rihellus in Lib. de creat. Mund. Chap. 2.

¶ *All these thinges are said to be created together, eyther Materially, in regard of their quantity of matter; or Exemplarily, eyther in kinde or likenesse. Of these there are three opinions; one saying, that al things (in one instant) were by God brought forth, and builded in their materiall and substantiall formes, and the formation of them is to be vnderstood, according to accidentall shape or fashion. I say all, that is, all the principall partes of the World; to wit, Celestiall, and Elementall bodies. Another opinion saith, that the highest Heauen with the Angels, were made bodily thinges of indigested matter, and afterward, in sixe dayes labour or worke, that matter was distinctly made into substantiall formes: but yet so, that the indigested matter, beeing before in generall forme, receiued speedie and bodily shape. The third is, that all thinges were created together, in their first vndiuided kindes, perfected in substantiall and accidentall formes, and sixe dayes were but one day, distinctly representing sixe seuerall thinges. Which opinion, to more subtile and naturall reason is accounted consonant. But the other two doe more fully and amply concord with the Scripture of Genesis. For the Glosse it selfe saith; The substance of thinges were created together, but not formed together in their seuerall kinds: and together they were digested by substance of matter, but yet appeared not together in substantiall forme.*

Moreouer, after *Moyses* (in his first Chapter of *Genesis*) hath declared, what thinges were created on each of the sixe dayes: Wherefore, then in the second Chapter of the same Booke, doth hee speake but of one day onely, by way of Epilogue (as it were) to all that he had distinctly described before? Saying. *Ista sunt generationes cœli & terræ, quando creatæ sunt, in die quo fecit Deus cœlum & terram. These are the Generations of the Heauen and the Earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the Earth and the Heauens.* Seemes he not (in these words) to maintaine a great contradiction? If all thinges were made in sixe dayes, how can it be saide then, in one day onely? Heereunto I answere, that in this place, we must not take the dayes according as they denoate the distinction of Times, for God (as I saide before) had not any neede of time: but by reason of the workes of perfection, which is signified and compleated by the number of six, which first is accomplished in his partes. And therefore, the reason of the number is not to bee misprized, as being of any slender dignitie. For *Auenzoar* the *Babylonian* saith; *That he which knowes to number well, knoweth directly all thinges.* And it was not spoken in vaine, but to the praises of God; *Omnia in mensura & numero, & pondere disposuisti. Thou hast ordered all thinges in measure,*

Wherefore *Moses* nameth one day onlie after the other sixe.

Genesis 2. 4.

The answere to the difficult question.

The perfection of the number of sixe.

Philo. in Lib. de oper. Dei. Auenzoar.

Wisd. 11. 17. Eccles. 1, 2.

measure, waight, and number. And it is saide in *Ecclesiasticus*, *Arenam maris, & pluuiæ guttas, & dies seculi quis dinumerauit? Altitudinem cœli, & latitudinem terræ, & profundum abyssi quis dimensus est? Who can number the sands of the sea, & the drops of the raine, and the dates of the world? who can nũber the heighth of Heauen, the bredth of the earth, and the deapth? But onely the Workeman of them, and the all-ruling wisedome. He* (saith *Dauid*) *knowes the number of the Starres, and calleth euery one of them by his name.* And as it is said of S. *Iohn*, *He knowes the number of all the haires on the head.*

Of the seauenth day.

Concerning the seauenth day, which is also among the *Hebrewes* a name of perfection, and by them much celebrated: God reposed himselfe from all his workes, and sanctified it. Not as if hee were weary, or ouer-spent with trauell; but because he ceased from making any other new Creature, hauing already created whatsoeuer he would, and the nature and formes whereof, had neuer beene before. For this reason also, the *Iewes* doe take truce with their labours, on such a day as they tearme their Sabbath, calling it by an *Hebrew* Word, which signifieth rest. Instead whereof, we that are Christians, doe solemnize Sunday, which is the first of the Sabbaths, and the eight day, because that our Sauiour Iesus Christ, Sonne of the euer-liuing GOD, arose againe from the dead vpon the like day. The *Hebrewes* held in great honour the Septenarie number, because of the Sabbath, and it hath beene an especiall religious Mystery: the praise and renowne whereof, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, a Greek Author, discourseth in an Oration that he made of *Pente-cost*. *Aulus Gellius*, and *Macrobius*, haue also at large described the efficacy thereof. *Chalcidius* saith, that the *Pythagorians* commended this number, as the most naturall, absolute, and perfect.

Wherefore God sanctified the seauenth day.

Of the Iewes Sabbath.

Of the Christians Sabbath.

Gregor. Nazian de perfect num. sept.

The number of Three is the first imperfect number: the number of Foure is two whole paires, and of these two is the number of Seuen composed. And for this reason, it is often taken and vsed for vniuersall and infinite. Wee read, that God saith in *Leuiticus*: *Addam correptiones vestras septuplum propter peccata vestra: I will punish you seauen times more, according to your sinnes.* And the Royall *Psalmist* saith; *Eloquia Domini, eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum, probatum terræ, purgatum septuplum. The words of the Lord are pure wordes, as the Siluer tryed in a Furnace of Earth, and which is fined Seuen fold.* And we haue the like in many places of Scripture.

How the number of seauen is framed.

Leuit. 26, 18.

Psalme 12, 6.

There are also great Mysteries for Christian Religion, contained in this Septenarie number, wherby the whole perfection of the Church is signified. Herevpon was it, that Saint *Iohn* wrote to the Seuen Churches of *Asia*; declaring (by this meanes) that hee writ to the flowing fulnesse of one onely. The Wise-man in the *Prouerbs* saith: *Sapientia ædificauit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem. Wisedome hath built her house, and set Seuen Pillars vnder to support it.* There are Seuen gifts or gracious workings of the Holy-Ghost, whereof the Prophet *Esay* in diuers places maketh mention. God also betooke himselfe to rest the Seuenth day; but yet wee must not thereby vnderstand, that God had done any actuall labour in his working: for he onely but spake, and it was done; yea, by an Eternall Word, and not a Temporall. But the rest of God, doth (indeede) signifie the rest of them that rest in God: euen as the ioy of the House, implyeth nothing else, but the ioy of them that doe, or are to reioyce in the house; neuertheless, it is not the House onely that makes them ioyfull, but some especiall matter thereby presupposed. This is then the manner of speech, when we would signifie or expresse the thing contained, by the matter which containeth, and by the efficient, that which is already done. For when *Moyses* saide, that GOD rested or reposed himselfe: very conuenably is vnderstood thereby, the repose and quiet of them that rest in him, because he onely is the cause of their rest.

Mysteries for Christian Religion in the number of Seuen.

Apoc. 1, 4.

Prouerb. 9, 2.

Cel. Rodigin. de numer. sept. Lib. de aut. lect. cap. 4.

Origen. cont. Celsi. Lib. 6. What is signified by the rest of God.

Now we must and do confesse (concerning the Angels) that there is no expresse mention made, in what order the Angels were created. But Saint *Augustine* saith; *That if they had not beene omitted, they had beene signified or expressed, eyther by the Name of Heauen, or by the Name of Light.* Albeit then, that he hath not plainely declared in *Genesis*, that the Angels were created by God, nor vpon what

Of the creation of the Angels.

August. sup. Genes. ad lit.

what day: yet notwithstanding, the holy Writings doe (else-where) giue sufficient testimony of them. We reade in *Daniel*, how the three Children in the fierie Furnace, extolling the workes of GOD in the excellent Song they sung, doe name the Angels to be Creatures of the Lord. For they beginne; *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino, laudate & superexaltate eum in secula. All ye workes of the Lord, blesse ye the Lord, praise him, and exalt him aboue all thinges for euer.* Next followeth; *Ye Heauens*, and then, *ye Angels, blesse ye the Lord, &c.* And *Dauid* in the 148. *Psalme*, saith: *Laudate eum omnes Angeli eius, &c. Praise him all yee his Angels.*

Dan. 3, 57, 58 59.

Psalme 148, 2

To say that the Angels were created after all those other thinges, which are reckoned to be made in the sixe dayes, were an absurdity most intollerable. For God saith in *Iob: Cum me laudarent astra matutina, & iubilarent omnes filij Dei:* which wordes are thus translated, and very significantly; *When the Starres of the morning praised me, all mine Angels, or the Sonnes of God, extolled mee with a loud voyce.* And the Starres were made the fourth day, but yet the same Saint *Augustine* is of this opinion: *That the Angels and incorruptible Soules, were created the first day, and that the Soule of Adam was created before his Bodie, like as the Angels were, and afterward diuinely infused.* For when God said; *Let there be Light, and there was Light*: the Creation of the Angels is vnderstood in that Light, and without all question to the contrary, they were and are, made partakers of the Light Eternall, which is the selfe-same vnchangeable Wisedome of God, and the Word Diuine, by which, all other thinges were made. So doth *Rupertus* expound that place, in his Booke of the workes of the Holie-Ghost, saying, *Videtur nonnullis Lucem tunc esse factam, non aliam quam aeris illustrationem: sed melius magni & nominatissimi patres intellexerunt naturam Angelicam lucis nomine significatam. Nec pro similitudine, sed pro re vera Angelica creatura dicta est Lux. There was then no Light at all seene to bee made, none other then the Ayres illustration: But great and many worthy Fathers haue better vnderstood it, that the Name of Light signified the Angelicall Nature. Not for any similitude, but for a certaine truth, that when Light was commaunded, the Angels were created.*

The Angels were not created after all other thinges.

Iob. 38, 7.

August. sup. Genes. lib. 7. cap. 21

The Angels created when the light was.

Rupert. in Lib. Oper. Sanct. Sp. Cap. 2.

And when it is saide; *That God separated the Light from the Darknesse*, by that diuision is likewise vnderstood, the dreadfull and terrible Iudgment of God against the Deuill; Because that from whence the Light came, thence also descended the Darkenesse; to wit, the euil Angels: who were created good in nature, but they would not continue in that excellent puritie. And therefore, of bright shining Angels of Light, thorough their own sinne, they were made blacke Deuils of Darknesse.

Darkenesse vnderstood by the Deuil and his Angels.

CHAP. III.

Of the good Angels, and of their Orders and Offices.

HAuing discoursed in the precedent Chapter, of the Creation of the Angels, I hold it now very meete and requisite, to set down in this succeeding Chapter, a breefe, but necessary obseruation, concerning the diuision which the *Thalmudists* haue made of them; as also vvhat *Dionysius Areopagita*, and other Christian Authors, haue written of the Angels, who are the Ministers, Messengers, Ambassadours, and Legats of God, for vvhich reason they are named in Greek Αγγελοι. They are vvithout bodies, or composition of matter, Corporeally impassible, but not in spirit: for the Scripture saith, that they glad or reioyce themselues, greeue themselues, loue, and feare. They are altogether good by Creation and Substance; and some haue beene made euill by Election; and therefore, are separated from them that continue good still. But my purpose is, to discourse (in this place) of the Good Angels onely, and of the Celestiall Hierarchie, vvhich consisteth of nine seuerall Orders of Angels.

The diuision of the Angels, according to the *Thalmudistes*, &c.

Dionys. Areopag in Lib. de Hierarch. celest.

Nine Orders of Angels.

Of the first Order, are חיות הקדש CHAIOTH HACODES: vvhom the *Thalmudistes* doe entitle to be those Angels, by vvhom God giueth life. Of the second, אופנים OPHANIM; vvhome they

The first Order of Angels.

The second Order.

they conſtitute to bee thoſe Angels, by whom God diuided or diſperſed the *Chaos*. The third, אראלים Aralim; They are they, by whom the Name of GOD is conioyned or formed היהוה Haiehova, and by them God diſtributeth fluxible matter. The fourth השמאלים Hacemalim: They are thoſe Angels, by whom God formeth and ſhapeth bodies. The fift Order, שרפים Seraphim, by whom God appointeth and ſendeth forth the Elements. Of the ſixt Order, are מלכים Melachim; By theſe Angels, God ordereth and produceth Mettals. The ſeuenth, are אלהים Elohim: Theſe are thoſe Angels, by whom God bringeth forth Hearbes, Rootes, Plants, and all vegetables. Of the eight degree, are בני אלהים Bene Elohim: by this Order of Angels, God diſpoſeth all kindes of Beaſts and Animals. The ninth and laſt, are כרובים Cherubim: by theſe Angels, doth God ſhape and produce mankind, or Men.

The third Order.

The fourth Order.

The fift Order.

The ſixt Order.

The ſeuenth Order.

The eight Order.

The ninth Order.

The Diuines and Schoole-men, doe diuide the Celeſtiall Hierarchie of Angels, into three Claſſes or Companies, and nine ſeuerall Orders. The firſt, ſecond, and third Orders, are of the firſt Claſſe or ranke. Of the firſt Order, are the *Seraphims*, who are the very neereſt vnto GOD; according as mention is made of them in the ſixt Chapter of *Eſay*. The ſecond, are the *Cherubims*, as in the ſame place of *Eſay*, *Ezechiel* the 6. *Pſalme* 28. 79. The third, the Thrones, as Saint *Paule* in the firſt to the *Coloſſians*. The fourth, fift, and ſixt Orders, are of the ſecond Claſſe. Of the fourth order, are the Dominations: Of the fift, the Principalities; and of the ſixt, the Powers. The ſeuenth, eight, and ninth Orders, doe appertaine to the third Claſſe. Of the ſeuenth, are the Vertues: Of the eight, the Arch-angels; And of the ninth, the Angels.

The diuiſion of the Celeſtiall Hierarchy by the Schoole-men, into three Claſſes, and nine Orders.

Eſay 6, 9, 12. Ezech. 6, 14. Pſalme 28, 3. and 79, 7. Coloſ. 1, 8.

The Orders of the firſt and ſecond Claſſe, are for the contemplation and diſpoſition of thoſe thinges, which the others are to act and put in effect. They of the third Claſſe, their Office onely is Action and Execution. Theſe good Angels, doe often and many times giue fauour, ayde, and aſſiſtance to men inuiſibly; And ſometimes do appeare vnto them, in ſuch forme, as is fitting to the Myſtery, and as beſt may be conceiued by him, to whom ſuch a liberall grace is granted. As in elder times they appeared in the forme of a Wheele, of Beaſtes, of a Man hauing Wings, of young men, of Sheepheards, and ſuch like Figures. Sometimes alſo, GOD makes vs to vnderſtand his will, onelie by the voice of his Angels, without any viſible ſight of them: as appeared by *Hagar*, who onely but heard the Angel ſpeaking from Heauen to her, ſhewing her the water, and fore-telling the manners and actions of the Infant *Iſmael*. In the like manner, *Abraham* onely heard the Angel ſpeake vnto him, letting him vnderſtand the will of God, and yet hee ſawe him not. By the like inuiſible meanes, the Prophet *Habbacuk* (enſtructed by the voyce of an Angel) was caried in the ayre by the haire of his head, and ſet vpon the Denne wherein *Daniel* was impriſoned, to bring him ſuſtenance to eat. And ſo did the Lord ſpeak by his Angell very plainely, three times vnto young *Samuel*, foretelling him the death of the High-Prieſt *Heli*, and his Children.

Of the firſt & ſecond Claſſe

Of the third Claſſe.

The Angels doe inuiſibly help men, and doe appeare vnto them in diuers formes

God makes his wil known by the voyce of his Angels, without any viſible ſight of them.

Gene. 21, 18, 19. Gen. 22, 1, 2, 3

Dan. 14, 34.

1 Sam. 3, 11.

Without voyce alſo or ſpeaking, the Angels do deliuer the pleaſure of God, as many times in Dreames, and other manner beſide. For our Soules beeing Spirits, and the Angels Spirits alſo, they haue no neede of any Inſtrument or Corporal Organe, whereby to communicate together whatſoeuer GOD hath commaunded, the ſpirituall proportion (onely) being ſufficient to performe it. God likewiſe doth (otherwhiles) enſtruct vs in his will, by viſions and apparitions: as when God (by a Viſion) cauſed *Abraham* to come forth of his Houſe, to the end, that he might behold the Heauens, and count the nũber of the Starres; which only was but to ſhew him, how hee would encreaſe and multiply his Seede. By the Viſion of the flaming Buſh, *Moyſes* apprehended the admirable ſecrets of vnreuealed matters. By the Viſion of the Wheeles and Beaſtes, *Ezechiel* fore-tolde many thinges to happen. Saint *Peter*, by the Viſion of the vncleane Beaſts, had a reuelation, not to refuſe trauaile for ſaluation of the *Gentiles*. And Saint *Paul*, by the Man of *Macedonia*, which (during the night time) hee beheld in a Viſion, had

The Angels doe declare the will of God, without voyce.

God reuealeth his wil by Viſions.

Geneſis 15, 5.

Exod. 3, 2.

Ezech. 10, 8, 9

Actes 10, 12.

Actes 16, 9.

had certain assurance, that God had called him to Preach the Gospell in *Macedonia*. *Iudas Machabeus* in like sort, expounding his Vision, whereby God had reuealed vnto him, the Prayers which *Onias* the deceased High-priest in his life time had made; armed all his people, with hope in God, to win the victory against *Nicanor*.

2. Macha. 15, 12.

Visions haue not beene reuealed to all men.

And yet let me tell you, that Visions haue not beene reuealed to all men as indifferently, or without especiall respect; but onely to holy persons elected of God, according as the *Psalmist* saith; *God in a Vision hath spoke to his Saints*. And all this hath been done by the Ministery of his Good Angels. And of those elect Vessels it is written; *Videbunt filium hominis venientē in nubibus Cœli, cum virtute multa & maiestate. Et mittet Angelos suos cum tuba & voce magna: & congregabunt electos eius à quatuor ventis à summis cœlorum vsq; ad terminos eorum. They shall see the Sonne of man come in the clouds, with power & great glory. And he shal send his Angels with a great sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect, from the foure Windes, and from the one ende of Heauen to the other.* Then, as it followeth, when he commeth in his Glorie, and all his holy Angels beeing with him: he shall sit vpon the Throne of his Maiesty, to iudge the liuing and the dead, and shall separate the good from the euill. The one shall haue life eternall, and enioy this Theory in endlesse contemplation of God: and the other shall be thereof depriued, and depart into Hels perpetuall torments.

Math. 24, 30, 31.

CHAP. IIII.

Of this Earthlie, or Terrestriall Paradise, and of the foure Floodes thereto belonging.

MOYSES, proceeding on in his History of *Genesis*, from the originall beginning and birth of all thinges, saith; That GOD planted a Paradise in EDEN towardes the East, and there placed Man whom he had formed before. He caused also to grow out of the ground, all kind of Trees, both pleasing to the eye, and good to feed on, beside the Tree of Life. But the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, that he had appointed to grow in the midst of this Paradise. This word Paradise, is a Greeke word, descending neuertheless from the Hebrew Language, or much rather of the *Persian* or *Chaldean*, which calleth it PARDES, the Name whereof is vsed in certaine places of Scripture, and is as much to say; as *A Garden of delights, an Orchard or place of pleasure, wherein nothing is wanting, to recreate the eye.* Of this Name, *Aulus Gellius* writeth thus. *Viuaria quæ nunc vulgus dicit, sunt quos Greci παραδείσους appellant; That which the vulgar tearme the haunt of wilde Beastes, is that which the* Grecians *call Paradise.*

Gene. 2, 8, 9.

παράδεισος. *Lib. 2. Cap. 20.*

Luke 23, 43. 2 Cor. 12, 4. Apoc. 2, 7.

Eden is a Region of *Syria*, known to the people of god from the time of the Prophets.

The holy Scriptures doe also denote by this Name, the Seate or habitation of the blessed; according as is expressed in Saint *Luke*. *Et dixit illi Iesus, Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. And Iesus said vnto him: verily I say vnto thee, to day thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise.* The Apostle Saint *Paul* learned the very same Title, in his writing to the *Corinthians*, by these wordes. *Scio hominem in Christo (siue in corpore siue extra corpus nescio: Deus scit) raptum huiusmodi vsque ad tertium cœlum. Raptus est in Paradisum, &c. I know such a man (whether in the body or out of the bodie, I cannot tell, GOD knoweth) which was taken vp into the third Heauen. How that he was taken vp into Paradise, and heard wordes which cannot bee spoken, which are not possible for man to vtter.* And in the Apocalypse. *Vincenti, dabo edere de ligno vitæ, quod est in Paradiso Dei mei: To him that ouer-commeth, will I giue to eate of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.*

Luke 23, 43.

2 Cor. 12, 3, 5

Apoc. 2, 7.

Moreouer, that which in the Latine Interpretation, is saide to be *Paradisum voluptatis*, the selfesame holy Scripture speaks it thus in Hebrew, GANEEDEN, which is so much to say; as *The Garden in Eden*; which the seauenty Interpreters haue translated, παραδείσου ἐν Ἐδέμ, *Garden in Eden*. The *Chaldean* Version is the selfe-same, whereby it plainely appeareth, that *Eden* is the proper name of the place where GOD (at first) had planted the Garden of delights: *Not by taking the Grafts or Plants* (saith *Rupert*) *from*

Rupert. sup. Genes. Chap. 37. Gene. 2, 20.

Rupert vbi supra.

from any other place: but (by the power of his Commaundement) made them there firſt of all to ſprout and bloſſome out of the Earth.

The Riuer in *Eden*, diuided into foure ſtreames or Currents.

This Garden is watered by a Spring or Riuer, which at the breaking from his maine head, doth diuide it ſelfe into foure ſeueral ſpreadings, or extenſions, and ſo do make foure great current waters or floods. One of theſe branching Armes, or wide ſwift Channels, is called פישון *Phyſon*, which is as much to ſay; as *Multitude*, or *Many*. And of the *Grecians* it is named *Ganges*, receiuing nineteene Riuers into the Lap thereof, and it enuironeth the Country of *India*, which *Moyſes* calleth *Euilath*, in regard of *Euila*, the Sonne of *Iectan*, and ſo diſchargeth it ſelfe into the Sea. Gold is ſaide there to create it ſelfe (as it were) likewiſe *Bdelion*, and the *Onix* ſtone. The Name of the ſecond Flood or Riuer, is גיחון which in Greeke is called Γεὼν, *Geon*, or *Gihon*; otherwiſe tearmed *Nilus*. This Riuer watereth all *Æthyopia*, it batheth all *Egypt*, and afterward ſhoots it ſelfe into the *Mediterranean* Sea. The third Flood, is חידקל *Hidechel*, otherwiſe *Tygris*, by Interpretation; and it carries that name, onely in regard of his ſwift paſſage, ſtreame, or current: For they of *Medea*, doe giue the ſelfe-ſame Title to an Arrow. It is otherwiſe alſo called, *Diglath*; and paſſing along by a part of the *Parthians*, it enters into *Aſſyria*, and *Meſopotamia*, and afterward buries it ſelfe in the Red-Sea, which *Iaques Phillip of Bergamo*, holds to bee ſcarcely true. The fourth Flood, is פרת הוא *Hu*, *Euphrates* by Interpretation, which *Ioſephus* calleth *Phora*, that is to ſay; *Diſperſion*, or *fructifying*. It glides betweene *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, bedewing the Countries of the *Armenians*, *Cappadocians*, *Syrians*, *Arabians*, and *Chaldeans*, and ſeeking there to finiſh his race, ſhuts it ſelfe vp in the *Perſian* Sea, and not in the Red Sea; as *Quintus Curtius*, *Herodotus*, and *Dyodorus*, haue imagined.

Of the largeneſſe of *Ganges*, See *Solynus Cap.* 65.

Pomp. Mela. lib. 3. *Cap.* 7. *Lucan. Lib.* 3.

De Nil. vid. Lucan. Lib. 10.

Solynus cap. 45

De Tyrgris, vide Ioſephus. Lib. 1. *de Antiquit. Cap.* 1.

Hugo. de S. Victor. excerpt. Lib. 3. *Cap.* 6. *Iul. Solyn. Cap.* 50. *Plin. Lib.* 6. *cap.* 77. *Iaqu. Phil. de Berg. in Chron. Euphrates, vide Lucan. Lib* 3. *Iul. Solyn. Cap.* 50. *Pet. Oliuer. in Scho. ſup. Solyn.*

There are three ſeuerall opinions concerning this Paradiſe, deliuered by Saint *Auguſtine*, in his learned labour vpon *Geneſis*. The firſt, doe vnderſtand Paradiſe to be Spirituall onely. The ſecond, hold it to be Corporall. And the third, ſuppoſe it to conſiſt of both; And yet theſe Doctours cannot agree in the ſcituation or certaine being of this Paradiſe. Saint *Auguſtine* (conſenting with *Ioſephus*) will haue it to bee in the Eaſt. Thereunto alſo, venerable *Bede* giues his allowance, adding moreouer; *That it is round engirt with the Ocean Sea, ſeperated from the other parts of the World, and ſcituated vpon a Mountaine, whereon no man is able to goe, and ſo high (withall) that it toucheth the verie circle of the moon, and whereunto the Waters of the Deluge could neuer reach or come neere. Auicen, Polybius*, and *Eratoſthenes*, are of another minde from *Beda*: for they ſuppoſe this Terreſtriall Paradiſe, to bee vnder the Equinoctiall, in a more temperate Region then any other. But this is contrary to the cenſure (almoſt) of all our elder Writers, who doe hold, that vnder the way of the Suns paſſage, there neuer was any habitation. For the Equinoctiall cuts the *Zona torrida*, euen through the middeſt, and toucheth the Zodiaque in two points; to wit, in the two Signes of *Aries* and *Libra*, where very good temperature is ſaid to be, the day being equally twelue houres all the whole year in light, and as many houres alſo of darkneſſe. Now they that take Paradiſe to be in the Eaſt, doe not farre differ from this opinion: becauſe the Equinoctiall circle hath both his Eaſt and Weſt degrees.

Tho. Aquinas. Lib. 2. *de ſent. Diſt.* 17. *Ven. Bed. Lib.* 2

Ioſeph. Antiqui. Lib. 1. *Cap.* 1.

Auicen. Polybius. Eratoſthenes.

All ancient Writers differing in this matter.

There are ſome, who by the flaming or burning Sword, doe vnderſtand the fierie Zoane of Heauen and Earth, euen there where the lightning breaks forth, & kindles the Thunder. Some Doctors ſay, that the exceeding temperature which is in this place, dooth cauſe ſuch continual welfare and health, that whoſoeuer happens to come there, can neuer dye: and therefore it is ſaide, that *Henoch* and *Helias* are yet liuing there. The certaine place of this Terreſtriall Paradiſe, cannot be truely gathered out of the holie Scriptures; albeit the *Septuagint* or ſeuen Interpreters, haue commonly traduced it to be in EDEN, and on the Eaſt-ſide. Other ſpeculatiſes, do affirme it to be in *Syria*, but *Iohannes Scotus* is none of that number, who ſaith; that in what place ſoeuer it is ſcituate, it may be ſaid to be in the Eaſt. *Quilibet enim punctus in terra, poteſt intelligi eſſe ad orientem, in comparatione ad cœlum, vel reſpectu diuerſorum ſituum terræ, præterquam reſpectu duorum polorum; qui ſunt immo-*

Of the flaming ſword.

S. Auguſt. in Dial ad Paul. Oroſ. Beda vbi ſupra.

Thom. Aquinas in loco prædict.

Strabo. Lib. 2. *Cælius Rodigin. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 22.

S. Auguſt. in lib ſup. Geneſ. Three opinions concerning Paradiſe

Iohan Scotus. ſup. 2. *Lib. de ſenten. Diſt.* 17. *Queſt* 2.

immobiles. In whatsoeuer place of the Earth it is, it may be vnderstood to be in the East, in estimation or regard of the Heauens, or respect of the Earths diuers scituations, beside the view of the two Poles, which are immoueable. Saint *Ambrose* saith; *How can we describe the scituation of Paradise, which we haue neuer seene? And if we could see it, yet should we (neuertheless) be restrained from reuealing it to others.*

S. Ambrose in Lib. de Paradi. & in Epist. Sabin. 42.

The things then that concerne this Garden of delights and happinesse, doe out-stretch the sense & capacity of men. Wherefore *Franciscus Georgius* saith; *That Moyses the wise describer thereof, hath but lightly gone ouer the report of such important matters, and yet vnder Metaphors too, tending alwaies to an analogicall sense: Considering, that this Garden, not Terrestriall (as the vulgar doe imagine) but rather Diuine and Heauenly, was planted by the Diuine and heauenly Worke-man, not in this perishable Earth, but in the Land of the liuing, figured by the Land of Promise.* And this is the reason, that such as would willingly discouer somewhat, concerning the secrets hidden vnder the Veile of the holy History, haue wholy referred (whatsoeuer can be said of Paradise) to thinges of easier apprehension, and conuerted the fruitful trees thereof, into good manners of Life, and call it the Paradise of the Soule, wherein al vertues should haue the surest plantation.

Fran. Georg. in Hermo. Cant. 1. Tom. 7. Cap. 21.

Philo Iudaic. in Lib. de Plant. de Noa.

By the East (where they suppose it to bee scituated) they vnderstand the most resplendishing Wisedome, perfectlie cleare, and truelie Orientall. And look how the Sunne (being risen) discouers all his bright beames vpon the heauens; in like manner, haue the vertues such shining beames, as they doe thereby penetrate into the Soule, and make it of a most glorious luster. This Paradise may likewise represent, or designe, the life of the blessed; or else the Church: And the foure Riuers flowing thence, bee compared to those foure royall vertues: Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Iustice: Or else the four Gospels; or the foure Elements. The Trees may signifie all profitable disciplines, or the liues of the Saints, their super-excelling fruites, with the holy Manners and religious Workes of the good and vertuous. The Tree of Life planted in the middest; the Saint of all Saints, our LORD IESVS CHRIST: And the Tree of knowing good from euill, the experience gotten by the first transgression, or the Riches of mans free will before his Fall.

What construction hath bin made of Paradise.

S. Ambrose in Lib. de Paradi. & in Epist. ad Sabin. 42.

Philo Iudaic. 1. Lib. de Allegor. Leg.

In breefe, there is no one that can deny, but this Paradise may (Allegorically) be transferred vnto spirituall occasions; as the two Testaments was figured in two Children, which *Abraham* had: by his Hand-maid *Hagar* the one, and by *Sara* his Wife the other. As Iesus Christ was signified and described, by the Stone and Rocke which *Moyses* smote, from whence the truth of holie Scripture (like the Water) issued forth. *Philo* the *Iew*, and many more beside him, haue conuerted the whole Narration of this Paradise, into a spirituall vnderstanding, referring (neuertheless) the verity of the Historicall discourse in his bodily Carracter. For the holie Doctours, doe hold by a common consent, that this Paradise hath been made in some certaine place of the World, and was planted with all kinde of flourishing and fruitfull Trees. And it appeareth, that *Homer* tooke the shape of the Garden of *Alcinous*, by some former description made of Paradise, and it may bee truely gathered; that his excellent representation thereof, hee borrowed from *Moyses*, in his setting downe the order of the Garden of Paradise. Euen as *Ouid* hath done the like, when he describeth the Golden time or age of *Saturne*, when the Earth did then bring forth all her rich encrease, without any labour bestowed thereon. Why then this Terrestriall Paradise may truly be said to be vpon earth, and it behoueth vs to credit the truth of that holy History, which is so much and often recommended vnto vs, by so faithfull a rehearsall, of all things that were done in elder times.

Paradise spiritually vnderstood, and interpreted.

1 Cor. 10, 19.

Exod. 17, 6.

Philo Iudaic Lib. de Alleg. in Leg. 1. Lib. or. Origen. Ambrose. Ierom. sup Dan. Damas. Lib. 2. Cap. 21.

Homer Odyss. 7.

Ouid. Metamor. Lib. 2.

CHAP. V.

Of the difference betweene the Celestiall Kingdome, and that of Paradise: Taken out of the iudgement of Moyses Bar-Cepha.

THere is a great difference and contrariety, betweene the Kingdome

Read *Moyſes Bar-Cepha* the *Syrian*, in his Commentary written of Paradiſe.

celeſtial, & the forenamed pleaſant place of Paradiſe. For the Kingdom Celeſtiall is much aboue the Firmament of Heauen, & Paradiſe is vnder the Firmament, vpon Earth. Therefore the Realme or Kingdome Celeſtiall muſt needes bee Spirituall, and Paradiſe appertaineth to the Body and the minde. Moreouer, the pleaſures of the Celeſtiall Kingdome, doe conſiſt in the viſible beholding of God, and eternall beatitude receiued with the glorious Angels: But the delightes of Paradiſe onely doe concerne, the ſight of pleaſant deſireable Trees, their entiſing fruits, as alſo the great & admired floods, which continually water and bedew it.

The Celeſtial Kingdome no Mortall eye hath at any time ſeene. 1 Cor. 2. 7.

Furthermore, the Celeſtiall Kingdome hath neuer beene ſeene by any Mortall eye, nor heard by any eare, or euer entred into the heart of Man, according as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* plainly telleth vs: But Paradiſe hath beene viſible to ADAM, and EVE his Wife, euen to their very bodily eies; it was vnderſtood by their eares, and comprehended in their euident knowledge. Beyond all this, they are both ſeuerally diſtinguiſhed, not onely in the Law, but likewiſe in the Goſpell. In the Law, the holy Father *Moyſes*, in the Booke which we vſe to call *Geneſis*, as much to ſay; as the Birth of all thinges, maketh mention of Paradiſe; and there hath deſcribed it by notes and markes: but hee hath not ſpoken ſo much as one word, concerning the Realme Celeſtiall of the Kingdome of Heauen. In the Goſpell, our Lord and Maiſter Ieſus Chriſt, as alſo his Diſciples, and Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, in their Sermons and Preachings, haue exhorted all Mortals to repentance; becauſe the Kingdome of Heauen was at hand: but they neuer ſaide, that Paradiſe was at hand.

Of the Law & the Goſpell, diſtinguiſhing both Paradiſe and the Celeſtiall Kingdome.

The main and principall difference betweene them.

Finally, there is this difference more betweene them; that after the Reſurrection, the Iuſt ſhall aſcend vp into the Celeſtiall Kingdome, and there enioy vnſpeakeable felicities, according to the true and faithfull promiſe of God himſelfe. But no man (after the Reſurrection) ſhall enter into this Paradiſe, which muſt remaine voyd of all Inhabitants.

The learned Fathers diſtinguiſhing this Argument.

To conclude this point, all learned Doctours doe aſſure vs, that the Kingdome Celeſtiall (or of Heauen) and this Terreſtriall Paradiſe, are two ſeuerall diſtinct things. And among thoſe learned Fathers, there is one named *Iohn*, whom *Moyſes Bar-Cepha* (for his honor) dooth name in his Oration, becauſe of his worthy writing, concerning the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill: And likewiſe vpon thoſe words, which Chriſt ſpake to the good Theeſe, ſaying; *This day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.* And another alſo, called *Seuerus*, in his two and twentith Oration of *Epithronius.*

CHAP. VI.

Of Hell, and of the Fire that is ſaid to burne there continually.

Of the Word *Hell*, taken in many ſignifications in holy Scripture.

THE word *Hell*, is taken in holy Scripture by diuers ſignifications. In Hebrew it is called שאול SCEOL, which is as much to ſay, as a Graue or Sepulcher. Sometimes likewiſe it is taken for the dead, by a figure tearmed *Metonymia*: Alſo for death it ſelfe, as the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith in his 18. Pſalm; *Dolores inferni circundederunt me: præoccupauerunt me laquei mortis; The ſorrowes of the Graue haue compaſſed me about, the ſnares of death ouertooke me.* In the New-Teſtament, by the Gates of Hell, the power of death is vnderſtood, which (by the meanes of ſinne) are bent continually againſt vs. Moreouer, *Hell* is ſignified (in thoſe bleſſed Bookes) to be the eſtate or condition of them, that haue incurred iudgement of the Diuine diſpleaſure, which bringeth with it the true death; according as it is ſpoken by Ieſus Chriſt himſelf, ſpeaking to the citty of *Capernaum*: *Vſque ad infernũ demergeris: Thou ſhalt be thruſt downe, euen to Hell.* Alſo of the wicked Rich man, who lifting vp his eyes (when hee was in the torments of Hell) ſaw *Abraham* a farre off, and *Lazarus* in his boſome. To ſpeak yet more of the New Teſtament, which containeth the Myſteries of the Olde; *Hell* is there likewiſe vnderſtood, to be the reward and receptacle of the wicked: and Paradiſe, and the boſome of *Abraham*, for the happy habitation of the

Pſalme 18, 5.

Math. 16, 18.

Luke 10, 15.

Luke 16, 23.

Of Paradiſe, and *Abrahams* boſome.

the Saints and iuſt perſons, after they haue put off their corruptible bodyes, and are cloathed with their eternal condition.

The graue compared to the eſtate of the damned.

And not without great reaſon, is the Graue compared to the deplorable eſtate of the miſerable and damned. For what thinges elſe are to bee found in Graues, but Death, darkneſſe, and noyſome ſauours, anſwerable to that which *Iob* ſaith. *Antequam vadam, & non reuertar, ad terram tenebroſam, & opertam mortis caligine. Terram miſeriæ et tenebrarum, vbi vmbra mortis, & nullus ordo, ſed ſempiternus horror inhabitans. Before I goe, and ſhall not returne, euen to the Land of darkneſſe it ſelfe, and into the ſhaddow of Death. Into a Land (I ſay) darke as darkeneſſe it ſelfe, and into the ſhaddow of death, where is no order, but the Light is there as darkeneſſe, and there eternall horror dwelleth.* Such (in like manner) is the quality of the Reprobate, when God hath denounced the iudgement of condemnation againſt them: for then they are ſeazed on by Death and endleſſe darkneſſe.

Iob 10, 21, 22

The eſtate of the reprobate.

Some are of the minde, that Hell is in the middle part of the Earth, and 3245. Miles vnder the vpper part thereof. And the learned ſay, that it is vnder the Earth, by interpretation of the Name, which is plurally ſpoken *Inferi*, as beeing in the inferiour partes of the Earth. It is called *Gehenna*, which is as much to ſay; as, *Fire of the Earth, or the Land of Fire:* For γῆ in Greeke, is Earth, or Land of Fire, whereof our Fire is ſaid to be but a meere ſhaddow. God himſelfe is ſometimes tearmed in Scripture to be Fire; as in *Zacharie*, and *Deuteronomy: GOD is a Fire, deuouring or conſuming*; Yet he neither conſumeth or deſtroyeth his Friends: but he is ſaide to eate them; as much to ſay, that hee receiueth, and turneth them into himſelfe. And it is *Plutarchs* opinion, *That God is a Spirit fiery, or of fire, not hauing any forme, but transforming into himſelfe what ſoeuer he pleaſeth, equalling himſelfe to all things, and all thinges to him.* Which he doth, not by the Elementary fire, but by himſelfe, or by the Seraphicall enflaming, which is ſomething neere to this diuine Fire. But he puniſheth the wicked with a very ſtrict Fire, full of torments, but neuer ſhining or conſuming: And hence is it, that ſuch as are afflicted and tormented with this fire, are ſaid to bee in vtter darkneſſe.

Hierom. ſup. Ionas Cap. 2.

Hierom. ſup. Ezech. Cap. 14.

Aug. ſup. Geneſ. Lib. 12.

Plutarch in Moral. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

That God is ſaid to be a Spirit of Fire.

We muſt needes confeſſe then, that the wicked are tormented by Fire, by teſtimony of the truth it ſelfe, euen Ieſus Chriſt, ſaying; *Omnis arbor quæ non facit fructum bonum, excidetur, & ignem mittetur. Euery Tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen downe, and caſt into the Fire.* Nay, it is further added, that it ſhall bee burned, with the Fire which God hath prepared for the Deuill and his Angels. This Fire did God neuer ordaine for our damage or deſtruction, neyther ſhall any one bee therewith tormented, except his own ſinnes doe kindle and light the Fire. As wee may learne by the Oracle of *Eſay*, ſaying: *Walke in the light of your Fire, and in the flame that your ſelues haue lighted.* Now albeit, that this Fire hath beene prouided by God, yet notwithſtanding, no man ſhall ſuffer or feele the torment thereof, if the ſparkes of his enormous ſinnes do not ſet it a blazing. For looke how we kindle a fiery Feauer in our body, by offenſiue meates, exceſſe in drinking, or immoderate labours in this life time: euen ſo do wekindle both in ſoule and body, (when after death they ſhall bee reunited) the torments of this quenchleſſe Fire, by the ſuperfluity of our wicked workes, and depraued affections. The ſuper-abounding torment whereof thus flowing in Men, dooth boyle, fry, and fiercely encreaſe their paine, that by their own lewdneſſe firſt lighted this fire.

The wicked are tormented with Fire.

Math. 7, 19.

The ſinnes of Men doe kindle the Fire of their torments.

Eſay.

An excellent compariſon of a burning Feuer, and the vnquenchable Fire.

Why then (to follow the opinion of the *Pythagorians*) the Fire which is large in extendure, and brightly burning, makes him a happy man that hath a wide and ſpacious heart, by walking in the Commaundements of God. As contrariwiſe, a ſmall and narrow Fire, ſo made by their owne bad and vile diſpoſition, that haue their hearts hardened, & cleſely ſhut vp againſt all goodnes (like to the forging Anuile) is made obſcure, darke, and torturing, euen according as the Sunne or Fire ſoftens or hardneth the diuerſity of thoſe ſubiects, that from eyther of thē do receiue their warmth or cooleneſſe. The Doctrine of the ſame Fire of bliſſe and torment, is not much varrying from the holy Scripture: becauſe in *Deuteronomy* it is

The opinion of the *Pythagorians*, concerning a great and ſmall Fire

The Fire of bleſſednes and torment, are anſwerable to the Scriptures.

called, a Fire deuouring; & in the same place also, a Fire, blessing, beautifying, and transforming. And in *Exodus* we reade, that the Law was giuen in a visible flame of Fire. *Quia ecce* (saith the Prophet *Esay*) *Dominus in igne veniet, & quasi turbo quadrigia eius, reddere in indignationem suum, & increpationem suam in flamma ignis. For behold, the Lorde will come with Fire, and his Chariots like a whirlewind, that he may recompence his anger with wrath, and his indignation with the flame of Fire.* For the iust and godly, he ordained the Fire from the Worlds first constitution, but to be to them, in ioy, splendour, and reioycing: which Fire also hee appointed for the wicked and rebellious, to bee to them a seuere affliction, torture, and punishment. But this tormenting Fire is ordained euerlasting; as not onely appeareth by the sentence of the highest Iudge, saying; *Goe ye wicked into euerlasting Fire*, But likewise by the Prophet *Esay*, who speaking of the Carkasses of them that had greatly sinned against God, saith; *Their Worme shall neuer dye, or their Fire euer be extinguished.* By which words, the Prophet plainly declareth both the one and the other torment; to wit, the Interiour, and Exteriour, and that they are both to be Eternall.

Esay 66, 15.

The Fire ordained for the good and wicked.

Math. 25, 41.

The inward and outward torment is Eternall.

Now presupposing this Fire to bee Eternall (according to the common receiued opinion) and our Soules and wicked apprehensions, or intelligences, being wholly separated from our Bodies, Saint *Gregory* makes a quicke riddance of it, in this Nature; *Imagine* (saith he) *this Fire to torment the wicked, as an Instrument of the supreame Iustice.* But yet he leaueth to bee presupposed, how this Fire should be an Instrument, and (in mine opinion) whether it tormenteth by his owne proper forme, or whether it bee agitated by some other means: as by a Sythe, or Hammer, cutting or smiting continually vpon the wicked? Assuredly, it is some-thing strange, that Saint *Gregory* hath beene doubtfull in this case; considering, that (else-where) he saith, *The Angels and Dæmons haue bodies, but yet so thinne and slender, as (in comparison of ours) they are said to be without bodies*; whereof (in this case) there need no difficulty to be made. Our latter Diuines, some of them are of opinion, that the wicked Spirits and Soules are tormented with a Corporeall Fire, as by an obiect most disproportionable, and greatly molestuous. And the *Academickes* hold, that all the euill *Dæmons* haue one body; whereunto consenteth Saint *Basile*, *Nazianzene*, and the ancient Doctours mutually, from whom Saint *Augustine* dissenteth not, neither is different. For he, in his Booke vpon *Genesis*, rendreth a reason, how the euill Spirits do become in that manner: *Because* (saith he) *they haue most subtile Bodies.* And a little after, he saith; *The Dæmons are Ayrie and Fiery Creatures, who being actiue, are not so thin or slender, as the Terrestriall and Watry Creatures.* Some others say, that not onely the Angels, but Soules also, being separated from their Bodies, haue ætheriall Bodies. But if wee had studied in Saint *Paules* Schoole, who had his enstruction in the third Heauen, we could easily vntye these knots. For he teacheth vs, that the warre between the Spirit and the Flesh, is denounced by such a Law, as whosoeuer conquereth, shall giue his properties and qualities to the vanquished, and the conquered shall be cloathed with the Nature of the Conqueror. Because of such as in the Spirit shall become victorious, he saith; *Cum autem mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, &c. When this corruptible hath put on incorruption, and this Mortall hath put on Immortalitie, &c.* And a little before; *It is sowen a sensuall or naturall Body, and is raised a spirituall Bodie.* So then, the Soule being cloathed with the Nature of the Body, shall be tormented by the Corporeall Fire; like as the Body, cloathed with the Nature of the Spirit, shall receiue Beatitude together with the Soule.

The consent of Saint *Basile*, *Greg. Nazianzene*, &c.

S. Augustin. in lib. sup. Genes.

Saint *Paules* enstruction in the third heauen, concerning the war betweene the Spirit and the Flesh.

1 Cor. 15, 44, 54.

S. Gregory his opinion of this Fire.

Saint *Gregory* his doubt.

Comparison of the Bodies of Angels and *Dæmons* with ours.

Origen, and the ancient *Academicks*, do assigne another punishment to the damned, and say: *It ensueth by a deordination or confusion of those partes, which ought to bee well ordained, disposed and assembled.* For like as when the Members of ones Bodie are disioynted or broken in their Nerues and Bones, we feele a generall torment and greeuous anguish: Euen so, when the Soule shall bee out of this order of Hermony, wherein it was Created by GOD himselfe to doe well, and liue profitably; she shall suffer

The iudegmēt of *Origen* and the *Academicks*

A very apt comparison.

suffer paine and punishment by that same deordination and confusion. Answerable to that which Saint *Augustine* saith: *Thou (ô Lord) hast appointed it, and it must be so, that euery disordered Spirit shall be a punishment to it selfe.* Of this torment that ariseth from the disorder of the Soule, which ought euermore to be concordant to God; many other things are said, not onely by S. *Hierome*, Saint *Augustine*, S. *Ambrose*, and diuers other Doctours; but likewise by *Proculeius*, *Hierocles*, and others, among whom, *Cicero* writing against *Cateline*, saith; *Thine owne iniquities, shall not they appeare like so many furies before thee?* The Prophets also say the very same: *Vnderstand* (saith *Ieremy*) *and know, that this is a most bitter and wretched thing vnto thee, because thou hast forsaken the Lord God.* And the same *Esay* affirmeth; *The Heart of the wicked Man* (saith he) *is like vnto the boyling Sea, which neuer can take rest, but as the billows, so do they redound and regorge, to his griefe and dolour; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord.*

August. de ciuit. Dei. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

Cicero cont. Catiline. Orat. 2.

The before-named Authors, doe describe another reason of this torment, which they gather to be engendred of a wicked Idoll or representation. For our soule or Spirit, calling to remembrance those thinges, whereof she imprinted some shape in her selfe, euen at the time when the sin was committed, shall see and discerne before her own eyes, some Histor (as it were) of her transgressiõs. And then must the conscience be hurried with her owne piercings, *The verie thoughts accusing one another* (saith the Apostle) whereof are begotten some torments, euen by those bad affectiõs. And they shall be punished by the hot fierie flame of wicked embracings, oblique loue, and selfe-wounding indignation: or by the pale-freezing fire of Enuy, or else consumed by frenticall sadnesse. It is no maruell then, if the supreme Iudge of all, doe thus torment the wicked in Hell, giuing them much greater paine, then the most cleare light, or brightest beames of the Sunne can do to bleared eies, scarrified or any way else offended: And with-holding also from them his benigne influence, whereby all thinges are filled with goodnesse, leauing them in their own vile deordination. For euen he himselfe, that will be seene (of the good and vertuous) to their ioy & comfort in the resurrection; will be likewise to those euill doers, their dismall paine and endlesse consumation.

Another reason of this tormenting Fire.

The Soule seeth an Historie of her owne offences.

The highest Iudge tormenteth the wicked in Hell.

This is that whereof the Prophet *Ezechiel* speaketh, saying that hee saw the Lord; *A lumbis eius & desuper, & à lumbis eius vsq; deorsum, vidi quasi speciem ignis splendentis in circuitu: Euen from his loynes vpward, euen from his loynes downeward, I saw as a likenesse of fire, and brightnesse round about.* The Lord then is one while a bright and beautifying fire, making the iust to glitter and shine, like to the Stars, or as sparkles of fire: another while, he is a boystrous storming Fire, to the Children of *Leuy*. One while he is a consuming fire of Wood & Straw, to wast, destroy, and ruinate (as *Ioell* saith) *Speciosa deserti, The Pastures of the Wildernesse*; that is to say, the wicked Actions committed by them that are forsaken by the Grace of God, and the heauenly influxion which would haue made them appeare bright and glorious: Another while also, he is a blacke burning and tormenting Fire, and as *Ioell* else-where saith; *Ante faciem eius ignis vorans, & post eum exureus flamma; A Fire deoureth before him, and behind him a Flame burneth.*

God is (to the good) ioy, and comfort, but to the wicked, endlesse sorrow. Ezechi. 1, 27.

God is one while a bright gladsom Fire, and another while a darke deouring Fire. Ioel. 1, 19.

Ioel. 2, 3.

Now whether this Fire be incorporeall or no, that only is best knowne to God, and yet *Origen* prooues it to bee inuisible, by the iudgement of the Apostle: *This Fire* (saith hee) *is of such substance, that being constituted inuisible, it yet burneth visible thinges, according as the Apostle saith.* For the things which Men see, are Temporall; and those which bee not seene, are Eternall. If then this Fire be Eternall where with they are punished that separate themselues from God: it falleth then vpon necessitie, that it must be also inuisible, because by the opinion of the Apostle, the onely thinges Inuisible, are Eternall. And it is not to bee *Wondred at*, (saith the same *Origen*) *that this Fire is both Inuisible and tormenting, because no Man can see the heate or warmth which is accedentall to the Body, and yet it measurably tormenteth them sometimes, that are but indifferently molested with that Fire, which is of a quite contrary sort or kind, to the Fire which we haue in common vse here on Earth.*

Whether this Fire be incorporeall or no. *Orig. in Hom 9.*

The fire eternall is Inuisible.

Orig. vbi supra.

Neuertheleſſe, it is compared to ours, in regard, that there is nothing in this world, which giueth a greater torment then the viſible Fire: and if we doe deſire to ſhun the other, which torméteth eternally, let vs take good heede, that there be no eternall euill diſpoſition in vs; but rather ſuch, as we may receiue the ſupreame Fire in ioy, or (at leaſt) in conſuming away our wood and ſtraw, the inordinate deſires and appetites of this life. And ſo by expurgation of the Scum, or Dregges and Droſſe of the Mettall; we may ſhine like bright Veſſels of pure Golde, fit to be placed in the Celeſtiall Clouds, and in the dwelling of the eternally bleſſed.

Nothing is of greater torment in this World, then our viſible fire

CHAP. VII.

Of Man (the Image of God) to what end he was created: with the ſignification of thoſe two words, Image of God, *and* Similitude or Likeneſſe of God.

When our good and gracious God, by admirable prouidence had Created the whole World, and all that therein is compriſed (which is nothing elſe, but euen a Shop (as it were) wherein the bright Beames of the Diuine Wiſedome doe ſhine and are made manifeſt.) Preſently, for a full accompliſhment of his worke, hee formed Man in his owne Image or reſemblance, to conſtitute him, as Emperour and Maiſter of all thinges that he had ſo excellently created on Earth. To the ende, that Man knowing the Dignity of his Creation, and how much hee was obliged to his Maker, might bee the more incited, to loue and ſerue him in al his powers, and ſhould imploy himſelfe in acknowledging ſo great a benefit, as to be made according to the ſemblance or Image of God. Not proudly to preſume or ouerweene, that the ſhape of God is anſwerable in forme to his owne; for this Word *Image* is not ſo vnderſtood, concerning the exteriour forme or ſimilitude: but rather, according to the ſpirituall intelligence, of the more precious part, which is the Soule.

The World is as the Shop of God, declaring his heauenly workes.

How Man is ſaid to be made after the Image of God.

For looke how God (by his increated power) is wholly God, and in all places viuifieth and gouerneth all thinges, and (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *Wee moue, liue, and haue our being in him*: Euen ſo, the Soule giueth life in the Body, to euery part thereof. And now behold how ſhe is ſaid to bee the *Image of God*, like as in a Trinity. For albeit, that (by Nature) ſhe can bee but one, yet it is moſt certaine, that ſhe hath in her ſelfe three ſeuerall Dignities; to wit, *Vnderſtanding*, *Will*, and *Memory*. And looke how the Sonne is begotten of the Father, and the Holy-Ghoſt proceedeth both of the one and other: In like manner, is the *Will* engendred of the *Vnderſtanding*, and *Memory* hath her procreation from them both. And euen as the three perſons of the Trinitie are but one God; ſo the three powers of the Soule, are but one only Soule. Seeing then that wee are Created in the ſemblance or likeneſſe of God, and that this is an vndoubted *Maxime*; *That euery like delighteth in his like*: Wee ſhould euermore wiſh, to bee vnited with our ſimilitude, which is God. And looke how much theſe earthly thinges are far off from God; euen as farre doe wee eſtrange our ſelues from him, when we ſet our affections on thoſe matters which are not giuen vs to vſe, as our cheefeſt good, or *Summum Bonum*: but to this end, that knowing the goodnes of the Creator, who hath ſo willinglie prouided vs of all things neceſſary, we ſhould be free from all occaſions of excuſe, and make the larger confeſſion of his benefits, powred in ſuch abundance vpon vs.

The three dignities that the Soule hath in her ſelfe.

Euery like taketh delight in his like.

Earthly matters are not giuen vs for our chiefeſt happineſſe.

Man then was Created, to the end that he might acknowledge his God, and in knowing him, to honour him; and in honouring, to loue him; and in louing, to ſerue and obey him: and all this to no other end, but that finally he might attaine to that end, for which he was created; to wit, the fruition of his God and Maker. For this cauſe, he made him with an erected and vpright Body; not ſo much for his diſſimilitude frō the brutiſh Beaſts, who are crooked, bended and looking downe vpon Earth: as to mount vp his vnderſtanding, and eleuate his eyes vnto the Heauens, his originall,

The end and intent of mans Creation.

The reaſon why GOD made Man of an erected ſtature.

ginall, to contemplate there Diuine occasions and permanent, leauing the Terrestriall as vaine.

But if we shall better and more largely declare, the difference, betweene the Image and similitude of God, to make some vnity and concordance betweene them; let vs then set downe the Exposition which *Hugo de Saint Victor* hath made thereon. *As in the Elements* (saith he) *two thinges are diuers in themselues, and the one far off differing from the other; as in the fire wee behold two dissenting things; to wit, brightnesse, and heate; the brightnesse not beeing heat, nor the heate brightnesse; because the brightnesse is seene and glittereth, and the heate is onely felt, yet burneth; the brightnesse not burning, or otherwise felt, but by sight, nor the heat shining, or to bee seene: Euen so, two diuers thinges are likewise to bee discerned in the spirituall Creature; namely, the Image of God, and the semblance or similitude of him, which two doe somewhat differ and are vnlike. For, according as the spirituall Creature is made in the Image of God, so she shineth by knowledge; that is to say, according to intelligence and vnderstanding, the spirituall Creature is the Image of God; And according as she is made in the likenesse of God, so she heateth her selfe by loue and dilection; that is, answerable to will and behauiour, she is semblable to God. Now, the Authour and Maker of this spirituall Creature, ordered, that one part thereof should alwaies remaine simple and wholly spirituall, as the Angels: and that the other should be commixed, as the Soule of Man which dwelleth in the Body.*

Hug. de S. Vict. in Lib. de interpret. de Imag. & simil. Dei.

Origen is of opinion, that the Image of Iesus is Man, and that for this cause it is said, that he is made in the Image of God: *For the Sonne is the Image of GOD.* Others are of the minde, that the Holy Ghost is vnderstood by the Word *Similitude*: but truely, in the Image, and in the likenesse of GOD, is nothing else meant, but that Man is also the similitude of God. Man is the Image of God, saith Saint *Paul*. This may likewise referre it selfe vnto nature; but Similitude or Likenesse must then order it selfe, by those thinges wherewith Nature is endewed; to wit, Immortality, Vertue, and Wisedome, which doe make a man like vnto God. *Thomas Aquinas*, that great and learned Diuine, expoundeth the present case in this manner. *Man is made in the Image and likenesse of God, according to his Soule, whereby he excelleth all vnreasonable Creatures. In the Image, that is to say; in* Memory, Intelligence, & Dilection. *In Likenesse, that is, in Innocency and Iustice, naturally disposed in the Soule.* Saint *Augustine* in his Book of the quantitie of the Soule, saith; *The Soule is made like vnto God, he hauing Created it immortall and indissolueable.* *Thomas Aquinas* proceeding on in his last Narration, hath these wordes. *The Image then, is as concerning the forme; and the Likenesse, is as concerning Nature. Whereby it appeareth, that Man is made (in regard of his Soule) according to the Image and Likenesse, not onely of the Father, or the Sonne, or the Holy-Ghost, but of the whole vndiuided Trinity together.*

Tho. Aquin. sup. 2. de sent. Dist. 16.

August. in Lib. de quant. anim. Cap. 2.

Thom. Aquin. in loco prædict.

But God bestowed vpon Man when hee Created him, three especiall good gifts, and principally to be made reckoning of. The first is, that he gaue him his owne Image. The second, that he made him after his own Likenesse. The third, that he gaue him Immortalitie of Soule, if Man had continued in the obedience of his Creator. *Which three great blessings* (saith *Hugo de S. Victor*) *were giuen by God vnto man, and both* (*Naturally, & by Originall Iustice*) *vnderstood then to be in him. Two other guifts also he enriched man withall, as exteriour benefits; the one, vnder him; the other, aboue him: Vnder him, the World; aboue him, God; the world, as a visible good, yet transitory; God, an inuisible good, and eternall.* In this neather guift (to wit the World) Man was created in the higher; that is, in God, Man is to be blessed. God hath beene and is aboue Man, by condition; and aboue the World in Dignity: diuiding himselfe from the inferiour world, to draw him vp to the Soueraigne and Superiour.

Three things concerning the word Image, and three for likenesse.

Three good guifts bestowed by God vpon Man in his Creation.

There are also three principall hurts or euils, which doe abuse and corrupt the three fore-named blessings; to wit, Ignorance of Goodnesse, Couetousnes of Wickednesse, and Infirmity or sicklines of the Body. Thorow Ignorance, the Image of God hath beene, and is defaced in vs; and so by Couetousnes, is the likenesse of God: By Infirmity & sickenesse, the Immortality of the Body. For these three diseases, there are likewise

Three euils that corrupt the three former goods.

All this whole discourse is taken out of *Hugo de S. Victor. Excerpt. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.*

Hug. de S. Vict. Excerpt. Lib. 1. Cap. 2. 3. 4.

Colos. 1, 15. Heb. 1, 3. 1 Cor. 11, 7.

1 Cor. 11, 7.

Three remedies against the three euils

wise three principall Remedies; to wit, *Wisedome*, *Vertue*, and *Necessity*; to the end, that by three Soueraigne helpes, three dangerous harmes may be auoyded. To ouercome Ignorance, we are to make vse of Wisedome; to Mayster the Vice of Auarice or Couetousnesse, we must imploy the contrary, bounteous Vertue; and with Necessity, to tread downe Infirmity. Wisedome, is to vnderstand things as they are, without idle curiosity: Vertue, is an Habitude of the Soule after Nature, conformable to Reason. I call Habitude a quality, which (without great difficulty) cannot be remoued from her place and Subiect. Euen as we tearme disposition to be another quality, which easilie is to be elbowed out of his abiding. By the Word Subiect, we vnderstand the vertue of the Soule, wherein the same Vertue (which is a Quality) maketh her residence. Necessity, which is tearmed Absolute, is, as when without it, nothing can be done: As, without feete a Man cannot goe; without food, he cannot liue; and without naturall sustenance, he must needes dye. There is another kinde of Necessity, which is called Conditionall: As, for a Mans easier trauailing, a Horse is expedient; and for a more delicate degree of Life, Partridges, Quailes, and other Dainties, may be accounted requisite.

The vse of the three Remedies, in their seuerall degrees.

Of absolute Necessity.

Of Conditionall Necessity

For these three forenamed Remedies, all Arts and Disciplines haue beene inuented: To attaine Wisedome, the *Theorique* (which is Contemplatiue) hath beene found out: For Vertue, the *Practique* (which is Actiue) came into vse: And for Necessity, the *Mechanicke* onely was inuented. For after that ADAM had sinned, He, his Children, and Kindred, were necessarily constrained to the search of thinges: to know Plants and Hearbs; to plucke vp roots and eate them, to labour the Earth, by the sweate of their Browes to get graine for food, and this Necessity they naturally learned, as afterward to grind the Graine, to make it in Paast to bee baked: to kill wilde Beastes, and feede on their Flesh, and then to cloth themselues with their Skinnes. To builde little Habitations, thereby to auoyde the iniury of Weather. To plant Vines, daily adding inuention vpon inuention, either in finding out diuersity of viands, and then as variable orders of dressing them. To erect big Houses, to beate with Hammers, to File, to Sowe, to make Garments of Linnen, Woollen, Silkes of sundry collours, and other admired kindes of Habit. To buy, sell, and Traffique one with another. And *Iohannes Ludouicus Viues* saith, in his Booke called *The Introduction to Wisedome: Vtile indumentum excogitauit necessitas, pretiosum, luxus, elegans, vanitas. Necessity found out Garments, profitable, precious, light, neate, and vaine.*

Theorique hath three partes; *Diuinity, Philosophy*, and *Mathematical* skil. *Practique* is diuided into solitarines, priuate and publique: Or else into *Ethicall*, *Oeconomicall*, and *Politicall*. There be also seauen kindes of *Mechanicall* order: whereof *Hugo de S. Victor* amply discourseth, and therefore to him I refer the Reader.

Io. Lod. Viues, in Introduct. Sap. Cap. 1. 4.

God then so dearely loued Man, that he assigned him the whole Worlde for his Country and dwelling. And euen to this day, in what part soeuer therof a Wise man trauaileth, he is said to bee (euery where) a free Cittizen: so that in all places, all thinges are his, and no where should he account himselfe eyther a Stranger, or to be Hosted. How much more then, was the first Man a Lord of all the World, and as the *Grecians* say κόσμοπόλιτες, Being the new workmanship of God, endued with all Vertues, Maister of all the Beasts of the Earth, of the Waters, and of the Ayre, with all Creatures to them belonging, he had the whole World (as his Inheritance) in Possession. And did not God declare a great signe of loue to him, when he diuided parts with him? Hee gaue him the Earth to walke vpon, as if he were Sole-Maister thereof, according as the Etimology of the word signifieth. For his Name in *Hebrew*, is אדם ERES, & is so said *à calcando*, of treading or going, *Veluti & Latini terram; quasi teram, à terendo nominant; Like as in Latine, Earth, smooth as it were, so named of often vsing.* Heauen he reserued to himselfe, as his more pure and perfect Habitation: *Cœli enim* שמים *dicuntur* SCAMAIM, *ab igni & aqua, quorum vtrumq; vim purgandi extergendiq; habet. For the Heauens are saide of Scamaim, of Fire and Water, in that they haue the vertue of both powers, in purging and clearing away all imperfections.*

Man is a free Cittizen of the whole world.

God diuided parts with Man.

Mans part.

The signification of Mans Name, in Hebrew and Latine.

Gods part.

S. Ambrose in lep. ad Sabin.

The Riches and blessings of which heauenly place; to wit, Celestiall Glory, and euerlasting Felicity; hee then made Man (neuertheless) partaker of, and all that are descended of him (I meane the Friends and Louers of God) where-

Man and his off-spring made partakers of the riches of heauē.

whereof they were absolutely assured, after that the first offence and transgression was repaired, by the second person in Trinity; who came into this World, and tooke on him the true forme and semblance of Man: and al the elect shal vndoubtedly inioy them, after that their Soules are deliuered from the Prison of their Bodies.

Psalm. 113,4.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Age of Man, and why in the first age of the World, Men liued longer, then now they doe in these later times.

In the first Age Men liued longer then now, by many yeares.

IT is well knowne, to all them that haue beene studious in the holy writings, that in the worlds first Age, and before the generall Deluge (for Sinne) had ouer-whelmed the whole Earth; the life time of Man was much differing in length, from the breuitie wherein wee now behold it. For it is most certaine, that ADAM liued nine hundred and thirty yeares; SETH, nine hundred and twelue; CAINE, or CAINAM (as some call him) nine hundred and ten. So descending afterward frō one to another, we find, that he that liued least time of account, attained to the reach of seauen hundred yeares. But now in these our daies, we see very few arriue at eighty, or ninety years of age: which date if any one happen to exceed, it is esteemed rare and maruailous; so that, we liue not the tenth part of the former life time. Wherefore the learned, both Diuines and naturall Philosophers, that haue seriously discoursed on this Argument, finding Nature (our productresse) to bee the very same teeming Mother with them then, and that those first Men liued naturally heere so long time, and not miraculously: they grew heereat into no little amazement, and therefore began to make curious Inquisition into the causes and reasons.

The shortest life time was seauen hundred yeares.

The iudgement of Diuines & Philosophers in this case.

Marcus Varro and others grew doubtful of the yeares in length.

To *Marcus Varro*, and an infinite number of other like Questionists, this worke of Nature appeared to bee so strange, that they grew into an imagination by themselues, supposing the yeares of that ancient time, to be none such as are in these moderne daies. But that coniecture was meere idle follie, and an error ouer great, as also inexcusable, vaine, & absurd, as shall be shewn in the following Chapter, after we haue first discoursed in this present, some causes, with the aduise of Graue, Wise, and Learned Authors.

When I looke into the Obseruations of others, and then make a discent from them into mine owne priuate opinion, I take the principall reason, why Men liue not now so long as ours Elders then did, to be this: That they had no such causes or accidents, as now (in vs) doe beget many infirmities, whereby both Age and Death doe soone steale vpon vs. Heere-withall it behooues vs to consider, that ADAM and EVE being the first Parents of all mankinde, were created by the hand of God, without any other meanes or helpe: wherefore it is to be presumed, that he made them of a most excellent complexion, perfect simpathy, and such proportionable humours, as must needes yeelde a reason for their healths continuance, so many years together. By means whereof, the Children that came from Parents of such rich perfection, and likewise their Off-spring succeeding to them againe, that naturally had the benefit of so long life, must needs resemble their first Deriuers, in selfe-same good and sound constitution, as being descended of most excellent matter; vntill such time, as by the alteration of Ages (whose propertie is to change & impaire all thinges) the condition of Man began feebly to decline, yeelding vp his dates to be few in number.

Our fore-fathers had no such infirmities as now we haue.

Adam and *Eue* made by the hand of God onely.

The alteration of Ages impaireth all things.

In those times also, they had one thing which greatly auailed for the lengthening of life, and which now to vs is very contrary & hurtfull. That was, great temperance in drinking, as well in quantity as in quality: Likewise their small variety of meates; for they neuer had so many sorts or diuersity of dishes, as now we haue; neyther knew they any such plenty of idle inuentions. Nor doe we any where finde, that the eating of Flesh was knowne (before the flood) to Men. Moreouer, it is held by common opinion (but yet most certaine) that

Temperance in drinking, and little change of meates.

Flesh not eaten before the Flood.

that Fruits and Hearbs (in thoſe times) were of farre greater vertue and ſubſtance (beyonde all compariſon) then now they are or can be; by reaſon they grew out of a new & vnwearied earth, and not any ſuch as now it is; weake, worne, and vtterly fainting. For that vniuerſall ouerflow and invndation, bereft it of his former purity and fatneſſe, making it more brackiſh, barren and vnfertile, by the Waters generall paſſage ouer it, which continued for many weekes together.

The Deluge made the Earth more barren then before.

Theſe reaſons are ſo weighty and iudicious, as each of them may be ſufficient to conclude (though many more be ranked with them) that it was no matter of maruaile, but rather meerely naturall, for Men to liue longer then, then now they doe or can. It is further to be obſerued, and we may boldly credit it for a truth, that ADAM was acquainted with the vertues, in all Hearbes, Plants, and Stones, and his Children ſo well profited therein by his inſtruction, as neuer could any (ſince then) attaine to the like perfection. All theſe then thus concurring; partly for the health and ſupport of life, and partly for continuance in ſoundeſt temperature, expelled all danger of diſeaſes to happen, onely by meere vſe of common growing ſimples, deteſting the venomous compounds of this Age, which in ſtead of purging and purifying Mens bodies, do weaken; yea, and oftentimes kil ſuch as take them.

Adam knew the vertue of all Hearbes, Plants, and Stones.

Beyond all this, in thoſe firſt yeares of the Worlds infancy, the health and life of Men, was much ſtrengthned and ſupported by courſe of the Heauens, as alſo the influence of the Starres and Planets; they being farre more beneficiall and auſpicious then, then now they are. For then there had not paſt half a quarter ſo many Aſpectes, Coniunctions, Eclipſes, with infinite other Cæleſtiall Impreſſions, whence haue come the cauſes of changes, variations, & ſtrange alterations vpon Earth, and among the Elements themſelues, that were the principall Motiues to life and health in thoſe daies; as contrariwiſe they are the occaſions of infirmities and death now. But to go ſomwhat further, then whatſoeuer yet hath beene ſaid, as grounded only vpon naturall reaſon; I dare maintaine, that the very cauſe of ſo long life in our fore-fathers, proceeded from the vnſpeakable prouidence of God; whoſe will it was, to haue their life time ſtretched out to ſuch length, and that the fore-mentioned occaſions, ſhould mutually be aiding one to another; this being the onely intent, that of two Sole-Perſons, many more might bee borne, the Earth inhabited, and mankind multiplyed.

The life of Man much holpen by the courſe of heauen.

The prouidence of God was the onely cauſe of our fore-fathers long life.

We ſee beſide, that Men liued not ſo long after the Flood as they did before, as being (perhaps) in Gods ſecret counſell ſo determined: yet NOAH was permitted to enter the Ark, and there God ſaued more Men and Women, then at the firſt he had created, that the World might yet againe be the ſooner inhabited. Saint *Auguſtine* diſcourſing on theſe matters, ſaith; *That our fore-fathers had not onely a benefit beyond vs, in health and length of life; but in the ſtature of their bodies, as manifeſtly is remembred of them in diuers Bookes.* And their Bones haue beene found vnder great Mountaines, as alſo in ſundry Graues & Sepulchers, which haue beene beleeued for a certainety, that thoſe Bones belonged to Men liuing before the Flood. The ſame Saint *Auguſtine* alſo affirmeth, that hee being at *Vtica*, a Citty of *Affrica*, ſawe there the Bones of a dead Mans Body, and the very Iaw-Bones were ſo big and weighty, that they would haue counterpoyſed them of an hundred Men, now liuing in this Age of ours.

GOD ſaued more in the Arke, then he created at the beginning.

Auguſt. de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 15.

The differēce of ſtature in out fore-fathers.

Aug. vbi ſupra.

Neuertheleſſe, although our life time be ſo ſhortned, yet we neede not make any complaint thereof, for in applying that breuity to euil manners, or offence of God, the Lord hath ſhewne himſelfe moſt mercifull to vs, in cutting off ſo large a limit, then which, we can acknowledge no greater a benefit. And yet, if we would deuoutly apply our ſelues to his ſeruice, he hath allowed vs (in this little) time enough for it. For ſo great is Gods goodneſſe and fauour towards vs, that he accepts our good deſires and humble wils, for full, ſufficient, and abſolute payment.

We haue no cauſe to complaine of our liues ſhortneſſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

¶ *That the opinion of such, as supposed the yeares in elder time, to bee shorter then now they are at this instant, is vtterlie false. Of the first Citty that euer was in this World. Finally, that our Auncient fore-fathers had more Children, then those which are remembred vnto vs in the holy Scripture.*

The doubt of some, concerning the years of our fore-fathers, to be shorter then now they are.

BEcause it hath seemed to some, that the life time of nine hundred years, in our first Parents, should bee a matter impossible, in regard that they could not comprehend, and reach to the causes and naturall reasons, which haue beene alleadged in the precedent Chapter, as the onely occasions of their so long continuance. And (in not daring to deny the iust number of so many yeares, euidently specified & maintained in sacred writ) they wold yet insinuate a supposition, that those elder yeares, were shorter, then in these Moderne times they are; whereby the aduantage of their long life (out-reaching ours so farre) comes much short of the opinion by vs receiued: we must therefore settle our selues, to a full resolution of these imaginary conceptions. And yet we will examine part of their follies, in that some others among them, would perswade and assure vs, that one of our yeares now, carries equall quantity with ten of those in old time. Nay, there be others, who haue maintained, that each monthly course of the Moone now, stood with them then for a full and compleate yeare, which they pleased to call by the name of *Annus Lunaris*.

One of our yeares now, supposed as long as ten of the first world

A yeare of a monthes length.

Other Dreamers bring in as dry an assertion, that three of our moneths, made them vp one whole yeare; by means wherof, one of our years should iump iust with foure of theirs: for in such manner did the *Chaldeans*, and likewise the *Arcadians* deuide their yeares, according as *Lactantius* recordeth. *Marcus Varro*, a *Romaine*, most learned in many matters, only (heerein) is somewhat blame-worthy, because he held, that these *Anni Lunares*, deriued their number from one Moones coniunction vntill the comming of another new Moone, which may consist of twentie nine daies, and some odde houres beside. *Pliny* likewise esteemes it but as a fable, that Men (in the Worldes none-age) should liue so long; and saith, that the *Arcadians* (according as wee haue already declared) numbred their yeares by three of our months. There is also among vs Christians, a certaine Booke of the Ages of the World; the Authour nameth himselfe *Heliconiensis*, wherein he witnesseth himselfe to be of the same opinion.

Lactan. in 2. Lib de Diuinarum Institutionum.

Pliny held the long life of our fore-fathers for a fable.

Heliconiensis of the same mind

Notwithstanding all this, it is a case most plaine and apparant, that those yeares deliuered vs in holy Scripture, were none other, then these are in our time, and if there might be imagined any difference, yet it was not sensibly to be perceiued: and therefore, all opinions held to the contrary, are vaine, ridiculous, and meerely foolish. For it is so directly prooued by *Iosephus*, as also *Lactantius Firmianus*, but especially S. *Augustine*, in a more distinct and better manner, whose reasons and authorities, are sufficient to confound all former grosse and false opinions.

Lib. 1. de Antiquit. Cap. 2. August. Lib 2. & 15. de Ciuit. Dei.

Concerning the first allegation; to wit, that each seuerall Moone (in that Age) made them vp a full compleat yeare, accounting alwaies from the one coniunction to the other: how can this be but an impudent error? Because we know very certainly, that so much time doth not containe fully thirty daies: Which being graunted as they argue, then it must needes follow, that Men in this present Age doe liue longer, then they did vpon the worlds Creation, for neuer any Man liued then, twelue hundred yeares, which (by such account) nothing surmounteth this Age of ours. And yet it is to bee iustified, that some (among vs) haue liued an hundred years; some also (though fildome) an hundred & twelue yeares: which would amount to more then thirty hundred yeares, if wee should account them so by the course of the Moone.

That euery Moone made a yeare.

No Man liued one thousand two hundred yeares.

We may well ioyne this to their errour, whose opinion was, that ten of those elder yeares, did make vp fully but one

Ten old years supposed to be but one of ours.

one of ours now. But might their coniecture passe for currant, then Men should bee capable of Generation, at seauen, eyght, and ten yeares of age, which is quite contrary to all naturall Philosophy. To approoue this, wee read in *Genesis*, that SETH the Sonne of ADAM begat ENOCH, he being then an hundred and fiue yeares old. If ten of those yeares, had answered (by equall proportion) but to one of ours now; it must needs then follow, that Men in the Worldes first Age, did beget Children, at ten yeares old and a halfe of our instant account. CAINE also begetting MELALEELL at seauenty yeares of his age; by our reckoning, must needes be a Father at seuen yeares old of our time: Nay, we must fall to a farre lower account, if one of our yeares should hold leuell with twelue of the first Age, according to some others idle imagination.

Gen. 5, 6.

Gene. 5, 12.

But more cleerly will we yet reueale their grosse absurditie, & by that which ensueth, squash in peeces their vnexcusable errour. For if their ancient yeare were but the tenth or twelfth part of ours now; it must then consequently ensue, that their yeare then consisted not of twelue months, or (at most) that their month had but three daies in it. Which is apparantly false, because the manifest Text of the Scripture saith: That the generall Flood began the seauenteenth day of the second month; whereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Months then, were none other then now ours are. As for the opinion of them, who hold, that the old year made but the fourth part of our Moderne account, and that their yeare consisted but of three months onely: the selfe-same Scripture doth approoue it likewise to be false, because in the fore-named place it is said, concerning *Noahs* Arke; *That in the seuenth month, in the seuenteenth day of the month, the Arke rested it selfe on the Mountaines of* Ararat, *or* Armenia. Afterward followeth, that the Waters still decreased vntill the tenth Month, and the very first day of that Month, the heads and tops of the Mountaines, each where discouered themselues. This very plainly demonstrates their abusiue opinion, that would haue the Ancient year to be but three months long; because

An answer to a most grosse absurdity, concerning the old yeare.

Gene. 7, 12.

Gene. 8, 4.

That the auncient yeare should be but three Months long.

because mention is heere made, both of the seauenth and tenth Moneths. We may well see then, that the yeare in that Age had twelue Months, according as in these times our yeare now hath; for when hee there nameth the tenth Moneth, he doth not tearm it to be the last Month.

With as little discretion it is saide, that the Moneth then contained but three daies only; considering, the Text it selfe expresly nameth the twenty seauen day of the Month: Much lesse then could it be saide, that the day consisted then but of two or three houres, because it is likewise set down in the same Text; *That the Windowes of Heauen were opened, and the raine was vpon the Earth, the full space of forty daies and forty nights.* Whereby it remaines very euident, that those daies were naturall daies, of xxiiij. houres in length, and the Monthes and yeares so long as now they are; or the difference so small, that it was not sensible. I speake this the rather, because they then accounted the course of Heauen, as now we do, and this order hath euermore beene obserued among the learned, as well *Hebrues* as *Ægiptians:* among whom *Moyses* was borne and bred, who was the Author & Historiographer of those holy Bookes, wherein the long liues of our fore-fathers are written.

That the Moneth should be but three daies onely.

Gen. 7. 11, 12

The *Hebrues* and *Egyptians* obserued the same order we doe.

Now, albeit we should consent to the censure of many, who did holde, that the *Hebrues* measured their months by the ordinary course of the Moone, and that the full year contained then twelue *Lunary* Months, and each Month had in it twenty nine daies, and foureteene houres; little more, or little lesse, by which reason, the yeare should be shorter by twelue daies, then that which we now measure by the course of the Sun; to wit, three hundred, threescore, fiue daies and sixe houres: yet cannot this difference (any way) make doubtfull or vncertaine, the Liues and Ages of our elder Fathers. For it is a matter of no moment, that in nine hundred or a thousand yeares, twenty or thirty should be exempted, because the *Lunary* month was not compleated in thirty daies. By this authority then, we may be assured, that the nine hundred and thirty yeares which ADAM liued, and the nine hundred

The obseruation among the *Hebrues*.

The true measuring of the yeare.

dred likewise of others, were such as the hundred seauenty and fiue of *Abraham*, and as the seuenty or eighty which men liue now-adaies; for whosoeuer beleeueth otherwise, is in a mighty error.

Moyses and the Euangelists obserued one Method in their Histories.

August. de Ciuit de lib. 15. ca. 9.

There is also another consideration to be noted, alleaged by S. *Augustine* to this purpose. *Put the case* (saith he) *that the Scripture makes no mention, that Adam and his Sonnes had any other Children, before them which are expresly named: yet is it most certainely to be affirmed, that both (before and after) they had diuers and sundry beside, for they had Children in their yonger daies, whereof no mention is made in Scripture.* And to make more ample proofe thereof, it is saide; *That Caine built a Citty*, the first that euer was in the World, according as *Iosephus* reporteth, saying; *That it was beautified with diuers Towers, engirt with wals, and he called it after the Name of his Son Enoch, which was then but newly borne vnto him.* This may appeare to haue small shew of truth, there being then in the world but three or foure Men onely; for the Scripture makes mention to vs of no more. But well we know, that to the building of a Citty, the help of a great nũber of men is necessarily required: yet notwithstanding, the Text names but the principall heades of the builders; as appeareth, in saying; That their Sons & Daughters begat diuers others, which in no place of Scripture are named at al. We see, that the holy Euangelists haue done the very like, in setting down their Euangelicall Hiſtory. For S. *Mathew*, treating of the Genealogy of Christ, according to the flesh, beginneth at *Abraham*, and numbring on to *Dauid*, saith; *Abraham* begat *Isaac*, neuer speaking of *Ismaell*. Then afterward, *Isaac* begat *Iacob*, yet sayes nothing of *Esau*; albeit they were their first borne Children. Because, he hauing no other intention, but to descend from one degree to another (euen to *Dauid*) who was not of the Linage of *Ismael*, therefore he made no reckoning of *Ismaell*. Then againe, *Iacob* begat *Iuda*, and his Bretheren, yet was not *Iuda* the first borne Childe. So that discoursing thus of the Generation, he accounted none but them onely, by whom he descended iust to *Dauid*. A proofe sufficient, to encite all Aduersaries to beleeue, that *Moyses* did the like in his Hiſtory, and that our fore-fathers had diuers other Children, beside those which are spoken of, and named in the holy Scriptures.

Adam had more Childrē then those that are recorded in Scripture.

Gen. 4, 17.

Ioseph. in Lib. 1. de Antiquit.

One is not able to builde a Citty of himselfe.

The obseruation of the Euangelists in the Genealogy of Christ.

CHAP. X.

Wherefore the Deuil made choise of the Serpents shape when he tempted the first woman, and came not to her in any other forme.

The Deuils inueterate hatred against Man.

THe proud Angell, first Author of all euill, beeing cast downe from Heauen, cunningly coueting to traine himselfe into Mans society, because hee was falne from Heauen, thorow his insolent offence, therefore his hatred not a litle against him; & to the end that his subtilty might be the more couert, he made choise of a Serpent in the Terrestriall Paradise, where, with *Adam* and his Wife, all other earthly Creatures orderly conuersed, not hauing any discord together, or being any way harmfull, but all (as well the sauage as domesticke) acknowledged man for their Lord & Maister, to serue his turn withall. For this Serpent, being a glyding Creature, that could turne and writh it selfe euery way; This false Angell (as S. *Chrysostome* saith) *Found to be best fitting for his hellish enterprise and deuillish intended worke, to bee his Organe to speake by.* And hauing (in spirituall mallice) subiected this Serpent to himselfe, by meanes of his Angelicall presence, & more excellent Nature, abusing it as an Instrument of falshood and treachery, he would thereby speak to the woman, addressing himselfe first of all to her, she being the weaker body, and least able to resist him.

Chrysost. sup. Gen. Hom. 15.

The Deuill durst not presume to meddle first with *Adam*.

For hee knew his strength was ouerfeeble, and his craft as yet scarse currant to deceiue the Man, but he must needes faile; except he could seduce him by the error of another. For as *Salomon* took it to be no errour, when he fell to the seruice of Idols, and became an Idolatour, through the perswasions of Women his Concubins; So *Adam* cõmitted the offence of transgressing Gods commandemẽt, not as she did that spake the truth beeing seduced; but as hee yeelded for

company; wherein he was no leſſe faulty, hauing ſinned with conſent and perfect knowledge.

This wicked Angell (perhaps) had a better will to haue come to the woman in the ſhape of a Doue, if God would ſo haue permitted it. But venerable *Bede* ſaith: *It was not lawfull for the euill Spirit, to make that forme odious to Man, wherein the Holy-Ghoſt onely ought to appeare. It is not to be thought* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *that the Deuill did (of himſelfe) chuſe the Serpent, to tempt thereby: but (as his deſire was to tempt) hee could not, but by ſuch a Creature, as was permitted him ſo to doe.* For will to hurt may be in any one, but the power commeth from God: he was therefore permitted to tempt by the Serpent, to the end, that therin the woman might take heed of his ſubtilty that tempted. And for this cauſe it is written; *Sed et Serpens erat callidior cũctis animantibus terræ; The Serpent was more ſubtile, then any Beaſt of the Field.*

The Serpent vnderſtandeth no words, neither was partaker of reaſon, like as Man was: yet is hee (notwithſtanding) called, moſt crafty, in regard of the ſubtilty of the Deuill. He hath ſpoken, like as *Balaams* Aſſe did; but it was by the Deuill, and the Aſſe by the good Angel. For good Angels & euill Angels work like operations, but then they are to diuers effects; *Before the Serpent was made the Deuils Organe* (ſaith *Rupertus*) *for the perdition of man, he might haue beene tearmed moſt wiſe and prudent.* For in another edition of the Bible, it is thus ſet down; *And the Serpent was wiſe aboue all the Beaſts, &c.* But after that the Serpents wiſdom was combined with the malice of the Deuill, and that it ſerued as an apt Inſtrument for death; he might (by better right) be tearmed cautelous and crafty. And before that his prudence lent any ayde and ſeruice to the Father of lying, he was ſuch as the Diſciples of *Ieſus Chriſt* ought to imitate, as he himſelfe witneſſeth, ſaying; *Eſto te ergo prudentes, ſicut Serpentes; Be ye therfore wiſe, as Serpents.*

Petrus Comeſtor, in his Scholaſticall Hiſtory ſaith; *That at the time when the Serpent tempted the Woman, he was ſtraite, and went vpright like a Man; but afterward (by the curſſe) he was caſt down to the earth, to glide along thereon.* Venerable *Bede* ſaith; *The Deuill choſe a Serpent, that had a face like to a Womans, Quod ſimilia ſimilibus applaudunt; That like might bepleaſing to like.* Nor is the Serpent crafty or venomous, becauſe God ſaid; *Maledictus es, Thou art curſſed:* But God (euen in iudiciary equity) denounced him that ſentence for his wicked deſert, and declared, that he was made odious to all the other Beaſts and creatures of the earth. And why? Becauſe he had bin the Deuils Miniſter, to the perdition of him, who had bin Created to Signorize and beare Maiſtry ouer all Beaſtes in the World. *Pythagoras* tels vs, that the Serpent is engendred of the Marow which is in the Back-bone of a dead Man. And I remember, that (not long ſince) I read a good Authour, from whom I collected theſe two verſes:

(Sepulchro,
Sunt qui cum clauſo putrefacta eſt ſpina
Mutare credant humanas angue medullas.
Of putred Marrow in the backs
of men, long lying dead
In Graues, ſome hold that Serpents,
for a certainty are bred.

If this be credible (as ſome haue very conſtantly auouched) a very great reaſon may be thence deriued; to wit, that as the death of Man enſued by the Serpent, ſo the Serpent receiueth life by the death of Man. Moreouer, it is neceſſary to bee knowne, and well worth the obſeruation: that thoſe paines and puniſhments, pronounced by God vpon the Serpent, he did in like manner ordaine for the Deuill, according as *Rupertus* expoundeth them in this manner. *Sub nomine Serpentis, quem inuaſit Diabolus, ipſe percutitur, & qui per ſuperbiam ſuam ſimilem ſe altiſſimo fore putauit, propter malitiam ſuam infimæ Creaturæ quam ipſe vitiauit, iudicatur fieri pœnaliter ſimilis. Super pectus tuum gradieris inquit, tanquam diceret. Sicut hoc reptile cuius calliditate abuſus es, ſuper pectus ſuum graditur; ſic tu Diabole cum ſis rationalis ſpiritus, rationale tuum ſemper graui fatuitate onerabis, & quocunque te verteris, ſemper intentionem tuã deorſum conteres, & factis premes contrarijs. Terram inquam cõmedes, & non Cælum, id eſt, non quorum conuerſatio in cælis eſt, ſed qui terrena ſapiunt, tibi cibus tuus erunt. Vnder the Name of the Serpent, whereby the Deuill*

Ven. Beda. in Allægor. ſup. Bib.

Aug. ſup. Geneſ. ad lit. lib. 11. Cap. 4.

Gen. 3, 1.

The Serpent vnderſtandeth no words.

Numb. 22, 28.

Rupert. ſup. Geneſ. Lib. 3. Ca. 2.

The Serpents wiſedome ioyned with the Deuils malice

Math. 10, 16.

Pet. Comeſtor. in Hiſt. Schol. ca. 2

Ven. Beda. in Allegor. ſup. Bib.

The Serpent is not ſubtile or venomous, in regard of the curſſe.

How the Serpent is engendred.

The Serpent receiueth life by the death of Man.

Rupert ſup. Geneſ. Lib. 3. ca. 5.

The Deuill is smitten by the selfe-same meanes of his temptation.

Deuill made his inuasion, himselfe is smitten. And because (in his own pride) he imagined to bee afterward like vnto the most high: for his malicious dealing, by the meanest Creature which he abused, to the same punishments is he adiudged. Vpon thy breast, said God, shalt thou go. As if he would haue said: Like as this creeping Creature, whose wilinesse is abased, is to goe vpon his breast or belley; So (thou Deuill) because thou art a rationall Spirit, shalt alwaies beare the weighty burthen of thine owne reasonable folly. And which way soeuer thou turnest thee, thine intentions shall euermore be spent in vaine downward, and be still trodden vpon by contraries. Earth (I say) shalt thou eat, and not Heauen; That is, not such as haue their conuersation in Heauen, but such as trust to their earthly knowledge; they shall be as meat vnto thee. And then it followeth in the Text; *Inimicitias ponam inter te & mulierem, & semen tuum, & semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum, & tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius. I will put enimity betweene thee and the Woman, and betweene thy Seed and her Seed: He shall break thine head, and thou shalt bruise his heele.*

Gene. 3, 15.

Great enmity betweene the Womans seed and the Serpent.

Great enmities (in very deed) haue the Woman and her seed with this kind of creature; to wit, the Serpent. The seed of the Woman, that is *Iesus Christ*, who hath broken the head of that auncient Serpent the Deuill, As much to say; as the very print of his steps, hath abased al his vtmost practises. If the Woman do not daily actually break the head of the Serpent; yet is it neuertheless in her power continually to do it. For, if the naked sole of the foote of the Woman, can preuent the teeth of a Serpent; or, treading vpon his head neuer so lightly, forthwith he instantly dyeth: what shal we then say, when the like is not to bee done (so soone and readily) by great leuers, Mallets, and Hammers, nor yet by Swordes, how sharpe soeuer they be? If on the contrary againe, the Serpent (who is so hainous to Man, that all his ayme is at his heele) do but fix his teeth on the neather part of the sole of the foor, he presently kils the man; because so soone as the venome of his bit dooth but touch the blood of a Man, it disperseth it selfe immediatly ouer all the body, and so the Serpent kils the enemy to his Nature, which is Man:

The naked sole of a Womans foote, is present death to a Serpent.

A Serpent byting a man by the sole of the foote, forthwith kils him.

Wherevpon the Poet *Lucan* said;

Noxia Serpentum est admixto sanguine pestis,
Morsu virus habent, et fatū in dente minantur.
So hartfull are the Serpents teeth,
they pestilent the blood
Of Man in byting, and his death
can hardly be withstood.

Lucan Lib. 9.

Why then, looke how many kindes of Serpents there be, so many seuerall venoms there be, so many colours, so many torterings; and as many diuersities, so many dangers; yea, so many deaths. It shall not be any great swerving from the matter, if now wee declare (in this place) what is signified by the flaming Sword, and the Cherubins set for the safety of Paradise. We vnderstand by the flaming Sword, the sentence of the Iudgement of God, which is said to be flaming: *In flamma ignis dabitis vindictam*; *In flaming Fire rendring vengeance*, saith the Apostle. Vndoubtedly, the Iudgement of GOD, is the Iudgement of the flame of Fire, for auengement of them that haue liued wickedly. *Cherubin*, is the Name of the Angelicall forces, that were placed without the Garden of Paradise, to guard the entrance to the Tree of Life; plainely to demonstrate, that wee cannot haue accesse to the Kingdome of Heauen, except we first passe through the fierie tryals of infinite afflictions, and be examined by the Ministry of the holy Angels. Saint *Paule* saith; *Si quis autem superaedificat super fundamentum hoc, aurum argentum, lapides pretiosus, ligna, fœnum, stipulam: Vniuscuiusque opus manifestum erit, dies enim Domini declarabit, quia in igne reuelabitur, & vniuscuiusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit. And if any Man build on this Foundation, Gold, Siluer, precious Stones, Timber, Hay, Stubble: Euery Mans worke shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall bee reuealed by the Fire, and the Fire shall try euery mans worke, of what sort it is.* How can wee otherwise gather from these wordes, but that they may bee applied to the Flaming Sword, placed at the entrance of earthly Paradise? As signifiing, that we must passe through the fires of many sharp afflictions, which try our actions to the vttermost; how, and in what maner they haue bin done; and being thus examined in those fierie tryals,

So many kinds of Serpents, so many perils to mans life.

Of the flaming Sword.

2 Thes. 1, 8.

Of the Cherubins.

1 Cor. 3, 12, 13.

His application of the flaming Sword, to our passage through many fiery afflictions.

the words of the *Pſalmiſt* may be ſpoken to vs. *Quoniam probaſti nos Deus, igne nos examinaſti, ſicut examinatur argentum. For thou (ô God) haſt prooued vs, thou haſt tried vs, as Siluer is tryed.*

Pſal. 66, 10.

And by good reaſon are the Angels there placed, called *Cherubins*; that is to ſay, *Fulneſſe of Knowledge*: becauſe they are filled with Knowledge to Iudge, knowing whatſoeuer is written of vs in the Books; that is to ſay, they haue ſtored vp in memory whatſoeuer we haue done, either good or euill. They read them ouer daily, & at length, wil be rehearſed that which is written in thoſe Bookes, according as it is ſaid in *Daniel*; *And the Bookes were opened.* The Fire of this brandiſhed flaming Sword, is vnacceſſible of vs Mortals. For they that haue gone vpward the Riuer of *Nylus*, to finde the Spring thereof, haue beene hindred from the effect of their deſire, in regard of a ſmouldring fiery vapour, which they haue not beene able to endure: as *Lucan* ſaith, diſcourſing on the fiue *Zones* of Heauen; *Nilum videre calentem*; *It is hot to ſee Nylus.*

Why the Angels are called Cherubins.

Dan. 7, 10.

Lucan Lib. 10.

And becauſe we are entred into this diſcourſe, which appertaineth ſo eſpecially to the third Chapter of *Geneſis*; let mee not forget, what I haue not long ſince read, in an *Italian* Authour, called *Leo Hebraico*, a great Philoſopher, who in his Philoſophy of *Loue*, doth make an Allegoricall and Morrall ſenſe of moſt of that Chapter, which out of *Italian* I haue thus tranſlated. The Serpent (ſaith he) is the carnall Appetite, which inciteth and firſt deceiueth the Corporall Feminine part. It is called Corporall, when it is found any way deuided from the intellect, which is tearmed the Huſband, reſiſting againſt his ſtrict & ſeuere Lawes, to acquaint her ſelfe with carnal Delectations, and darken her Natiue ſplendour, with acquiſition of ſuperfluous and abounding riches or treaſures. Then by ſenſuality (which is the Tree of knowing good and euill) ſhe ſhewes him thereby, that their eyes are to bee opened; that is to ſay, that they would know many thinges of that Nature, as thoſe are, which is ſhewne them in the Tree of good and Euill, and (which before) they knew not at all; to wit, many ſubtilties, cautels, and other notices, appertaining to Lubricity and Auarice.

Leo Hebraico in his Philoſophy of *Loue.*

See Saint *Ambroſe*, his 42. Epiſtle, where he declareth, wherefore *Moyſes* figured carnall delectation in the ſemblance of the Serpent.

See alſo the ſame Author, in his Book of Paradiſe. *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 15.

Hereof they neuer dreamed before, vntill it was tolde them, that they ſhould be herein like vnto God; to wit, in an abounding Generation. For, as God is the intelligent, and the heauens are productiue cauſes of Creatures to Men heere on earth: euen ſo man, by means of continuall Carnall Meditations, attaineth to the encreaſing of a great Linage. In which point, the Feminine bodily part, not only ſuffers her ſelfe to be ruled and guided (as reaſon requireth) by her vnderſtanding Husband: but ſhee drawes him further alſo, euen into the quagmire of Corporall occaſions, to eate (with her) the Fruite of the forbidden Tree. Whereupon, immediatly their eyes are then opened, not onely their intellectuall eyes, (which they ſhould rather ſtill haue kept cloſed) but thoſe beſides of corporall fantaſie, concerning carnall and laſciuious actions. And by this meanes, they perceiue thẽſelues to be naked; that is to ſay, they know the diſobedience of carnall deeds to the Intellect: and therefore, procure to couer the Generatiue Members, as ſhamefull Rebels to reaſon & wiſdome.

God is the intelligent, and the Heauens the producing cauſes of Creatures.

Afterward it is ſaid, that hearing the voyce of God, immediatly they hid themſelues; as much to ſay, that knowing and acknowledging what Diuine thinges they had forſaken, they grew aſhamed, and ſo ſubſequently to ſin, ſucceeded the pain. Alſo the holy Hiſtory, doth ſeparately recite the appointed puniſhments; of the Serpent, of the Woman, and of the Man. The Serpent was curſſed, beyond any other beaſt or creature, to crawle along vpon his belly, and to eate duſt all his life time; enmity being put betweene the Woman and her race on the one ſide, and the Serpent & his race on the other ſide. So that Man ſhould breake the head of the ſaide Serpent, and the Serpent bruiſe the heele of the Man. Whereby may bee vnderſtood, that the carnall appetite of Man, is much more immeaſurable, then in any other Creature. And whereas the Serpent drags his belly on the earth, it implyeth, that hee thereby makes the hart of man to encline to earthly things, ſhunning ſuch as bee high and heauenly. And to eate duſt all his life time, becauſe hee nouriſheth himſelfe with thoſe thinges which are more baſe and abiect

After Sin the puniſhment neceſſarily enſued.

The Serpent curſſed, and no Creature elſe.

The reaſon why the Serpent drags his belly on the earth, and what is thereby ſignified.

and abiect then duſt. As for the hate & enmity betweene them; it ſignifieth, that the carnall appetite ſoileth the corporall part, & defaceth it by ouer-flowing exceſſe, whereby doe enſue many bodily imperfections; as alſo diuers kinds of death. Likewiſe, by this means, the carnall appetite becommeth defeated, enfeebled, looſing it ſelfe by the intemperance of the complexion, and diſeaſes of the body.

The Woman ſentenced to plurality of paines.

As for the Woman, who was puniſhed by plurality of paines in her Conceptions, & to bring forth her children with teares and lamentations, and yet to haue deſire to her Husband, he hauing the only abſolute power ouer her: Of this we may ſay, that a laſciuious life procureth the anguiſh of the Body all pleaſures to be dolorous, & their whole race or off-ſpring filled with pain, trouble and afflictions. Neuertheleſſe, ſhe louing the Intellectuall part, as beeing her Husband: in him remaines the intellectuall power (aboue her) to rule and temper it, apteſt to the actions of the body. In the next place commeth the Man, who hauing heard and giuen conſent to the wordes of his Wife, and eaten the fruite of the forbidden Tree; he muſt alſo be puniſhed. God ſaid vnto him, that the earth ſhould be accurſſed for his ſake; In trauaile and paine ſhould he Till it all his life time; It ſhould bring forth Thornes and Thiſtles to him; He ſhould feede on the Hearbs of the field, and eate his Bread in the ſweate of his Browes, vntill hee were returned into that earth, frō whence he had bin taken.

The ſentence pronounced againſt the Man.

Terreſtriall thinges are dangerous to the vnderſtanding part: as appeareth in the degrees of Mans puniſhments.

Hereof we may eaſily apprehend the Moral meaning; to wit, that Terreſtriall thinges are curſſed to the Intellect. They are meats of ſadneſſe, greefe, and heauineſſe; that is to ſay, they ſtriue to make Immortality partaker of Mortall things, and (by accident of earthly actions) they do wound and pierce that ſupreame part, euen with Thornes, as it were. His food ſhould be the Graſſe & Hearbs of the field (which meat belongeth only to brute Beaſtes) becauſe he gaue ouer his better life, ſoly to ſenſuality. Then, if he will eate any Bread, he muſt do it in the ſweate of his Browes, labouring and trauailing: As much to ſay; As, if he haue a deſire to eate Mans meat, & not that as the Beaſts do; or, if he would differ from them in manly actions; it ſhould be very difficult for him ſo to doe, becauſe of the contrary habitude, which he had already taken in brutiſh ſenſuality. It is alſo ſaide vnto him, that all theſe perturbations ſhal happen to him for his ſin, vntill ſuch time as he returne into the earth, from whence he was at firſt deriued. And ſo much the rather, becauſe beyond all other thinges, (created only Mortall) he was made immortall: yet coueting to be but Earth and Duſt (in hunting after Corporall ſinnes) this is the occaſion that he muſt returne into duſt, euen as he was at the beginning, reſembling (in Mortality) the other Beaſts of the earth. Whereby we gather, the pain & damnatiō of him, that giues himſelfe wholy to ſenſuality.

Sin the onely cauſe of Gods ſeueritie againſt Man.

The Text continuing on, ſaith; that *Adam* named his wife *Euah*; which name by Interpretation, is a talking, babling *Creature*: And *Wife*, becauſe ſhee was the Mother of all things. To let vs vnderſtand, that he named the Corporall part by a name common to brute beaſts, in regard ſhe was the cauſe, to produce all brutiſh abuſe in Man. It denoteth withall, that God ſubiected their Intellect, and (of Contemplatiue) it became Actiue, baſely to vnderſtand and liſten to the Bodies actions. Heerevpon they began to enſtruct their vnderſtanding in Arts, to make Garments of Beaſtes skins to couer them. Then are they expulſed out of Paradiſe, to goe labour in the Earth; that is to ſay, Contemplation was taken from them, and they muſt now vnderſtand Terreſtriall things: neuertheleſſe, power was yet left them, to eate of the Tree of Life, and ſo to liue eternally. To which effect the Text ſaith; *That God placed on the East ſide of Paradiſe, the Cherubins and the flaming Sword, to guard the way of the Tree of Life.* Where, the *Cherubins* doe ſignifie the two Angelicall intelligences concerning Man; to wit, the Agent, and the paſſible. And the flaming Sword which ſhaketh without Intermiſſion, ſignifieth our humaine fantaſie; who returning from the Corporal, to ſeek the glorious light of the ſpirituall, games thereby this perſwaſion; that at length, leauing the corrupt way of Duſt and Aſhes, ſhe may humbly attain the ſpirituall way to the Tree of Life, to liue in Eternity Intellectually.

The interpretation of the womans name

Man bereft of Contemplation, is left ſubiect to earthly occaſions.

Of the *Cherubins*, and the fleming ſword

CHAP. XI.

Of Death, and that God neuer was the Maker or Authour thereof.

AFter that our firſt Parents were expelled out of Paradiſe, they were brought vnder the ſubiection of Sin and Death, and (in them) all their whole poſterity therevnto appointed. For *Death* is common to all Men, as it is ſaid in the Law *Licet*, in *Code, De pact is*. And all Men muſt dye, concerning their Bodies. The Royall Prophet *Dauid* ſaith; *Quis eſt homo qui viuet, & non videbit mortem? What Man liueth, and ſhall not ſee Death? Statutem eſt omnibus ſemel mori; It is ordained to all Men once to dye*: So ſaith the bleſſed Apoſtle Saint *Paule*: And a Greeke Poet ſaith;

Βροτῖς ἅπασι καὶ θανεῖν ὸ φείλεται.
All Mortall men to dye is neceſſary.

Death (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, in his Booke againſt the *Pelagians*) *Is nothing elſe but a priuation of life, hauing a Name, and no Eſſence*. As hunger is ſaid to bee defect of food; Thirſt, lacke of Drinke; Darkneſſe, the abſence of Light: euen ſo, *Death* is but a Name for want of life. There may be another diffinition made of naturall Death, as to ſay; that it is the ſeparation of the Soule and the Body, and *Plato* makes vs ſuch a diffinition thereof: As in like manner doth *Aulus Gellius*, ſaying; σάματος καὶ ψυχῆς διάλυσις. Death then hauing a Name without Eſſence, God was not the Creator thereof, neither cauſe nor Authour, for all things that God made, had Eſſence. Which tearme of Eſſence, comprehendeth that which is, or that is to be born. Moſt true it is, that for the puniſhment of Sinne, God pronounced the ſentence of death againſt Man: but there is great difference, betweene pronouncing the ſentence of Death, and to bee the cauſe of Death. They are the wordes of *Salomon*, and not mine; *Deus mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in perditione viuorum. God hath not made Death, neyther hath he pleaſure in the deſtruction of the liuing. Creauit enim, vt eſſent omnia, & ſanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum; For he created all thinges, that they might haue their beeing, and the Generations of the World are preſerued*. But in another place he ſaith; *Inuidia autem Diaboli mors intrauit in orbem terrarum. Through enuy of the Deuill came Death into the World*.

The Deuill then being the Authour of Sinne, is alſo the Authour of Death, by Sinne. The Deuill could incite Man to ſin, but he could not conſtraine him to yeelde conſent. ADAM could keepe himſelfe well enough from taſting the Tree of Life; but Gods will was, that he ſhould not ſinne, and ſo (conſequently) would not haue him to dye. But leauing Life, and taking Death, and following then the free liberty of his will, he made himſelfe Mortall, and his fault and diſobedience was the cauſe of Death to him, and all men elſe beſide. The Apoſtle Saint *Paule* ſaith; *Propterea ſicut per vnum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intrauit, & per peccatum mors: & ita in omnes homines mors pertranſit in quo omnes peccauerunt. Wherefore, as by one Man Sin entred into the World, and Death by Sinne: and ſo went Death ouer all men, foraſmuch as all men haue ſinned*.

We haue then nothing more certaine or aſſured, then Death; neuertheleſſe, the day and the houre thereof is moſt vncertain to vs: when, in what place, or how a Man is to dye, that only is in the Will, Power, and Knowledge of God. It is an wholeſome and profitable thing for a Chriſtian Man, to haue Death in his remembrance by contiuuall Meditation, and very often to thinke thereon: in regard, that as the forgetfulneſſe of Death, is the cauſe of a Mans falling into Sinne, ſo the Memory thereof, turneth him quite from Sinne. Ieſus the Sonne of *Sirach* ſaith; *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouiſſima tua, et in æternum non peccabis. Whatſoeuer thou takeſt in hand, remember the end, and thou ſhalt neuer ſinne*. And the Kingly Pſalmiſt ſaith; *Cogitari dies antiquos: & annos æternos in mente habui. Et meditatus ſum nocte cum corde meo & exercitabar, & ſcopebam ſpiritum meum. I conſidered the daies of old, and the yeares of ancient time. I called to remembrance my Song in the night, I communed with mine owne heart, and*

Man made ſubiect to Sin and Death.

Pſalm. 89, 48.

Auguſt. in Lib. cont. Pelag. Ca. 9

Aul. Gel. in Lib. 2. de Noct. Attic. Cap. 8.

God neuer made Death, nor is the Authour thereof. Wiſd. 1, 13, 14

Wiſd. 2, 24.

The Deuill is the Author of Death, by being the Author of Sinne.

See *Iuſtin Martyre*, in his anſweres to the *Orthodoxicall* queſtions 32. *Queſt.*

Rom. 5, 12.

Nothing more certaine then Death, but the time vncertaine.

A Chriſtian Mans Meditation daylie, ſhould be of Death.

Eccleſ. 7, 36.

Pſal. 77, 5, 6.

and my Spirit searched diligently. Plato affirmeth, *That the life of a wise man, is meditation on Death.* Therefore watch and pray, for ye know not at what hour the Lord will come; let vs so labour, that he may finde vs ready, to drinke the same bitter draught, whereunto (in our first Parents) we are made subiect.

CHAP. XII.

The strange opinion of the Ægyptians, concerning the scope of a mans life-time, iudging it by the proportion of the heart.

THat whereof I am now to speake, may seeme a nouelty to many, and fabulous to diuers others, because it is a matter very difficult to be prooued: Nor do I purpose to binde my selfe, to iustifie or maintaine the truth thereof; albeit (in my iudgement) their authority that haue written on the same Argument, may graunt it for true, or very likely. *Pliny*, and *Marcus Varro*, discoursing on the time of a Mans life, do affirme; that the learned *Ægiptians* had found out by experience, that Man (according to the course of Nature) could not liue aboue an hundred yeares. But if any one happened to out-step that limitation; it was iudged by particular influence, and power of the Starres, a thing (in Natures worke) very strange and maruailous.

Plin in lib. 11. de Hist. natu. Cap 36. Marcus Varro.

The *Egiptians* by experience found out, that man could nor liue aboue an hundred yeares.

The Foundation of this their setled perswasion, they gathered and conceiued by the hart of a Man, which hauing made proofe of many times, by order of Anatomy; they thereby attained to the knowledge of very wonderfull secrets. For, say they; when a Man-Childe is a full yeare old, his heart poyzeth the weight of two of their Drams: Foure when hee is two yeares old, and so onward (as many yeares as hee liues) his heart encreaseth in weight a couple of Drammes yearely. So that when hee commeth to the age of fifty yeares, his heart then weigheth an hundred drams. But thence forward, it is not more ponderous, but proportionably diminisheth his weight (ratably euery yeare) by two Drammes, euen according as before it encreased. So that at the age of an hundred yeares, the heart (by continuall decreasing) becomes to bee nothing in poize; and then (consequently) the man of necessity dies, if (by some other accidentall occasion) he dye not before: Because there are so many kinds of seuerall occasions, which can and do customarily hasten death, before men arriue at halfe the time of making this experiment in themselues.

A secret worthy obseruation.

The Heart of Man decreaseth in weight as it increased

If this do seeme strange to any of vs, yet let it be held for infallible, that the *Egyptians* obserued it as most certaine, according as these recited Authors doe auouch; beside others likewise liuing in our times; as *Cœlius Rodiginus* alledging *Dioscorides*, speakes thereof (among other) many notable things. The like doth *Petrus Crinitus*, in his Book of honest Discipline. *Galiot de Aargni*, in his Booke of Man; and *Cornelius Agrippa*. I thought good to acquaint you with these seueral Testimonies, because (with many) the matter is hard to be credited; therefore let euery man lend beliefe, as to himselfe seemeth best.

Cal. Rodigin. in 10. lib. de Antiq. Lect. Pet. Crinit. in lib. de Disip. Gal. de Narg in lib. de Hom. Cor. Agrip in l. 2 de secret. Philo.

And in regard we are now discoursing on the Heart of Man, wherin doth consist such infinite excellencies, euen in that one litle part, because we would be loath to handle one point single or alone; let vs learne somewhat of that woorthy Philosopher *Aristotle*, who saith; *The Heart of Man is lodged on the left side in his body, but in all other creatures els, it is naturally in the midst of their brest*; and this doth he affirme in his first Book of the nature of Beasts. It is also a common receiued opinion among naturall Phylosophers, that the very first part which is formed of Man, is the Heart, as the maine roote of al his other members; the Spring or Fountaine of Natural heat; & it is also the only member, that last looseth his mouing, and dyeth in man. It is a member so Noble & Delicate, as it can endure no touching, but presently the man dies.

Aristot in lib. de nat. Anima.

The first part that is formed of man, is his Hart, it liueth first, and dieth last.

Pliny reciteth another maruaile, which yet he maintaineth to happen many times; to wit, that men haue bin found with their Hearts rough or Hayrie; and he that hath it so, is a valiaunt man, and stoutly disposed. As was experimented in the dissection of *Aristomenes*,

Plin. lib. 11 cap. 37.

Aristomenes slew 300. men in one battell, with his owne hand.

menes, who with his owne hand slew (in one battaile) three hundred *Lacedemonians*; and escaping (afterward) manie great perils, only by meanes of his great valour, being dead, he was opened, and his heart found to be very hayry. *Suetonius Tranquillus*, in the life of *Caligula*, (and *Pliny* also saieth the same) that if a man dye by poyson, his Heart cannot bee burned, although it be throwne into the verie hotteſt fire; according as was verified by the Hart of *Germanicus*, the Father of *Caligula*; and the like hath bin tried, by such as haue died of *Cardiaca*, the Heart-ake, which some do term the falling sickneſie.

Sueto. Tranquil. in vit. Calig. Plin. lib. 11. c. 9

If a man bee poysoned, his heart cannot be burnd with fire.

Moreouer, it is to be noted, that the strength of Laughter or laughing, abideth in the little Skinnes or Celles of the Heart In approbation whereof, ancient Hiſtorians writing of the Romain *Gladiatores*, Fencers, or Sword-players, do affirme; that they being wounded in thoſe folds, or thinne Wrappers of the Heart, thinges haue falne out at thoſe Wounds, like little Threds, and they haue dyed in extreamity of Laughter. Now, euen as ioy or laughter proceedeth from the Heart, so likewiſe is Sadneſſe and Melancholy thence derined sensibly; and good or euill immaginations in like manner. Our Words are begotten in it; And many are of Opinion, that it is the principall seate and residence of the Soule: which seemes to be confirmed by the saying of our Sauiour himselfe, *That hadde and wicked thoughts do come out of the Heart*. And that which enters at the Mouth, defileth not at al, becauſe they are but thinges indifferent. Likewiſe, venerable *Bede*, in his Commentaries vpon Saint *Marke*, saith; *The cheefeſt seat of the Soule is not in the Braine*, according as *Plato* hath maintained; but in the Heart, agreeing with the speeches of our Sauiour Christ.

The seate of Laughter is in the heart.

Sadneſſe and Melancholy also commeth from the hart.

Ven Beda in Comment. sup. Mark.

CHAP. XIII.

The Reason wherefore Man goeth vpright. Why hee is more waighty fasting, then when he hath taken som sustenance: And the cause why he is heauier when hee is dead, then being aliue: With many other speciall Obseruations.

CONtemplatiue occations, which do concerne the cõpoſition of men, are welneer infinit. *Lactantius Firmianus* hath thereof Written a Booke by himselfe, only touching that argument, & so haue diuers other learned men done the like. And in truth, there is one thing (among the plentifull ſtore of others) that deſerueth perticuler conſideratiõ in the knowledge therof, that is; wherefore God hath made all other creatures (Man only excepted) with their heades ſtooping or bending downward, with their eies (for the greater part) looking to the earth: & not only ſenſitiue creatures, ſuch as are bruite beaſts, but likewiſe the vegetatiue Bodies; as Plants, Trees, and ſuch like, who haue their heads & foundations within the earth, and their armes or braunches highly extended. As for man, he onely was created with his eies vp toward heauen, his face aloft, and his body ſtrait, in eleuated proportion. Now albeit, for a full and compleat reaſon in this caſe, it were ſufficient to aledge the wil of God to haue it so; yet it ſeemeth beſide, to relliſh and taſt of ſome hidden Miſterie or ſecrecy, and therfore it wel deſerueth to haue further ſpeculation.

Why GOD made all creatures elſe, but Man, looking downeward.

A hidden ſecret and Myſtery in the compoſition of Man.

To begin then with our very diſpoſition; me thinkes it teacheth vs by manifeſt apparance, that we were not created or borne for the earth; but rather, that the purpoſe of our creation, was to imitate and contemplate high and celeſtial matters, which are not cõmunicable to other creatures, neither are they capable of them, or any (but man only) worthy to behold them. God made all the beaſts with their heads deiected; declaring thereby, that man had the rule & command ouer them. One of theſe reaſons is moſt elegantly noted by *Lactantius Firmianus*, saying; *God hauing determined to make man for Heauen, & all other creatures for the earth; he created man of a reaſonable ſoule, ſtraite, and with an erected body, diſpoſed to Celeſtiall Contemplations; to the end, that hee might admire their effects, and hold in reuerence the place of his Originall, and the Countrey of his Natiuity. The other Beaſtes hee made Baſe, Crooked, and bending downe vnto the Earth, becauſe they haue no participation in Heauen.* *Ariſtotle* who had not so much as the very glimpſe

The diſpoſition of man declareth hee was not borne for the earth.

Lactan. Firm. in lib. 8. de Oper. Dei.

Ariſt. lib. 2. de Animal.

glimpse of light, concerning faith, saith; *That only Man (among all other Creatures) goeth vpright, because that his substance & best part thereof, are Celestiall, and not Terrestriall; and that the Office of Diuine Spirits, is to vnderstand and know.* But heerein man could neuer haue knowne how to exercise himselfe, if he had had a heauy, huge, and dejected bodie, because the waight and burthen of such corporall sense, doth nothing but make the vnderstanding dull and slothful. The learned *Thomas Aquinas*, forgetting nothing in discussion & examining, leaues not this question without determination. For, in his exposition vppon Youth and Age, he saith; *For two causes was man formed vpright towards Heauen. The one, to be the most perfect of all the creatures, & to be he that most pertaketh and neerest approacheth to the quality of Heauen. The other, because that in the proportion of his body, he is more hot then any other Beast; & the Nature of heat, is, to lift vp it selfe. All other creatures do containe a meane, as lesse participating of the Cœlestiall quality, and lesse haue they of this heate, whereby to eleuate themselues: for this cause, they are not in disposition or shape like vnto the glorious Image of Man.*

Thom. Aquin. in Sum. cap. 10. Quest. 9.

Two especiall causes why mã was made Vpright.

Heerein it appeareth, that *Thomas Aquinas* followed the opinion of the *Platonists*, who held, *That heate and the Spirits of man (wherin he aboundeth more then any liuing thing, regard being had of the proportion of his body) are the causes why he goeth elcuated and vpright, as he doth.* For, by meanes of the strength and vigor of his Spirits and Blood, he lifteth and vprighteth himselfe: wherein also hee is holpen by the composition of the Elements, whereof man is composed in such equality and measure of waight, as he can erect and mount vp himselfe. And something else there is in this case to be considered, to wit; that partly in regard of his soule, and partly of his body, man is moued to the loue and contemplation of Heauen; therefore, hee ought to thinke & consider of nothing, but high, spirituall, and good matters; and contrarywise, to contemne and despise base earthly businesses. Neuertheless, many times we are so affected to the abiect respect of worldly considerations, that when our eies and countenances are fixed on Heauen, our hearts and spirits are too too low humbled vpon earth.

The *Platonists* opinion concerning mans going vpright

Man in regard of his soule & bodye goeth vpright

Concerning the propriety of the Spirits of man, whereof we haue now treated, *Pliny* aledgeth another thing, which though it be not of such importance as the others are, yet it cannot but giue pleasing and content to such as know it not, or haue not so much as dreamed, on that which dayly experience maketh manifest: he saith, *That a man being dead, waigheth heauier then when hee is liuing*; and the same he maintaineth in al other kinde of Creatures. Hee likewise affirmeth, *That a man that hath eatē any thing, weigheth lesse then he did when he was Fasting.* *Erasmus* in a certaine Problem of his, doth say as much, with diuers other notable things, alledging the same Reasons as *Pliny* doth; which are all grounded on the Essence of the vitall Spirits, and the Ayre, which comforts & cheers them vp, as we haue before approued. The like is said of a man fasting, that his waight is then more ponderous, then when he hath eaten; albeit it appears in common iudgement, that he should be then lighter, because refection hath more charged him.

A further Relation concerning the Spirits of man.

Plin. in Hist. Nat. lib. 7.

Eras. in Probl. 5. & 6.

That a man is heauier fasting, then when he hath fed.

And yet notwithstanding, it is so for certaine, and there is no maruell to bee made thereat, for drinking and eating do encrease those vitall Spirits which giue cherrishing to man, enlarging and multiplying naturall heate within him. And hence commeth it, that when one man essaieth to lift vp another from the ground, if he that is lifted vp be so pleased, he may make himselfe the heauier, by breathing forth abundantly the inward Ayre in his body: but if he retain and hold it in, hee makes himselfe then to be the lighter. So when a man runneth, he retaineth his breath onely, to hast him away the more speedily: for, the Ayre beeing a very light Element, coueteth to raise him the loftier in running, euen vnto his ayery place of abiding.

Eating and drinking, doe cheare vp the spirit of Man.

A familiar triall of a mans weight.

Experience heerin may be a present Tutor, by any Skin or Bladder, which being throwne into the Water empty, and not blowne vp with Ayre, sinketh of it selfe forthwith to the bottom: but let it bee filled with ayre, which is the breath of man, it floateth lightly on the face of the water. *Pliny* also telleth vs, that

A Bladder not blowne with winde, sinketh of it selfe.

A man drowned, ariseth with his face vpward, but a woman hath hers downeward.

that a body dead in the water, if it be of a man, in rising, he hath his face vp towards Heauen; but if it be of a woman, she ariseth with her face downeward; wherein she may giue some honour to Nature, for so wise and discreete a prouision, so to conceale the vnsightly Secrets of the Woman. Beyond al this, there is yet another naturall reason, to wit; that a Woman weigheth heauiest in her fore-part, by reason of hir brests; and a man heauiest behinde, because of his shoulders.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the supreame Dignity of the Head aboue all other Members of the Body. That it is an euill signe to haue a little Head, or a straite breast. And whence it came, that it is accounted as a courtesie and honor, to take off the Cap or Bonnet, in saluting one another.

IF it bee such an excellent preheminence, that Man among all other creatures hath his bodye of vpright stature, and his face aduanced to beholde Heauen, as his Hart also to meditate on Heauenly Matters; why then vndoubtedly, the head, which is the most eminent, lawdable, & highest part among all the others members, by reason, ought to haue aduantage & authority aboue the rest. And in verie deed, all the other parts are but as guardes and obedient Seruants to him; because, so soone as any harme or annoyance happeneth to the Head; presently the Foot, the Hand, the Arme, and all the other Members beside, do naturally endeuour for his helpe and defence. For in him consisteth the security of them all; in regard, that if the head bee diseased, all the other parts of the bodie, do feele the smart thereof.

The Head ought to haue preheminēce ouer the other members.

Saint *Ambrose* giues vs an especiall Commendation of the Head, sayeng; *The facture and composition of the Bodie, is a meere example of the whole world. And as Heauen is the most eminent and principall part, and the ayre and the other Elements thereto inferiour: so is the Head of Man supreame to the other parts, as being their Gouernor, Lord and Maister; because they are but as a Castle or Cittadell, seated vnder a maine Rocke, in the midst of a Citty.* In him lodgeth wisedome and Industry, which gouerneth euery part of the body; from him, both power and prudence is deriued, and (as *Salomon* saith) *The eyes of the Wiseman is in his head.* *Lactantius Firmianus* saith, *The Lord there placed the Head of man, to the end, that in him might remaine the Empire and Gouernement ouer all the Beasts.* *Galen* giues the Head the principality ouer all the other members of man. And *Plato* in his *Timeus*, nameth it *The whole Body of Man.* Being then of so great importance, and the Sanctuarie of the bodies Sences, and Powers; it were necessary that his forme and greatnesse, should be proportionable & fitting for such a potent priuiledge.

Ambrose in Epist. 24.

Prouerb. 17. 9

Lactan. Firmian. in lib de oper. Dei.

Galen. in lib. 1. de asp. Fcb.

Plato in Tim.

Belike it was vpon this Reason, that *Paulus Eginetus* saide in the first of his Bookes of Physicke: *The ouer-litle Head of a man, is a signe that hee hath very little Iudgement, and wanteth a good Brain.* The same Reason is alledged by *Iohannes Alexandrinus*, saying; *The little Head is as vnhealthfull, as the strait brest lockt vp and chested: Because that as the breast is the lodging of the Hart and Lunges, who cannot (without great danger) endure a strict enclosure, in regard that the hart beeing narrowly shut vp, cannot conueniently mooue it selfe, but looseth and diminisheth his Naturall heate; and beside, decayeth al digestion: Euen so, in like manner, it behoooueth, that the Head or dwelling place of the Organs, belonging to so many powers and vnderstandings, should be of a competent proportion.* *Galen* affirmeth the very same, & maintaineth, *That a little Head, is a manifest token of little intelligence, and an vnstable Brain*; So that a Head of a good and indifferent proportion, signifieth a free and liberall vnderstanding.

Paul Eginet. in 1. lib. de Med.

The litle head of a man, is, a signe of little wisedome.

Iohan. Alexan. in Comment. sup. pest. de Hippocrat.

Galen. vbi supra.

The Naturall Philosophers say, that a man hauing his Head trenched or bowed inward, cannot liue long. And if a man haue his Head cut off, whereby he cannot mooue or goe; yet, it is not through defect of respiration, but because all his Nerues are cut in sunder in the supream place; and they are the Instruments and wayes of all the Bodyes Motions, euen as they are in all other Creatures liuing. Neuertheless, *Auer-*

Auer. in 7. lib. de Med.

roes

A man walked, after his Head was smitten off.

roes saith, That he saw a poore vnfortunate Patient, who hauing his Head taken off, walked too and fro (for a small while) in sight of all the people. It is also written of *Dionisius Areopagita*, that after his Head was smitten off, hee walked certaine paces. Some say, it was a league and more from the place of his Execution, but this was more myraculous, then Naturall. Among all other liuing Creatures (as *Pliny* auoucheth) Man only, and a Horse, do becom soonest Hoary and white-headed, especially towards their latter daies. Man, because he hath his Head rounder, higher aduanced, and cleaner from putrifaction, is therefore the more sure & strong in his Head; where contrariwise, who so sauoureth most of imperfect moysture, is commonly of weakest and slendereſt Iudgement or capacity.

Plin. lib. de Animal. 11. Man, and a Horse becom white-headed

Many famous men that could daily go bare-headed, in raine, stormes, or heate.

We read of diuers worthy and valiant men, who haue had their Heades so solid, sound, and well affected, that they could go daily bare and discouered. As among others: *Iulius Cæsar*, *Hannibal* of *Carthage*, and *Masanissa* king of *Numidia*, who wold neuer couer his Head, either in his oldest age, nor yet for rain, snow, rough stormes and winds, or parching Heat of the Sun. We read the like also of the Emperours, *Adrian* and *Seuerus*, with diuers other of the same disposition. And seeing we haue spoken so much of the Head, methinkes it were good likewise to know for what reason, and whence it ensued, that it was reputed for a courtesie, when one man tooke off his Bonnet or Hat before another, in signe of Reuerence; and that it was so conceiued, if a man discouered his head: we will therefore not forbeare to speak somwhat thereof, although it may seem but of slender consequence.

Of the Reuerence of Vailing the Bonnet.

Plutarch saith in his Problemes, that in his opinion, this is the reason. *In Ancient time* (saith he) *he which offered sacrifice vnto the Goddes, kept his Bonnet on his Head al the while. And that Princes and worthy personages, to do courtesie and Honor to the Sacrificer, in regarde of his high function, would (in humble manner) discouer their heads before him: because it should not appeare, that they would presume to paragon his supreame authority, or equalize themselues with the Goddes; but satisfied both thus, in honouring their Sacrificer.* He

Plutar. in Probl. Cap. 9.

The reuerence of Kinges & Princes to their Sacrificing Priests.

further tels vs, that it was the vse, that when a man met his enimy, or any other that he hated, if his head had beene bare before, either by heate or otherwise, he would instantly couer it, in despight (as it were) of him. And yet he thought it fitting, that before his Prince or Frend, he should be bared.

Men would couer their Heads, meeting their enimies.

Marcus Varro, agreeing with *Pliny*, saith and maintaines it; that at the first beginning heereof, it was not doone in regard of awe or reuerence, that men discouered their Heads in the presence of Magistrates: but only, that through want of wearing their Bonnets, they might make them-selues more healthfull, strong, and hardy; for which cause only, and to shew themselues such, they bared their heads; and not for any duty, as hath bin imagined. *Galiottus* of *Nargni*, is of opinion, that when a man discouereth his head to do any one honor, he giues therby also to vnderstand, that in baring the principall, best, and most worthy member of Man, he offers and puts himselfe into his power, whom he salutes; as saying and confessing to bee his Inferiour.

Plin lib. 28.

Men did not bare their Heads to Magistrates for reuerence, but to make themselues hardie and strong.

Galiot. de Nargni. in lib. de Hom.

Lodouicus Cælius alledgeth and rendereth almost the selfe-same reason; saying; *In regard the Head is the principall of all the other Members, and whereunto they serue and obey for his defence: euen so, is it a sign of honor and reuerence, when that supreame part discouereth it selfe in humilitie.* All which notwithstanding, let the causes be as they are taken, yet it is both hurtfull and scarse commodious, to bee thus continually reuerend to men. And much better were it, that these Reuerences and salutations for duty, respect, or whatsoeuer, by courteous language might be performed only.

Lodouic. Cælius. lib. 11.

Bating of the Head, is a discommodious kinde of curtesie.

CHAP. XV.

Whether euil Dæmons and Spirits, can foretell thinges to come, they hauing no certaine knowledge.

NEither do the Good Angelles, or the euill Spirits, know or apprehend things futurely to happen, as of themselues, for that is in the power and

The good angelles haue knowledge of future accidents.

and Science of the liuing God onely. True it is, that the good Angelles haue an intelligence of future occasions, yet not in their owne Nature, but according as God giues it them by reuelatiõ. The Deuils also do sometimes foresee what is to ensue, yea a long time before it hapneth, by disposition of the celestiall and inferiour bodies; like as men do sometimes foretell by knowledge in Astrology, bad and sterile seasons, from fruitfull and plenteous. As *Thales Milesius* (by meanes of the Stars) foretolde the abundance of Oliues which should be the yeare following. Somtimes likewise, the euill Dæmons or Spirits, doe presage future matters, by coniecture only, and then their predictions do euer fall out to the contrary. For it is their habit and custome, to mingle lyes with trueth, to the end, that they may the more easily perswade the falshoode. Euen in like manner, as they vse to do, that are preparing a poyson, they mingle it with Wine, Hony, or some sweet thing, that the deadly venome may bee couered & hidden vnder the sweet shaddow: & it doth not a little delight those peruerse spirits, when they can any way abuse the credulity of men, by lying, in their Mystical prædictions of things to happen.

Arist. Polit. lib. 1. cap. 7.

The Deuilles mingle lies & truth togither only thereby, to deceiue men.

2. Kings 2, 22

Wee finde it written in the second Booke of Kings, that an euill spirit being desirous to deceiue *Achab* King of *Israel*, said to the Eternall; *I will go out, and be a false Spirit in the Mouthes of all his Prophets.* Wherewith the Prophets of *Achab* being instructed, they and the lying Spirit assured him, that hee should haue the victory against the Assyrians. And yet notwithstanding, *Achab* was slaine in that battell, according to the words of the true Prophet *Micheas*. *Porphirius* saith, *That the Goddes do often lye, & that the certaine foresight of future thinges, is not only oblique and vncuen to men, but likewise most vncertaine to the Goddes themselues, being full of many ambiguities.* Nor indeed were the Gods of the Gentiles (wherof *Porphirius* thus spake) any other then wicked Dæmons or Spirits, as plainly may be noted by the name of *Belzebub*, as much to say, as God or lord of Flies; the Idoll of whom, was adored by the *Accaronites*.

The Gods of the Gentiles, were meerely lying Deuils.

Moreouer, the Deuils are said to bee learned, and haue knowledge in the Sacred Scriptures, as appeareth in the gospell of S. *Mathew*; where it is declared, that Sathan brought our Sauiour into the holy Citty, and hauing set him vpon the Pinacle of the Temple, he said vnto him; *Si filius Dei es, mitte te deorsũ: Scriptum est enim, quia angelis suis mandauit de te, & in manibus tollent te, ne forte offendas ad lapidẽ pedem tuum. If thou be the Son of God, cast thy selfe downe for it is writtẽ, that he wil giue his Angels charge ouer thee, & with their hands they shal lift thee vp, lest at any time thou shouldst dash thy foot against a stone.* Which allegation of scripture, Sathan had borrowed, or rather stoln from *Dauid*, in his 91. *Psalme*, where the verie words are likewise set downe.

Math. 4, 6.

Psa. 91, 11, 12

The good Father *Athanasius* recordeth, that an holy Religious man, discouered diuers subtilties of the Deuil, and acquainted therewith sundry of his louing Brethren, saying vnto thẽ, among other of their qualities, in this manner: *It is their custome also, to sing very melodiously, and yet are not seene; With their impure mouths* (O horrible guile) *they meditate and talke of holy Scriptures. When wee are reading in them, like Ecchoes they wil often make aunswere to our last wordes, &c.* Heereby wee may perceiue, that those vnclean Spirits do vnderstand the scriptures, but they apply them (by false exposition) to their own wicked purpose.

S. *Athanasius* of the subtilties of the deuils.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the sign of the Crosse, that it was in great estimation long before our Sauiour Iesus Christ was crucified thereon. Also, how before Letters were known or inuented, the Egyptians wrote their mindes by Figures, Carracters, and Hieroglyphickes, applying them to many notable vses.

LOng before our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ suffered vpon the Crosse, the signe of the crosse was regarded and esteemed, as a Prognosticke sign, fatall and ominous to some. But the Egyptians caused it to be engrauen on the breasts of their Idol *Serapis*, which they reuerenced and honoured

Serapis was an Idoll among the Egiptians in forme of an oxe, which they worshipped.

noured as their God. But for our better manifeſtation, how much this Figure hath bin reſpected; it is expedient firſt to know, that the ancient *Arabians*, who were moſt skilfull in iudgement of the Heauens, and the powerfull influences of the Starres, did vſe to make (for many cauſes) Images and figures Carued in Stones, Mettals, Rings, & other things, for obſeruation of certain pointes, and dayes of marke or note, whereof we purpoſe to ſpeake in more conuenient place. Among all which ſignes, they moſt eſpecially affected that of the Croſſe, as attributing more efficacy and Vertue thereto, then they did to any of the other; becauſe therby they compaſſed the knoledge of darke ſecrets, which with great curioſity they concealed to themſelues, and hardly woulde impart to their children or deareſt friends.

The ſigne of the Croſſe highly reſpected by the old *Arabes*.

I purpoſe not to meddle with the opinion of *Marſilius Ficinus*, deſcribing it in diuers manners, becauſe the price of our redemption was paid thereon; but doe meane to conſider the figure of the Croſſe in it ſelfe meerely. For in Geometricall contemplation, it is allowed to be a moſt excellent & perfect figure, becauſe it containeth (in it ſelf) an equal length and largeneſſe. It is compoſed of two ſtraite lines, euery way equall; the ioynture whereof, as it is taken by his Center, ſhapeth by his points & vtmoſt reaches, an abſolute perfect roundure. It containeth foure ſeuerall corners, directly each way extended, wherein is the greateſt effects of the ſtars, becauſe they haue the greater force and Vertue when they are extended to their extreamities, and come neareſt to the corners of Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South: and being ſo ſeated, their very ſplendor then ſhapes it ſelfe in ſigne of a Croſſe, if with wary iudgement it be duely conſidered. Moreouer, I could ſhew the reaſon wherefore the Egyptians ſo eſteemed it beyond all their other markes and figures, & what ſignification they made therof: but my meaning is to ſpeak firſt of ſome other of their Images, as alſo of their Hierogliphicall Caracters, with their purport and interpretation.

Marſil. Ficin. in lib. de trib. vit.

The figure of the Croſſe in Geometry, like the foure Corners of the world.

Before the Egyptians knew any letters, they wrote their intentions by Figures, Carracters, and Ciphers of diuers things; as Birds, Beaſts, Trees, or by ſome of their owne perticular members; wherin they grew to be ſo prompt and ready, as they quickly apprehended the ſignification of any thing, onely by the frequent vſe made thereof; the Father firſt inſtructing his Sonne, and ſo diſcending from one ſucceſſion to another, as is witneſſed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Strabo*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, from whō, and from many places of *Plinie*, I haue Collected ſome ſcantlings of their reaſons.

What the Egyptians did deſcribe their minds by, before they knew letters.

Firſt of all, by the Gripe, they vnderſtood Nature, becauſe (ſay they) of that kind of Fowle, they neuer knew a male: the ſame affirmeth *Amianus Marcellinus*. By the Hawke or Falcon, they intended ſuch things as were to be done quick & expeditiouſly, figuring this their meaning, by the ſwiftneſſe and celeritie of the Foule. By the Bee, they vnderſtood the Dignity of a King; becauſe (ſayde they) a King ought to haue both Hony and a ſting. By the Baſiliske or Serpent, that round circkled it ſelfe with his taile in his mouth, they figured the reuolution of the year, becauſe it endeth where it beginneth. The Wolfes head, pointed at time being paſt; in regarde, that Beaſt hath no memory, but is all for the inſtant. The Lyons head, figured the time preſent, becauſe of his power and imperious command. They ſet downe the head of a Dogge, licking his chaps with his Tongue, whereby they preſented time to come, for euermore, our ſucceeding hopes do make vs to cheriſh them very carefully. The Oxe, ſignifyed the Earth, in regard of the great labour of the Beaſt. Iuſtice was Caractred by the Storke, for they alledged, (and many more haue affirmd as much) that this Bird dooth Iuſtice and Equity to his begetter, feeding and cheriſhing him in his age, as the other firſt had noriſhed him, and brought him vppe diligently in his Neſt.

Amian. Marcel. Lib. 14. Lib. 17. Lib. 4.

Hierogliphicall Caracters, and their applications.

They deſcribed Enuy by the Eele, becauſe it neuer keepes company with other Fiſhes. The Liberall Man, was figured by a Right-Hand wide open: As contrariwiſe, the auaricious Niggard was, by a Left-Hand cloſe gripte. The Crocodile, being a Beaſt of very vile qualities, by him they preſuppoſed a deceitfull wicked man. The Eye figured wide opē, gaue demonſtratiō of the

An eſpeciall note of Iuſtice and Equity, and a good leſſon for youth.

man, who was a dilligent obſeruer of iuſt actions. By the ear they vnderſtood memory. And a man that was of exquiſit memory, of him they gaue notice by the ſhape of a Hare, hauing both her eares wide open, and her eies bent forward. And thus could they diſcourſe on all things, by practiſe and experience in ſuch like reſemblaunces, euen aſwell as if they had beene written to them in Letters.

We returne now againe to our former ſpeeches of the Croſſe, holding it ſomewhat memorable, that among ſo many other ſeueral ſignes, it only ſhold be the moſt euident and knowne Carracter. And they placed it on the breſt of their Idoll God, to ſignifie their future hope of Happineſſe; and prognoſticating (as it were) ſo long before, what vniuerſall vſe ſhould afterwardes bee made thereof; as in adorning the wreaths and Diadems of Emperours, Kings, and other Potentates; the beautie of their ſtampes and Coines: but eſpecially, the diſtinguiſhing of Chriſtians, from barbarous Infidels. So ſpeaketh *Ruffinus* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and *Petrus Criuitus* the like, in his ſeuenth Booke of honeſt Diſcipline, as alſo *Marſilius Ficinus* before alledged. But contrariwiſe, among the *Romain* Iewes, and other ſuch like people, the death of the Croſſe was reputed moſt ignominous. And *Conſtantine* the Emperor, was the firſt that prohibited the condemned to death, from being any longer crucified; becauſe GOD had myraculouſly ſhewne him in a Croſſe in the aire, with promiſe (vnder that Standard) to conquer; whereof making triall, he fought with his enemy *Maxentius*, a great perſecutor of the Chriſtians, & vanquiſhed him in the field, acording as it is witneſſed by *Euſebius*. So much ſhal ſerue to be ſpoken concerning the ſign of the croſſe, without any ſuperſtitious opinion therof, or any friuolous worſhppe yeelded therto, as too many (miſtaking the true meaning) fondly & vainly do; but in all times it hath beene almoſt a cuſtome, to draw error out of good intentions, and to wound with abuſe, things meerly indifferent in themſelues.

The Vniuerſall vſe made of the ſigne of the Croſſe.

Ruf. in hiſt. Eccleſ. cap. 9. Pet. Criuit. lib. 7 de ciuil. Diſ.

Conſtantine his viſion in the ayre, the ſign of the Croſſe.

Euſeb in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 9.

CHAP. XVII.

The excellency of Secrecy, & with what care it is to be kept: Diuers good examples are produced, apt to the intended purpoſe.

Secrecy is the abſolute note of a wiſe man.

One of the principall partes, that makes a man knowne to bee wiſe indeed, is his intelligent ſtrength and ability to couer and conceale thoſe ſecrets, which (by anothers truſt) are committed to him, with ſound retention likewiſe of his owne ſerious affaires and priuacies. They that will reade the auncient Hiſtories of times long paſt, ſhal find a great number of vertuous attempts, that neuer reached their endes and aimes (were it either in peace or war) but were ſhaken in ſhiuers, bruiſed and defeated, only through defect of ſecret concealment; and yet, beſide ſuch vnhappy preuention, infinit great euils haue thereby enſued. But amongeſt all other examples, let vs conſider one more notable, and excelling all the reſt, deriued euen from God himſelfe; who ſo eſpecially preſerueth his own ſecrets to himſelfe, that he would neuer let any man know what ſhould betide or happen to morrow; neither could they that liued in the Ages paſt, imagin or diuine what ſhould befal vs in theſe our dayes; wherby we may eaſily diſcern, that God himſelf is wel pleaſed with ſecrecy. And albeit, that (for mans good) he hath reuealed ſom things, yet impoſſible is it at any time to change or alter his determination; in regard whereof, the reuerend wiſemen of elder times euermore affected to perform their intentions ſecretly.

God keepeth his Secrets to himſelfe.

Cato the Cenſor, his example of three things of eſpeciall reſpect.

We read that *Cato Cenſorius* often ſaid to his friends, that of three things hee had good reaſon daily to repent himſelfe, if he fel into the performance of al or any one of them. The firſt, if he did diſcloſe any ſecret, to any one whatſoeuer; but principally to his wife. The ſecond, if he aduentured on the water, & might keepe himſelfe on dry land. The third, if he ſhould let any day negligently eſcape him, with omiſſion of ſome one good action or other. The later two are well worthy obſeruation, but the firſt concerneth our inſtant argument. *Alexander* hauing receiued diuers letters of great importaunce from his Mother, after hee had read them in the preſence of none but his deare friend *Epheſtion* & him-

Alexander ſealeth vp *Epheſtions* lippes with ſecrecy.

himselfe, he drew forth the signet wherwith he vsed to seale his most priuat letters, and saying nothing else, set it vpon *Ephestions* lips; intimating thereby, that he in whose bosome a man burieth his secrets, should haue his lippes fast lockt vp from reuealing any one of thē.

Phillippides his answere to K. *Lisimachus*.

When King *Lisimachus* made offer to the Poet *Phillippides*, of whatsoeuer hee would make request, the Poet replyed: *O King, the very greatest good deede thou canst do me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy Secrets.*

Anthonius Sabellicus, concerning the historie of Captaine *Cremignola*, & the *Venetians*.

Anthonius Sabellicus, concerning this purpose, declareth a notable & meruailous example. In the time of Pope *Eugenius* (saith he) the Siegnory of *Venice* had a Captaine named *Cremignola*, by whose disloialty and treason, their army had receiued the ouerthrow. Whereupon, the Senate iudiciously consulted together, what might best be done in a case so desperate. Some were of opinion, by an instant mandation to call him home; and being possessed of him, to let him know the vertue of their Iustice. But others dissented, and held it against both honor and pollicy. Finally, it was concluded, that a maske or ignoraunce (as yet) shoulde muffle all, and not so much as suspition of his delict, any way be conceited; but purpose should bee made seruant to more apt opportunity: & howsoeuer delay excused the errour, yet death in the end should close vp all.

Eight months secrecy contained among many.

This determination was deferred, and slept for the space of 8. months, but shut vp in each brest with such secrecy, as his eares (in all that time) could reach no suppositiō therof. This was (questionlesse) a matter of no mean maruel, considering there were so many Senators; among whom, diuers were much indebted to *Cremignola*; some by propinquity in blood; others in friendship; & most of them by desertfull affection. Beside, many of them were poore, and pouerties eies being commonly bent on gifts & rewards (whereof there was no want in the Captain) might haue bin an easie benefit, & his best fortune. All which notwithstanding, this honorable seal of Secrecy, was set with such assurance vpon euery soule, that the 8. moneths hauing consumed themselues, he was verie kindly recalled home to *Venice*, entertained with all embracings and affectuous Ceremonies. But on the morrow, hee was surprized, condemned before the Senat to forfeit his head, and he paide it by imediate performance. This may wel serue for a remarkeable president to all our modern States, their Senators, Iudges, and Counsellours, least it fall out with them, as it hath done to many, who forthwith haue discouered such secrets, as (in greater wisedome) they ought to haue concealed. In reproofe and iust check of whom, I will rehearse a pleasant discourse, deliuered by *Aulus Gellius* in his Attick nights, and by *Macrobius* in his *Saturnals*, according as followeth.

An especiall president to al States, for retaining secrecie.

Aul. Gel. in Attic. Noct. Macrob. in Saturn.

The Senators of *Rome*, at their vsuall sitting in the Senat house, had constituted a custome among themselues, that each man (hauing a Sonne) so soone as he was able to walke with his Father, he might bring him with him to the Senat, to abide or depart as occasion best required. Nor was this fauour generall, but extended only to Noblemens sons; and lasted til they were seuenteen years old: and the intent was, that by beholding the discreet behauiour of their Fathers, they might make the better apprehension thereof afterward, vntil they attained to riper yeares of gouernment, to be instructed in affaires of the weale-publicke. All which time, they were so well taught and tutord, as, whatsoeuer was discourssed in Counsell, it was concealed in them from publick reporting. One time, beyond all other, the Senate sat in consultation of a very serious and important cause, so that their rising was much later, then before had bin accustomed: and the conclusion was referred ouer vntill the next day, with expresse charge of Secrecy in the meane while. Among other Noblemens Children, that had bin there in this waighty Businesse, was the yong son of the graue Senator *Papirius*, whose family was one of the most noble & illustrious in al *Rome*.

A worthy kind of education for the sonnes of Noblemen.

The child being come home, his Mother (as women are highly affected to nouelty) intreated him to tell her, what strange case had bin that day debated in the Senate, that had power to detaine them so long beyond their vsuall houre? The Vertuous Noble youth tolde her, it was a Businesse not beseeming him to speak of; & more (as al Noblemens sons else) he was commanded to silence. She hea-

Women are euermore couetous and desirous of Nouelties.

hearing this answere, according to the immoderate heat of weomens desires, became more earnest in stricter inquisition into the case, & nothing but intelligence thereof might any way content hir. So that, first by faire speeches & entreaties, with large and liberal promises she practised to break open this poor little Casket of secrecy; that, not preuayling, to stripes & violent threats was hir next flight, because force may compel, where lenity cannot. The admired Noble spirit, finding a Mothers threats to be very harsh, but hir stripes more bitter then any thing beside, comparing his loue to hir as his Mother, with the duty he ought to his father; the one mighty, but the other more impulsiue: he layes her & her fond conceit in the one scale; his Father, the Senate, himselfe in his yong budding reputation, and the serious iniunction to secrecy in the other; and finding her currant waight, as being his Mother, but lighter then wind, being thus gone out of hir selfe: whetting his tender wit vpon the sandy stone of her edging importunity; to appease her, and preserue himselfe sound (as out of a kind of constrained vnwillingnesse) resolu d her thus. *Madam, & deare Mother, you may well blame the Senat for their so long sitting, at least for calling in question a case so impertinent; For, except as many Senators wiues may be there present, as Senators that consult thereon, there can be no hope of conclusion. I speake this but out of my young apprehension, for their grauity I know may easily confound mee. And yet, whither Nature or duty so instruct me, I cannot tell, albeit it seemeth good to them, that for encrease of people, & help to the weal-publick, the Senators only should bee allowed to haue two wiues, or else their wiues two husbands: I shall hardly vnder one roofe call two men by the name of Father, I had rather call two women by the name of Mother. This is the question Mother, & to morrow it must haue determination.*

The Mother hearing this, and by his vnwillingnesse reuealing it, beleeuing it for infallible; her blood was quickly fiered, for this was Tinder apt enough to take. And (as commonly) such suddain heats do admit no consideration, but hurry the sences & faculties to further rashnesse: So shee, requiring no other counsel, but such as hir selfe, flings forth to the other ladies & Matrons of *Rome*, and by the bellowes of hir breth, blowes them al vp into as brainsicke a passion. And, which is rare, for a Parliament of women to be gouernd by one speaker, yet, the affaire being so vrgent, the hast as pertinent, and the case (on their behalfe) meerly indulgent: the reuealing woman must prolocute for her selfe, & all the other women. And such a din is the next day at the Senat doore, for admission to sit with their Husbandes in this woonderous consultation, as if all *Rome* had bin in an vprore. Their minds must not be knowne before they haue audience, which (though against all order, yet necessity inforcing) being granted, such an Oration was made by the woman-speaker, with request that women might haue two Husbands, rather then men two wiues, that could scarsely content one: as (vpon the Riddles solution) the Noble youthes secrecie being commended, the Ladies (with folly and impudence confounded) I guesse, that with blushing cheekes they thence departed. Neuertheless, for auoiding the like inconuenience, it was determined, that thence-forward the Fathers shold bring their Sons no more into the Senate; only yong *Papirius* was freely allowed, & his discreet policy to conceale the Senats secrets, not only applauded, but himselfe with Titles of honour dignified and rewarded.

Vndoubtedly, old men of these dayes, may make good vse of this young rare wisedom, and consider with themselus, that if a priuat secret do merit such concealment, much more then deserus that, whereon the whole weale publicke dependeth, especially among men of years and mature iudgement. *Marcus Brutus, Cassius*, and all the rest that had Conspired the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, because in their eyes it seemed expedient, for benefit & liberty of their country; vppon their vowed determination, wold neuer yet disclose it to *Cicero*, one of their most intimate friends, and that desired (more then any of the other) the extirpation of tirany out of *Rome*; not for any distrust they had in him, but because he was reputed scarse a good secretary. *Fuluius* imparted an important secret to his wife, which the Emp. *Octauian* had before committed to his trust, but being dis-

An excellent example for al Noblemens sonnes.

His witty excuse to his mother, to preserue secrecy.

A womans furie quickely kindled, and then no reason can be admitted.

Shame is the waiting hand-maid to modesty.

Brutus, Cassius, and they that conspired *Cæsars* death, wer very secret.

The Wife of *Fuluius* could containe no secrecy.

disclosed by her, it came at length to the Emperors eare, which procured the Senator such a check from his Lord, for being no founder to himselfe, that falling into dispaire vpon this disgrace, he resolued to kill himselfe. But imparting first his minde to his wife, to let her know what a shame she had done him, she made him answere; That he had no reason to be offended with her, because (during the long time they had liued together) till then, he had found no intelligence of her shallow Capacitie. But if he had made any proofe before, his beleefe could not haue bin abused, by crediting her. Neuertheless, since hee had bin the motiue of this hir first offence, she would make no further reference to him, but inflict the punishment vppon her selfe: wherupon, imediatly she slew her selfe in his presence; so did her Husband very quickly after.

A rash reward for breach of Secrecy.

We read in the life of the Emp. *Nero*, that a conspiracy of his death beeing made in *Rome*, as a matter most requisit for the *Romans*, and the whole State beside, in regard of his cruelties: The man that had vndertake to do the deed, meeting (by chaunce) with one, who was led to prison by the tirants command; and falling into a present consideration with himselfe, of the Emperors nature, that whomsoeuer he caused to be apprehended, could not escape death (as the present example of the prisoner approued, who wept bitterly because he could not auoid his hard lot) forthwith he stept to him, and (neuer remembring the important case which he was bound by Oath to conceale) said in his ear; *Pray that thy life may be spared but till to morrow, for if thou canst escape this day, I dare assure thee, Nero himselfe shall not put thee to death.* When the prisoner heard this, suspecting the case to be as it was indeed, and coueting to saue himselfe, reuealed it to *Cæsar*, willing him to haue especial care of his life. Hereupon, *Nero* caused him to be instantly attached that had spoken with the prisoner, and (by means of torments) forced him to confesse the whol coniuration; so by putting him to death the purposed plot was ouerthrowne.

A strange example vpon the breach of Secrecie, by the very sight of a prisoner.

Now *Pliny* reporteth an example to the contrary, of one *Anaxarchus*, who being taken vpon the like occasion, bit his tongue off in the midst betweene his teeth, because he would not disclose the secret complot; and afterward, he threw it in the Tyraunts face. The *Athenians* caused to be erected in Brasse, the Statue of a Lyonnesse, in honor of a publique knowne Woman, named *Lyonna*; for a memory of her constancy, in keeping secret an especiall Conspiracy: and the Figure was made without a tongue, to declare Secrecy thereby. The Seruants and Slaues of *Plancus* are likewise much commended, because no Torments could preuaile, to make them confesse to their Maisters Enemies, (who searched narrowly for him, and faine would haue slaine him) in what place hee had hidden himselfe. The Slaue of *Cato* the Oratour, perceiuing some Offence by his Maister committed, by Torments was in like manner laboured, to reueale his abyding; but nothing could preuaile against his setled constancy, to be Secret.

Plin. lib. 7. c. 23 Of *Anaxarchus* that bit out his own toong to keepe Secrecy.

The *Athenians* bow downe to *Lyonna*.

The faithfulnesse of the Seruants of *Plancus*: and of the slaue to *Cato* the Orator.

Quintus Curtius telleth vs; that the *Persians* helde it is an inuiolable law, to punnish most greeuously (and much more then any other Trespasse) him that discouered any Secret. For confirmation whereof, hee saieth; That King DARIVS beeing vanquished by ALEXANDER, and not knowing (in Flight) where to hide him-selfe; at length, when he had found out a place to his owne liking, no Tortures whatsoeuer, or liberall promises of recompence, could preuaile with them that knew it, or compell them to disclose it vnto any person. Hee saith moreouer, that the *Persians* were of this Opinion, that no man ought to commit any matter of Consequence, to him that could not truely containe it.

The Lawe of the Persians for breach of Secrecy.

Secrecie then is very necessarie in all things and occasions, but especiallie in Warre; and our most excellent and ancient Captaines, did euermore most iustly obserue it. *Phillip*, son to *Antigonus* the successour of *Alexander*, in the presence of diuers others, demaunded of his father, when the Army shoulde march on? whereto the K. angerly aunswered; *Art thou so deafe, that thou canst hear a trompet as other men shal?* whereby he gaue him to vnderstand, that he had offended in such a demand, which deserued no other answere in the presence of witnesses. There was a certain Tribune,

Secrecy most requisit in all occasions.

The Tribune of *Cecilius Metellus*.

in the Army of *Cecilius Metellus*, who asked of him, what hee intended concerning the warres yſſue? To whome *Metellus* replied: *If I thought that my ſhirt knew what I haue purpoſed, I would imediatly burn it heere before thee.* *Horace* amõg his Conuiniall Lawes, would haue euery man keepe ſecret whatſoeuer was done or ſaid. For this cauſe the *Athenians* were wont (when they met at any Feaſt) that he who was moſt auncient among them, ſhould ſhew to al the reſt the doore whereat they had entered, ſaying; *Take heed, that not ſo much as one word paſſe out from hence, of whatſoeuer ſhall heere be done or ſpoken.*

Horace in his Lawes conuiuiall, and the *Athenians* Cuſtome at Bankets.

The inſtruction of *Pythagoras* to his ſchollers for ſecrecy.

The firſt thing that *Pythagoras* taught his Schollers, was to be ſilent; therefore (for a certaine time) he kept them without ſpeaking, to the end, they might the better learne to preſerue Secrecy, and neuer to ſpeak but when time required: expreſſing thereby, that ſecrecy (among al other,) was the rareſt vertue. To approue this true, when *Ariſtotle* was demanded what thing appeared moſt difficult to him, he anſwered; *To be Secret and ſilent.* To this purpoſe, S. *Ambroſe* in his Offices, placeth among the principall foundations of Vertue, the patient guift of ſilence.

Ariſtotles anſwere of the moſt difficult thing.

The patient gift of ſilence.

Angerona, the Goddeſſe of ſilence.

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 5.

The God of Silence.

The *Romaines*, among their vaine & ydle Goddes, had a Goddeſſe of ſilence, named *Angerona*, which was figured holding her Finger vppon her Mouth, in ſigne of ſilence. And *Plinie* ſayth, that they vſed to Sacrifice vnto her the xxi. day of December: whereof likewiſe *Marcus Varro*, *Solynus*, and *Macrobius*, doe make mention. The GOD of Silence was alſo honoured by the *Egyptians*, and painted with his Finger vpon his Mouth, as *Catullus* and *Ouid* in like manner haue written. Whereby we may eaſily gather, what reuerend reſpect hath beene made of Secrecie, in regard they honoured it as a God. *Salomon* ſaith in his Prouerbes, that a King ought to drink no wine; for no other reaſon, but becauſe, where drunkenneſſe is, there can be no containing of Secrecy. And (in his opinion) he is vnworthy to raign, that cannot keepe his own Secrets. He ſaith moreouer, That he which diſcouers ſecrets, is a Traitour; and he that concealeth them, a faithfull Friend.

Salomon would haue a king to Drinke no Wine, for diſcloſing his ſecrets.

CHAP. XVIII.

How commendable it is, to ſpeake but little.

TO ſpeake but little, and (in that little) to be ſuccinct & ſententious, is a thing vertuous in it ſelfe, and highly commended by all Men of Knowledge. *Salomon* ſaith, *That to ſpeake much, cannot be without vice, but hee that refraineth his tongue, is wiſe.* Beſides, *Who keepes his tongue, keeps his ſoule.* And contrariwiſe, *He that ſpeakes inconſiderately, yeelds himſelfe as a prey to many euils.* Heer might be alledged the teſtimony of diuers learned men; but the Text in the Goſpell, may bee ſufficient, where it is ſaid; *That we ſhal giue an account for euery ydle word.*

Prou. 10, 20.

Prou. 15, 4.

Math. 5, 12.

The *Lacedemonians* (beyond all other of the Greeke Nations) delighted moſt in ſpeaking briefely; ſo that when anie Man was heard to ſpeake Compendiouſly, they would preſently ſay; *He diſcourſed Laconian-like.* King *Phillip*, the Father of *Alexander*, ſent them Worde, that he wold paſſe through their countrey with his Army; and therefore, they were ſpeedily to anſwer him, if he ſhold paſſe as their Friend, or their apparant Enemy; whereto (without any plentie of wordes) they replied: *Neither as the one, nor the other.*

The delight of the *Lacedemonians*.

A witty ſhort anſwere.

Artaxerxes King of Aſia, likewiſe ſent to tell them, that hee would come to make ſpoile and booty of thẽ; to which threatning, they anſwered thus: *Come and do what thou canſt.* I am of the mind, that in greater Coppy of wordes, they could not haue made a grauer anſwere. The Ambaſſadors of the *Samians*, vſed to hold very long diſcourſe in their conſiſtory, ſo that their Auditours (greatly wearied with ſuch tedious talking) wold thus anſwer them; *We haue forgotten one part already by you propounded vnto vs; & as for the reſt, wee know not wel how to vnderſtand it.* In like maner, to other Ambaſſadors of the *Abderites* (for vſing too much affectation in deliuery of their Embaſſie, and ſcarſely knowing where to end) when they demaunded their diſ-

Another of the ſame Nation.

The *Samians* prolix in their ſpeakings.

An apt answer to tedious Ambassadors.

dispatch, that they might returne home againe; *Agis* King of the *Lacedemonians* made them this answere: *You shall say to the Abderites, that wee heard yee all the huge while you were willing to speake.*

A tedious Orator talking with *Aristotle*, well aunswered.

Vpon a time, a certaine Oratour talked with *Aristotle*, and was so prolixe in his speech, as himselfe acknowledged his owne errour, and made his excuse, in concluding thus; *That he desired pardon, because he had held so long discourse with so wise a Philosopher. Aristotle* aunswered him pleasantly: *Good friend, thou hast no cause at all to aske pardon of me, because I tooke no heede of what thou saidst.* Wherein *Aristotle* returned him a iust requitall, and replyed aptly to our present purpose. Wee haue another example of too much pratling, by them that robd, and afterward kild *Ibycus* the Poet; for as thy halde him along thorow the Fieldes, farre enough from being seene, or heard of any body; he espied a Flocke of Cranes flying in the Ayre, to whom he cryed aloud, saying; *You Cranes shall beare witnesse what they doe vnto me.* After his death, no knowledge (in a long time) could be gotten, who were faulty in so foule a fact: vntill a certaine day, when a publique solemnity being made in the same Fielde, whereat two of them that had murdred *Ibycus* happened to be present. Suddenly, a great noyse of Cranes was heard aboue in the Ayre, which one of them perceiuing, scoffingly said to his fellow (not thinking any stander by had heard him;) *Hearke Fellow, these are the witnesses, that Ibycus said should disclose his death.* This being ouer-heard, by one too neer them, yet doubtful what he should imagine of such words, he began to suspect some euill; whereupon, he aduertised the Iudges and Gouernours what hee had heard. In breefe, the two Gallants were apprehended, and confessing the truth, Iustice was executed on them; This ensued through their liberall talking, without circumspection. Therefore a Man ought to regard well what he will say, while hee is maister of his owne minde; and withall, to respect both the time and persons present. *Hecates* the Greeke Orator, was on a time reproued, because (beeing at a merrie Banquet) he spake neuer a word, which checke being heard by *Archimedes*, hee replyed thus for him: *Me thinkes thou shouldst learne to vnderstand, that they which know well how to speake, do also know at what time to be silent.*

Example of them that kild the Poet *Ibycus*.

A notable example.

The iust reward of lauish talking.

Archimedes answere for *Hecates* the Oratour.

Heere might be alledged infinite examples, of perrils, ignominies, and death, hapning at diuers times to Men, onely by reason of too much talking. Wherefore, a Man should be very circumspect before hee open his mouth, least that which he speakes, do redound to his owne preiudice. Great *Cato* the Censor, from his Child hood, was naturally sober in speech; whereof he being reprehended by many, who tolde him that he was too strict in Taciturnity, he thus answered them: *I am not offended to bee reproued for my restraint of speech, seeing no man hath occasion to detect my life: for then, and not else would I break silence, and then it should be knowne how I could hold my peace.* *Isocrates* in the Book which hee wrote to *Demonicus*, saith; *There are two times for speaking; the one, when occasion dooth necessarily require it; the other, when a Man knowes whereof hee speakes.* *Plutarch* compares them that talke (without knowing what, or whereof) to emptie vessels, which alwayes do sound louder then those that are filled.

Cato Censorius his wise answere in his owne defence

Isocrat. in Lib. ad Demon. Cap. 15.

Plutarch. in Moral. Cap. 4. Lib. 6.

It is declared to vs, by *Zeno* the Philosopher, that Nature gaue vs two ears, and but one tongue: for no other reason, but to heare much, and speake little. *Horace* giues vs councell, to shun such as are busie in many demaunds, because themselues are but Questioners, and needlesse Pratlers. *Suetonius* reporteth (in confirmation of other mens Arguments, to the same intent) that the principall cause, which moued *Octauius* to fauor *Mecenas* so much, was; because he vsed to speake sildome, and then but little too, giuing himselfe wholly vnto silence. *Cicero* affirmeth, that *Cato* the Oratour, would neuer set downe any of his Orations in writing, saying; *I can repent my selfe of any thing that I haue said, but I would not haue my writing come to reproofe, because that it cannot be any way denied.* And because in reprehending ouer-much talking, I would be loath to fall into the same errour, I will be silent, concluding thus with that Graue Philosopher *Seneca*: *I haue many times repented my selfe for speaking, but neuer because I held my peace.*

To heare much, and to speake little.

Busie questioners are to be auoyded.

Of speaking sildome and but little.

Cicero, of *Cato* the Oratour.

An excellent saying of *Seneca*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the famous Philosopher Plutarch; *his learned Letter to the great Emperour* Traiane, *and diuers of his singular comparisons.*

PLutarch was one of the most excellent Morall Philosophers that euer liued; and beside, hee was a true Historiographer. Hee was Schoole-Maister to the good *Romaine* Emperour *Traiane*, born in *Spaine*, euen at the time that the *Romain* Empire was more great in Power and Possessions, then euer it had beene before, or after. This Emperour was the best and iustest of all the rest, and one that would diligently listen to the councell of his Maister: who fearing, least *Traiane* should be forward to any errour, or doe any thing vnwoorthy the good Discipline which hee had taught him: one day among others, he sent a letter vnto him, wherein these following enstructions were contained.

The Emperor *Traiane*, was the best of all the Emperors

Plutarchs Letter to the Emperor *Traiane.*

I know very well, both modesty and simplicity with-helde any desire in thee to the Empire, although thou didst euermore in merit out-go it, by thy vertue and perfection in manners: which made thee so much the more worthy of it, by how much thou soughtest least meanes to enioy it: So that I attribut all to thy vertue and good Fortune, which will enlarge and heighten my contentment, when I shall see thy faire Graces shine in thy Gouernment: for if thou doe otherwise, I make no doubt of thy falling into daunger, and that thou wilt giue occasion of reproach towards me. The danger concerning thy selfe, is, that Rome *could neuer endure a bad and cruell Emperour; and mine is, that people are alwaies ready, in imputing the Schollers faultes to the Maister. Wee haue two noatble examples to confirme this; the one, of* Seneca, *against whom all* Neroes *wickednesse was daily murmured; and the other, of* Quintilian, *who bare the rebuke of his Schollers ryot and excesse. I am assured, that if thou doe not forget thy selfe, but first will take order with thine owne affections, referring all thine actions to vertue: thou canst do nothing but what is good and perfect. The rules which thou oughtst to obserue, that the manners of thine Empire may be mended, they are taught thee by my Bookes, if thou list to follow them: Plutarch may so be Authour of thy life; if otherwise, I call this my Letter to witnesse, that it was not by my councell or aduise, that thou didst any thing to the preiudice, and damage of the Common-Wealth of the Romaine Empire. So God preserue thee.*

Seneca reproued for *Nero*, and *Quintilian* for his Schollers.

This Letter had such power ouer *Traiane* (with the helpe of his owne vertuous inclination) that he becam a most excellent Prince. True it is, that before he was called to the Empire, hee was a Man of good manners and vertues: so that, although this Dignity had neuer before beene permitted to strangers, yet so it happened, that *Nero* his Predecessour (albeit hee had a great Kinred in *Rome*, and *Traiane* was a *Spaniard:*) yet hee (notwithstanding) elected *Traiane* to succeed him in the Empire, whereby *Nero* wan himselfe Grace and good opinion. For *Traiane* gouerned so iustly, and was a man so vertuous, that after his deceasse, when they went to elect and institute a new Emperour: the people alwaies desired of God, that he would giue him the goodnesse of *Traiane*, and the fortune of *Octauian.*

What *Traiane* was before he was Emperor.

The rare Iustice of *Traiane* in his gouernment.

Plutarch then beeing a man of rare and especiall vertues, filled his workes with Learning and singuler examples; that any man (how well read soeuer he was) might thence deriue good Rules and Instructions, for guiding him to an happy and vertuous life. He had a great Grace in his cõparisons, wherof I haue made obseruation of a few, according as they follow. He that abaseth himselfe, and forsaketh vertue, for any mishap that may betide him: is like vnto a Childe, who seeing something taken from him where with hee sported, in a rage casts away all the rest out of his hand, though it were neuer so sweete and delicate to feed on.

Plutarch his witty and learned comparisons.

Of Vertue.

As he that is amorous of a Woman, doth continually repute her to be faire, though some Wart or Scar may somewhat impaire her countenance: So a true louer of Vertue, albeit he beholde the vertuous despised and ill intreated, will neuer thinke of her waies the worsse,

worse, or giue ouer for any disgraces whatsoeuer.

Of Enuy. As Kites or Rauens can neither more or lesse hurt a liuing Body, but worke their tyranny on the dead: So hee that hateth any Man, lookes onely vpon his dead Vices, and neuer lifts vp an eye to his good and vertuous Actions.

Of Temperance. As Water moderateth the heat and fury of Wine: Euen so in a Common-Wealth, old Men ought to temperate with good councell, the angry and fiery spleenes of such as are young.

Of Discretion. As a poore Slaue or Seruant, is most ioyfull when hee gets free from the power of a sharpe and cruell Maister: So should an old man reioyce, to escape the bad inclinations and disordered affections, which alwaies are the daungerous companions to youth.

Of Negligence. As a Blinde man growes quickly angry, and sticks not to call him Blinde, who (against his will) happens in meeting to harme him: Euen so wee complaine on our ill fortunes, though they come by our owne occasions, and worthily whip vs with our owne Rod.

Of Prouidence. As through fault of quenching a smal sparke, a great fire is kindled, which consumes the whole House: So thorow want of prouidence, against the sedition of a few particulars, sometimes the whole State happens to be ruined.

Of Phisicke. *Plutarch* tels vs moreouer; That hee who is subiect to Phisitions, Purgations, and Medicines; resembleth him, that being banished from the Cittie of Men wherein he was borne, is forced to seeke his fortune among hard-welcomming Strangers.

Of Wilfulnes He that craues councell and aduise for his errour, and then amends it not: is like vnto him, that needs will haue his Impostume opened, and yet cannot endure to haue it purged and healed.

Of Folly. He that learnes Morall & Politick Philosophy, and knoweth not how to make vse of it: is like him that lights a Lamp, and feedes it not with Oyle to doe him seruice.

Of Wickednesse. As the Worme is engendred at the Trees foote, and encreasing with it, at length destroyes it: Euen so a bad man, bolstreth his lewdnesse vnder the fauor of his Prince, and in the end becomes an ingratefull Trayrour to him.

Of Talking. Newes that are reported by a Foole or Iester; is like Corne put into a moist vessell, where it gets a competent greatnesse, but quickely breaketh and commeth to nothing.

CHAP. XX.

The Originall and beginning of the Art Military, or Warre: Who they were that first intruded one vpon anothers Gouernmēt. Of the Inuenters also of diuers kinds of Weapons, especially of Artillery, and such like.

War deriued it selfe from the sins of our first Fathers. IT is a matter sufficientlie manifest, that warre, strife, & discord among Men, took their Originall from the sinnes of our fore-fathers; and it remaineth to perpetuall remembrance, that of ADAMS first Sonnes, one killed the other. So that Originall Iustice being thus lost, afterward there neuer wanted debates and strife among Men; whereby it appeareth, that Warre and Enmity began in our first Parents. But the Science of Warre, or Military Art, as also the manner of making Warre, practised by a number of many, against as many (albeit his beginning came from Sinne, and his best part; yea, oftentimes his end is cruelty, blood, and impiety) yet hath it beene held in such reputation; that both the Art it selfe, and those skilfull therein, haue beene preferred by Men, beyond all other matters of Prudence and Industry, and hath risen (by degrees) to bee aboue all other degrees.

Of the Art of Warre.

Diodorus Siculus, and other Authours beside, doe holde, that *Mars* was the first Maister of this Art, and that for this cause, the Poets fabulously named him the God of Battailes. *Cicero* giues the honour of this Inuention, to *Pallas* the Goddesse, and saith; that thereupon she was named *Bellona*. To whose opinion many Poets do consent; therefore, they contrary herein the auncient Originall, which *Iosephus* attributes thereto, in the first Booke of his *Antiquities*; for there hee assures vs, that in the first Age, and before the Deluge,

Diodorus Siculus.

Cice. in lib. 3. de natura Deorum

Ioseph. in Lib. 1. de Antiquit. Cap. 12.

Tubal

Tuball taught the Art of Warre.

Tuball was the only Man of his time, and that by great paines and endeuour, hee first instructed the Millitary Art. Others are quite opposite hereto, and say; that it was first knowne after the Flood: therefore it is hard to know the particular Author, whatsoeuer he was. Neuertheless, it seemes, that from the beginning, wars and quarrels (which arose among Kings and Princes) grew rather vpon ambition, & desire of honor, then any intent to bereaue or deprive the goods of one another.

Ambition and Honour the cause of contention.

Iustine, and *Trogus Pompeius* say, that *Ninus* King of the *Assirians*, was the first that guided an Army from his Kingdome, onely vpon greedy Auarice, and desire to subdue anothers Territories.

Ninus was the first that led an Armie.

The *Prætor Fabian* certifies as much, in the beginning of that little scantling which wee haue of his History; and the like doth Saint *Augustine*. King *Ninus* so well gouerned both himselfe and his Army, that he ouercame many Cities and Countries, leauing them to his successours, and so they continued to his Posterity, according to the Computation and Record of Saint *Augustine*, *Eusebius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, for the space of thirteene hundred yeares, still descending downe from Father to the Sonne, and no want or defect of Heires in succession, in the whole course of three and thirty Kings; or (according as some others do maintaine) for thirty six Kings, euen vntill the ful power and rule came to the lubricious Monster *Sardanapalus*, in whose time the Empire was lost, and fell then into the Possession of the *Medes*.

Fabianus. Pret.

Augus. Lib. 4. de. Ciuit. Dei.

A long discent of continuance from *Ninus*, gotten all by rapine.

Ninus then, according to the Testimony of our recited Authours, was the onely first victorious Conqueror; and yet we read, that (before his time) there had bin Wars; but (as we haue said already) it seemeth that it was not attempted, for the dispossessing Men of their Goods, Lands, and Inheritances, but for an affection after the Worldes honor and estimation: as we find recorded of *Vessor* King of *Ægipt*, who would needs start out of his owne Kingdome, against *Tanais* the *Scythians* King. *Tanais* (bound in honor to meete him) hapned to be the Conquerour: and yet did not he bereaue *Vessor* of his Crown or country, or any other of his Goods, as King *Ninus* made it his vsuall custome to do. Therfore it should appeare, that he was the first, that made and instituted lawes to be obserued in Armies and Battailes, allowing the victor to be Maister of the Lands & possessions of the vanquished.

There were Warres before the time of *Ninus*.

Vessor King of *Egypt*, warred against King *Tanais*, & was ouerthrowne for his labour.

Ninus made the first lawes for Armies.

Now concerning those Weapons (as well defensiue as offensiue) where-with they put their attempts in execution, & pursued the spleen of their violent fury: it is not to bee doubted, but that at the beginning of those Wars, they vsed no Weapons of inequality or aduantage. But (as the Poet *Lucretius* reporteth) they began with byting and scratching, teeth, and nayles; and afterward fell to Stones and Staues: euen as yet to this day, many barbarous Nations vse to do. For (as yet) they had not reached to the height of hate and mallice in men, to force Iron out of the earths Intrals, and therewith to graspe at their Neighbors goods. *Pliny* affirmeth, that in the first Wars of the *Moores* with the *Ægiptians*, they fought onely with Cudgels and Staues: but afterward they grew to further practise, and inuented such diuersity of Weapons, onely to hurt and offend one another, that it was accounted very strange to behold, how men endeuored to kill and murder one another.

The first Order of weapons, Teeth and Nailes.

Plinie. in Lib. 7. Cap. 16.

Concerning the men that were Inuenters of these deuises, the opinion is very diuers. Poets in their fixions do tell vs, that *Mars* the God of Armes was the enginer of them. *Pliny* recordeth, that the *Ætolians* were the first that euer carryed any Launce to the Fielde; and likewise saith, that the *Lacedemonians* first inuented the Head-peece, and the Sword and Axe for defence thereof. But *Herodotus* attributeth the deuising of the Helmet and Shield, to the *Egiptians*: as also the Arming Coat of Maile, and the Breastplate, to a man of *Misena*, named *Mydas*; and Darts were deuised by one borne in *Ætolia*. It is likewise maintained, that *Pentheselea* Q. of the *Amazones*, was the first that fought in field with the Axe & Club: and that *Scythes*, the Son of *Iupiter*, was the first Inuenter of Bow and Arrowes, but it is thought to be *Perseus*; and *Diodorus* holds it to be *Apollo*.

Who were the first deuisers of War.

Herod in Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

The people that inhabited the Illands cald *Baleares* (which at this day are tearmed *Maiorque*, and *Minorque*) according to the opinion of *Vegetius*, in his treatise of the

Veget. in Lib. de Arte Milit. Cap. 2.

the Art Military, were they that first inuented Slings, for conueyance of stones against their Enemies, because they had no other Weapon of defence for themselues. Thus Men (we see) according to the times, necessity, and variety of their owne mindes, haue found out and deuised diuers weapons and Instruments: which neuertheless (in my conceit) the very same Weapons haue bin likewise inuented in other places, not much differing from the instant Times, without any intelligence or knowledge the one of the other. Therefore, that I may not bee troublesome to the Reader, I leaue to wade in further search of opinions; albeit, they are much pertinent to our present purpose: as to set downe who were the deuisers of sundry sorts of Engines, and Warlike Instruments, for battering of Walles, Forts, and Bulwarkes, wherein there is likewise as great difference in opinion. For *Eusebius* affirmeth, that *Moyses* was the Deuiser of those huge and great Engins of Warre. *Plutarch* tels, that *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, and *Eudoxus* brought and reduced these Artes to full perfection, and that they found out many Instruments, for the breaking downe of Wals and greatest Buildings.

The self same weapons haue bin deuised in diuers places, and at one instant.

In Lib. 9. de preparat. Euangel.

The *Beliers* (and beside according to *Pliny*) found out the vse of the Sword at the siedge of *Troy*: but *Vitouuius* is of the mind, that it rather cam from the siedge of *Athens*. The Scorpion or great Crosse-Bow, where-with they would hurle huge Stones into Towns; in *Plinies* iudgement, was inuented by them of *Creete* and *Syria*. The people of *Phœnicia*, were the first that releeued themselues with the Engines of repulse and sharp piercing: but yet all these Inuentions were light, triuiall, and of slender importance, because they are farre surpassed in rigour and cruelty, by deuise of Powder for the Cannon, and other such like Artillerie. These are said to be first deuised by a *Germaine*, whose Name we finde no where recorded, and deseruedly (in my minde) as beeing vnworthy of any remembrance. The first that made vse of them, as *Blondus* & *Raphaell Volateranus* doe affirme, happened to bee the *Venetians*, against the *Genewaies*, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and eighty. And yet according to better Iudgement, and partly I am of the same opinion, that this inuention is of more ancient standing: because in the Chronicle of *Alphonsus*, the eleauenth King of *Castile* (euen he that conquered *Algazara*) it is found recorded, that he being at the siedge of the saide Citty, in the yeare one thousand three hundred forty three; the besiedged *Moores* did then throw forth of certaine Thundring Engines or Weapons, which were made of hollow Iron, like Morters or Troughes in them, diuers annoyances among their enemies; and this was forty yeares before the time whereof *Blondus* speaketh.

The *Moores* besiedged at *Algazara*, by the King of *Castile*.

Againe, long time before that also, in the Chronicle of the saide King *Alphonsus*, whose fortune was likewise to Conquer *Tolledo* in *Spaine*, the Lorde *Don Pedro* Bishop of *Leon*, writes that in a Battell by Sea, which was betweene the King of *Thunis*, and the *Moore*, King of *Seuile*, whom King *Alphonsus* highly fauoured: the men of *Thunis* had certaine Tonnels or Bombards of Iron, & there-with they threw abroad strange thundrings of Fire, which needes must be Artillery; Although it was not in any such perfection, as vse and time hath made it now to be: and this was foure hundred yeares since, and more.

A Battaile at Sea betweene *Thunis* and *Seuile*.

The vse of the Sword, deuised at the siedge of *Troy*.

All former inuentions were nothing, in comparison to shot and powder.

Blondus, and *Raphaell Volateranus*, concerning who first made vse of shot and Powder.

CHAP. XXI.

The rare fortune of two Women, who by wearing the Habite and Garments of men, with Actions and Gestures sutable thereto, attained to two mightie Dignities, the one to be Pope of Rome, and the other Empresse.

I Make no doubt, but that many haue heard of a Woman, who was made Pope of *Rome*, yet because al men do not know in what manner it was, and beeing one of the most especiall matters of maruell happening in those times; I am the more willing to speake thereof, according to the extract made out of the truest Historians. Shee was borne in *England*, and in the time of her youth, she had acquaintance with

Pope *Ioane* was an English Woman borne, and left her country in the habite of a Man.

with a learned Man, of whom finding herselfe to be beloued, with no lesse affection then she bore to him, she vndertooke the habite of a Man, & calling hir selfe by the Name of Brother *Iohn*, left her Countrey, and went to remaine with him in the Citty of *Athens*, where the *Academies* and generall studies then flouriſhed. There for a certaine space she soiourned with him, and attained such a liberall flowing Spirit towardes learning, that with-drawing her selfe thence afterward to *Rome*: she read there publiquely in the Schooles, in the habit and degree of a Doctour. By which reading, besides diuers daily disputations, she wonne such an vnaccustomed conceit of her Auditory, that shee was reputed for one of the very chiefest learned Men of that time; yea, and gained such aduancement by the rising of degrees, that the Seat Apostoliciall beeing in intermission (by reason of the death of Pope *Leo*, the fourth of that Name, in the yeare of our Sauiour, eight hundred fifty two, and beeing taken to bee a Man by Nature) shee was chosen to be great Byshop of *Rome*; and Pope vniuersal, to gouern the Church, wherein she held the Seat for the space of two yeares, thirtie dayes, and (as is thought by some) some few others beside.

She read in the publique Schooles in *Rome*, as a Doctour.

Pope *Leo* the fourth dying, *Ioane* was chosen Pope.

Being in this supreame Dignity, which is a strange Spur to very bold attempts, (especially in a Sexe so fraile by nature) forgetfull of her former carefull and ciuill carriage; she affected the company of one of her Attendants, vpon whose trust and faith relying, shee not onely disclosed her imperfection of kinde, but also acquainted him with so much familiarity, that there grew an alteration in the supposed Grand-*Pontifexe*; euen so much, as (in secret) might bee saide, great with child. Neuertheless, she couered this Crime with such Art & cunning, as none but her Minion onelie could any way reueale it. But that high and supreame power, which continually hath an eye vpon the closest wickednesse (in Iustice) permitted the meanes to bring it to immediat correction. For as she was carried in the vsuall solemnity, to visite the Church of Saint *Iohn de Laterana*: the time of womens denounced trouble suddenly came vppon her,

The frailtie of a woman *Pope*.

and vnder suspition of a contrary sickenesse (but indeede the fruites of her Louers disease) she was there deliuered of a Male-Child (though some say Female) euen betweene the Church of Saint *Clement* and the *Theater*, improperlie called *Coliseus*, and there the Mother & Child died both instantly together, and were likewise so buried, without any pompe or solemnity.

Pope *Ioane* was deliuered of a Childe, in her solemne procession to *S. Iohn Laterana*.

For which vnexpected accident, the common opinion is, that a new order was determined for procession of the succeeding Byshoppes; which was, to shunne that former way, because it had giuen a note of so great scandall, and therefore they must passe through another streete, in detestation of a Fact so horrible.

And yet in regard of this reason, they haue set downe an obseruation, that when any one comes to bee enstaulled Pope, they haue a Chaire purposely made open, like a Close-stoole, and by their passage vnderneath it, it is secretly and assuredly knowne, if *Habet testiculos*, hee bee a Man or Woman. And many Authors discoursing hereon, doe make an vndoubted certainety thereof. *Platina* onely saith, that they haue a rich appointed Chair (but of the same fashion as is vsed in common necessities) to the end, that hee who is to bee elected Pope, may (without further question) be knowne for a Man. What is saide heereof beside, as by the same *Platina*, *Martinus* in the liues of the Popes, *Sabellicus*, and S. *Anthoninus* in his Histories, they do all agree to the same effect. I finde also written, that in the sayde Streete, there is an Image or Statuë of stone erected, which declares the childs birth, and death of this impudent and shameleſſe Woman.

The order of the Chaire for enstalmēt of *Popes*.

But notwithstanding all this, let the accident bee held very strange, as it is indeede, yet during the time that this Woman abused the World, it was no reproch vnto the Church of God, neyther did it become any iot blemished in Faith, because shee can neuer want her true Head, which is Iesus Christ, who still bestowes on her the Influences of his Graces, and the blessed effects of the Sacraments; And so long as such a head doth protect hir, the Sacraments continue in their powerfull vertue, to such

Iesus Christ is the true head of his Church heere in earth

such as soundly receiue them, and with firme Faith, because Christ supplies (by his Grace) all other defects. Admit this woman, nor any other, can be capable of receiuing or giuing any one Carracter of orders, or absoluing any one, but that whatsoeuer was then done by her or them, it standes to no effect or purpose, as wee haue already said: yet the Spouse of Christ, standing clear and vntainted of any corruption, hath still recourse to the onely Head Christ, who euermore hath an especiall care of her and hers. Yet this we may say concerning her, that questionlesse, her Wisedome appeared to be maruailous, onlie in this respect, that for so many yeares, and in such degrees of Estate, she could so well maintaine her credit.

The onely dependance of the Church, is vpon Christ her Head.

But that which *Theodosia*, the Empresse of *Constantinople* did, is woorthy of as great admiration, because the minde of the one, was but to faigne her selfe a Man; and the other, to bee reputed a Man; notwithstanding, euery one knew her to be a Woman. For the Empire beeing vacant, by the death of her Brother *Zoer*, and her Husband *Constantine*, she being at that time entred into Religion: knew yet so well how to manage the State affaires, that she tooke vpon her to be Emperour, and (in his place) was feared and obeied. For without the helpe of Father, Husband, or Brother, she gouerned the Empire most nobly in peace and prosperity, for the space of two yeares, and then died, to the great greefe of her Subiectes, and in the time of Pope *Leo* the ninth, and the yeare of our Lord, one thousand and fifty.

Of *Theodosia*, Empresse of *Constantinople*.

CHAP. XXII.

The first beginning of the Amazons, and of many notable thinges by them not onely attempted, but likewise boldly put in execution.

ALthough I haue not bound my selfe to any direct or absolute order, concerning my first intended purpose in this worke, but doe write of thinges according as they present themselues, or els as they please me in Collection; yet notwithstanding, by this ensuing Chapter, I shall not much differ from the last declared Subiect, where I discourssed of two hardy and aduenturous Women, and the vnusuall fortunes that did befal them. For which cause, I holde it not amisse in this very next place (maintaining still the last argument) to speake of the *Amazons*, who were as woorthy as any other in the Worlde whatsoeuer. Albeit, there are many Men, that take a delight in abasing the perfection of Women, taxing them with leuity, wantonnesse, softnesse, and many other imperfections: yet I cannot but confesse, that there are men, who doe exceed thē in a thousand greater defects. For to speake no more then meerly Iustice requireth, Women haue gone beyond men in all kindes of vertues, or (at least) not giuen place to them in any thing; either in Loue, Loialty, Charity, Deuotion, Pitty, Affability, Temperance, Mercy, and all other vertues that can be alleaged. And if among them, some one bad and imperfect body hap to be met withall, a thousand worse are easily found among mē; and it is a case so plaine and apparant, as it were needlesse heere to insert any examples.

Men take a pleasure in disgracing the vertues of Women.

Women haue equalled Men in all perfections whatsoeuer.

In one thing (perchance) men will claime some superiority aboue them, that they haue the aduantage of them in martial disposition, whereunto women are not so apt and able, because that in such an exercise, ther is required fiercenesse, cruelty, and many other stormy qualities, which (by nature) they cannot vse, neither hath it pleased God (if it be lawfull to say so) to make them thereto prompt or able. Yet notwithstanding, to the end that men may know, that enen therein also (when they list to imploy themselues) they can stand equall with them; yea, and (if neede be) somewhat surmount them. For there hath bin found many women, that haue performed admirable things in Armes. And because rehearsall of many commendable Histories to this purpose, doth require too long a discourse; it shal suffice to speake of the *Amazons*, who were most vvatlike vvomen, and (vvithout the counsell or aduise of any Man)

Men more apt to Armes, thē Women: and yet women (when they please) as able as Men.

did vanquish diuers powerfull Armies, conquered great Countries, Cities, & Prouinces, which continued long time after in their rule and possession.

Concerning the abiding of the *Amazones*, according to the opinion of Authors.

Many learned men both Ancient and Modern, haue approued their Histories to be very certaine. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, he affirmeth them to haue two seuerall Prouinces of the World; the one was in the *Asiatique Scythia*, a Prouince in the North parts of *Asia*, which was very great, and contained in it many other Prouinces. *Ptolomey* did deuide it into two partes, by the Mountaine **Imaus*, and it is at this day (in mine opinion) that which is cled *Tartaria*, in *Asiaticke Scythia*, and different from that *Scythia* which is in *Europe*. The other was in *Lybia*, a Prouince of *Affrica*, and (as one saith) that it was long before that of *Scythia*. But because most commonly, Authors (speaking of the *Amazones*) doe vnderstand and meane them of *Asia*; it is of them that I am determined to speake, and I will principally follow *Iustine* & *Diodorus*, who haue written most distinctly of them.

*A Mountain parting *India* from *Scythia*.

Of the *Scythians* a warlike Nation, who first were gouerned by two Kings.

The *Scythians* were very warlike men, of whom wee haue good testimony in many Histories, they had (in their first yeares) two Kings, to whom they yeelded al obedience, and were in order gouerned by them. Neuertheless, because it is the naturall propertie of Dominion, quickly to wax proud, and not to allow any equall or companion: there happened betweene these two Kings so great question and controuersie: as at length it grew wholly to a ciuill warre. In which difference, one side remained Conquerour in the end, and two men (of greatest note) on the contrary faction; the one beeing named *Plynus*, and the other *Scolopith*, were banished thence, with a great number of their Adherents; who with-drawing themselues to the limits of *Cappadocia*, in the lesser *Asia*, in despite of the Inhabitants of the Country, they made their abode along the Riuer* of *Thormodon* (now called *Pormon*) which entreth into the *Euxine* Sea, otherwise called * *Pontus*. There making themselues Lords of the Country, and of the neighbouring parts, they raigned there for some certaine yeares, vntill such time as the Country people and their Confederates, finding themselues to bee greatly offended, made a conspiracy against them, & assembling themselues secretly together, did so cunningly by deceipt ouer-reach them, that (in the end) they slew them all.

*Pormō was so called of *Themiscyra*, a country of *Pontus*, bordring vpon *Cappadocia*.
* The Sea betweene *Mæotis* and *Tenedos* so called of *Pontus* the son of *Nereus*.

The tidings of their death comming to the eares of their Wiues, remaining in the former Country, procured them to extreame greefe and heauinesse, and preuailed so with them, that (albeit they were Women) they tooke vpon them such a manly courage, as, concluding to reuenge the death of their Husbandes, they rose vp in Armes, and grew to bee very expert therein. Now, to the end, that in this fortune they might bee all equal, and the sorrow common, without any exception: they slew some other of their Husbands, that remained behinde when the other were banished. And then mustring themselues into a mighty Army, they left their dwelling, refusing mariage with many that earnestly therto required them. When they were arriued at the Countrey of their Enemies, (who made slender account of it, notwithstanding they had sufficient aduertisement) they tooke them vnprouided, and put them euery man to the Sword; heereof is deliuered credible testimony, by *Pomponius Mela*, *Propertius*, and *Claudian* in the rape of *Proserpina*. And they do further signifie, that this being done, they tooke vpon them the gouernment of the Country, abiding (at their beginning) along the Riuer *Thermodon*, in the place where their Husbands was slaine.

Women rise in Armes, to reuenge the death of their Husbands.

Pomponius Mela. Lib. 1. Propertius lib. 3 Claudian. in rapt. Proserpin.

Now although that diuers Authours doe differ, concerning the first place of plantation or seating, where these *Amazons* made their dwelling; yet neuertheless it is a constant truth, that the beginning of their raigne, and the certaine place of their habitation, was by this Riuer: but of their surmounting afterward to many other Prouinces, diuers opinions are deliuered, which at large are discussed by *Strabo*, and others. But in these places they fortified themselues, and wan sundry other neighbouring Countries, making election of two Queenes among them; the one named *Marpesia*, and the other *Lampedon*. These two worthy Women, deuided their warlike Troop into two parts, continuing with great concord, and each assisting the other with boldnesse and hardiment,

The first beginning of the raigne of the *Amazons*.

The two first Queenes of the *Amazons*.

to

to defend the Countries which they had conquered. In the end, to make their name more famous and dreadfull (such was the folly and credence of weak Men in those times) they feigned themselues to be the Daughters of *Mars*, according to the affirmation of *Iustine*, and *Seruius* vpon the *Æneidos*, and *Valerius Flaccus*, in part of his fourth Booke of the *Argonauts*.

Iustine. Lib. 5. Seru. sup. Enei. Valerius Flaccus, in Lib. 4. Argonaut.

Afterward, these wonderfull women liuing in this manner, with peace and vpright Iustice among them, they began to consider on the succession of time, that through want of Daughters to succeede them, Warre and Time would at length deuour them: whereupon, they purposed to contract Marriage with certaine of their Neighbours, whom *Pliny* reporteth to be called *Gargarians*, vppon condition, that at a certaine time, their Husbands should meet them in a place conueniently appointed, and there to keepe them company for diuers daies, vntill they could guesse themselues to be conceiued with child; which done, they were to returne againe to their owne Habitations. If they hapned to be deliuered of Daughters, they would bee Nurses to them, & breed them vp in aptnesse of Armes, with all other manly exercises: as to ride Horses, runne swiftly, Hauke, and Hunt. But if they were Male Children, then they would send them to bee educated by their Fathers, except they pleased to reserue some one or two only. *Diodorus* saith, that such Male Children as they kept with them, they wold writh and bruise their Armes and Legs; so that in no wise they should bee able to carry Armes, and therefore they serued to no other vse, but to spinne, sow, weaue, and performe such other like feminine qualities.

Pli. lib. 6. cap. 7.

The order obserued among the *Amazons* for increasing their gouernment, and education of their Children.

Now because these *Amazons* did much helpe themselues in their Warres with Bowes and Arrowes, and finding that in this & other exercises of armes, their Dugs or Breastes were a very great hinderance to them: They vsed to burn off the right Pap, both of themselues and their Daughters; and thereuppon they were called Amazons, which signifieth in the Greek tongue, *No Breasts*; albeit some other doe giue another Etimology to this name. Encreasing still on by course of time, to be in number both many and mighty, they made great prouision for Armes and warlike Actions, and leauing their Countrey (which seemed somewhat too little for them) to the custody of such as they reposed trust in, they wandred abroad, displacing & conquering all such, whom they found to be rebellious against them. Hauing passed the riuer *Tanais*, they entred into *Europe*, where they subdued many countries, and so directed their course towards *Thrace*: from whence they returned (afterward) with great spoiles and victories, and re-entring Asia, brought diuers other Prouinces into their obedience; which were so many, that *Amianus Marcellinus* saith, they went so farre as to the *Caspian* Sea.

* A Riuer in *Scythia*, which parteth *Asia* from *Europe*.

Amianus Marcellinus in lib. 9. Cap. 13.

They builded and peopled infinite goodly Cities, among which is comprised (according to the opinion of sem Authours) that of **Ephesus*, so much renowmed, because it had bin alwaies the cheefe Citty of their Empire, and the principall of all other, on the borders of *Thermedon*. They vsed in their warres, to defend themselues with Targets, which (according as it is saide by *Virgill*) were made in resemblance like halfe Moons. *Martianus Capellus* declareth, that at their entrance into battaile, they sounded strange kindes of Flutes, to harten and embolden their followers to the fight, euen according as the *Lacedemonians* were wont to doe. In large extendure did the fame of these Women spread it selfe, euen to the time that *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many other valiant men liued in *Greece*. This *Hercules* was commaunded by *Euristhenes* King of *Athens*, that he should go with a strong power of armed men against the Amazons, & that he should bring away the Armors of their two Queenes, which then were two Sisters; to wit, *Antiopa* and *Orythia*. Vpon this commaund, *Hercules* (swelling with desire of honour) accompanied with *Theseus*, and others his deare Friendes: tooke Sea, and sayling by the *Pontique* Sea, landed in the most commodious place of the Riuer *Therme-don*, which hee entred so couertly, and at a time of such aduantage, as *Orythia* (one of the two Queenes) was gone out of the Countrey, with the greater part of her Women, to war and conquer a new

* *Ephesus* an old Citie of *Ionia*, rebuilded by the *Amazons*, famous for the Temple of *Dyana*, which was held for one of the seauen wonders of the world.

Euristhenes K. of *Athens*, his charge to *Hercules*.

Antiopa and *Orythia*, Queenes of the *Amazons*.

Hercules and *Theseus* came against the *Amazons*.

Vpon what reason they were named *Amazons*.

found Countrey: so that he found *Antiopa*, neither doubting or knowing the least note of his comming. By meanes whereof, *Hercules* and his Followers found the *Amazones* vnprouided, and although they betooke themselues to Armes, & immediatly stood vpon their owne defence, with such diligence as so short warning gaue them leaue: yet were they neuertheleſſe vanquished, throwne into disorder, and many of thē slaine, and the rest surprized: among whom were two Sisters to the Queene, whereof the one was named *Menalippa*, prisoner to *Hercules*; and the other *Hyppolita*, in like bondage to *Theseus*. Some Historians say, that they were conquered on a certaine day appointed for the battaile: And that afterward these two Sisters were vanquished in the *Duello* or single combat, one to one; but herein I follow the opinion of *Iustine* and *Diodorus*.

Menalippa and *Hyppolita* Sisters to *Antiopa*, Queene of the *Amazons*.

The Queene *Antiopa* perceiuing this ouerthrow, and that her Noble Sisters were in this manner taken; she came to a composition with *Hercules*, to whom she gaue her Armor to cary to King *Euristhenes*, vpon condition, that he should deliuer backe her Sister *Menalippa*. But *Theseus*, notwithstanding all Royall offers made him, by no meanes would returne his Prisoner *Hyppolita*. *Hercules* hauing thus compassed his intention, returned home with his company. These newes comming to the knowledge of *Orythia* (then absent from her Country, (as we haue heard already declared) no tidings euer came to her of more griefe and disgrace; so that (growing iealous of a greater danger) she returned home suddenly with her *Amazones*. The greater part of them (iumpping with her in opinion) perswaded the Queen *Antiopa*, to reuenge this their iniury vppon the *Grecians*. Whereupon, they prepared great prouision for war, and after they had assembled and marshalled the greater number of their *Amazones*, they sent to entreat *Sigillus* King of the *Scythians*, to lend them assistance: who then sent them his Sonne *Peasagoras*, with a great multitude of his ablest Horse-men. Being thus by them strengthned, the *Amazones* entred *Europe*, and proceeded on to the Limits of *Athens*, doing much damage all the way of their passage. But *Peasagoras* entred into a priuate quarrell with the Queene and her Women, by meanes whereof, the *Scythians* could not be drawn to fight, but withdrew themselues apart; which so weakned the power of the *Amazones*, as they were not able to endure the rough encounters of the *Grecians*, but perforce must yeeld to their hard fortune, beeing subdued and vanquished, and the most part of them cruelly massacred. Such as could escape, fled to the Camp of the *Scythians*, who tooke them into their defence, and so returned backe into their owne Country, where afterward they liued not so potent as before.

Peasagoras quarrelleth with *Orithya* and her *Amazones*, which caused their ouerthrow.

In following time it fortuned, the *Grecians* passed into *Asia*, when they attained to that memorable Conquest of *Troy*, at which time raigned as Queene ouer the *Amazones*, a worthy Woman named *Pentheſilea*, who remembring the former wronges receiued by the *Grecians*: went with a mighty band of her *Amazones* to succour the *Troyans*, where the Queen did performe very rare deeds of Armes. But the *Troyans* beeing conquered as fast as they sallied forth (wher they found the *Amazones* fighting in their assistance) they were almost all slaine: *Pentheſilea* perrished by the hand of *Achilles*; whereuppon, so many as remained aliue, returned home into their Countrey, with such small strength (in regard of what they had bin before) that very hardly could they defend and keep their ancient possessions.

The *Grecians* goe to siedge of *Troy*

Queene *Pentheſilea* slaine by *Achilles*.

And so they continued vntill such time as *Alexander* the great went into *Asia*, to make war vpon the rebellious *Hyrcanians*: At which time, one of their Queens named *Thaleſtria*, accompanied with a great number of her *Amazones*, left her Countrey, with desire to see and know that powerfull Conquerour. And comming neere the place where hee was, she sent an Ambassadresse vnto him, to attaine safe conduct for her sight of him; giuing him to vnderstand, that the renowne of so great a personage, had forwarded her desire to beholde him. Which beeing vnderstood by *Alexander*, he royally sent her his safe conduct, by meanes whereof, after she had selected some of the principall of her *Amazones*, to the number of three hundred Ladies (as some report) and left the rest in

Alexanders entrance into *Asia* against the *Hyrcanians* and the going of *Thaleſtria* Queen of the *Amazons* to see him.

Composition between *Hercules* and Q. *Antiopa*.

Orythia and hir people perswade *Antiopa* to reuenge on the *Grecians*.

Alexanders entertainment of *Thalestria.*

in place conuenient: in very honourable equipage she went to *Alexander*, of whom shee was most graciously entertained, with extraordinary affability, & offered her whatsoeuer remained in his power; so that very instantly he desired her, to demaund what she pleased, and it should not be denyed her.

The answere of *Thalestria* to *Alexander.*

She answered in this manner: *I come not (great* Alexander) *to desire Landes, Rule, or Dominations, because I haue sufficient of mine owne, but onely to know a King so much renowned; of whom I haue heard such matter of marualle, that I come (if thou please) to accept thee as my Husband, and to haue Issue by thee, that I might boast of an Heire sprung from the Loynes of so excellent a Prince. And King, thou canst not mislike my Linage or discent, beeing euery way as generous as thy selfe, and of so high Parentage as deserues no disdaine. Withall, I promise thee, that if the Gods doe graunt me a Daughter by thee, I will bee Nursse to it mine owne selfe, and make her mine onely Inheritour. But if it be a Sonne, then will I send it to bee nouriished as great* Alexander *shall appoint it.*

Alexanders answere to *Thalestria.*

Alexander replyed, if she would goe along to the wars with him, & he wold respect her as his honorable Companion: But she shaping an excuse, replyed; that she could not go with him, but to her shame, and in daunger to loose her owne Kingdome; wherefore, again she requested him, to grant her desire. To conclude, she kept company with *Alexander* for the space of thirteen daies, in modest (and yet secret) conuersation: which time being expired, and her leaue admitted, she returned to her Country againe.

The decaying of the *Amazons* Empire.

But, as it is the naturall property of time, to consume al things; euen so the raigne and power of the *Amazons*, grew afterward to a diminishing: so that decreasing still by little and little, it fell at length to be wholly extirpated. This hath beene generally helde for a true History, and for such doe I heere insert it. *Trogus Pompeius* affirmeth it, and so doth *Iustine*, *Diodorus*, *Orosius*, *Martianus Capellus*, *Quintus Curtius*, *Herodotus*, *Iulius Solynus*, *Polihistor*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Amianus Marcellinus*, with many other auncient Authours, besides those that are Moderne. Onely *Strabo*, after he hath reported this History, he seems to distrust the credit thereof. But whosoeuer shall reade the History of *Bohemia* (which Pope *Pius* the second hath written very truely, and with such painful diligence) and there perceiueth how these Women long time helde the Dominion of *Bohemia*, ouer-spreading the whole Countrey, & making very often and necessary warres, this Historie of the Amazons will no way seeme incredible to him.

Pius Pap. 2. in Hist. de Boem.

Claudius the second, his wars against the *Gotus.*

We read also in the life of the Emperour *Claudius* the second, who triumphed ouer the *Gothes*, that in the battell which he had against them, there were taken ten Souldiers that fought verie valiantly: who being disrobed of their Garments were found to be Women, and it was held for an vndoubted opinion, that they were discended of the Linage of the Amazons.

The *Pucelle* of *France.*

What might we also say of the Maid of *France*, whom the *French-men* called the *Pucelle de Vancouleur*: There is hardly any Man, neuer so meanely read in Histories, but is acquainted with the many battailes fought by her, wherein she had the charge of a Captaine; as also how many times she was in the Fielde, as valiant as any man in the world could be. I could yet name many other Women, but I must needs let them sleep in silence, to obserue the breuity which at first I promised.

CHAP. XXIII.

¶ *Of the Antiquitie of Constantinople, and how it became Conquered by the Turkes.*

Trog Pom lib. 3. Iustin Lib. 2. Diod. lib. 3. & 4 Orosius lib. 15. Martian. Capel. Lib. 9. Quin. Curt. Lib. 6. Herod Lib. 4. Solyn. Lib. 65. & 77.

AMong all the famous inhabited Cities of the World, there was neuer any (after *Rome*) that hath beene seene of so great strength & honor, as *Constantinople* very highly renowmed both by the *Grecians* and *Latines*. *Strabo* calleth it Magnificent; *Pliny* and *Iustine* tearme it most *Noble*; scituated in a most excellent and fertile soyle, ennobled with great personages,

Strab. lib 7. Cap. 2. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 9. Iustin. Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

and sumptuous Buildings. It was a long time the cheefe Citty and Seate of the Empire, wherein hath beene held many generall Councels, for destroying and exterpation of infinite Heresies. Many noble and notable occasions haue therin happened, both in the prosperity and tribulations thereof: and yet (as we too well knowe) it is fallen into captiuity, whereof wee will breefely declare the whole History.

The scituation of *Constantinople*, in the straight of the Sea.

It is a Cittie in *Europe*, seated in the Countrey of *Thrace*, being plentifull in Fertility, great in Circumference, and very mighty in power. Her plot and Plantation is on the narrow Sea, betweene *Asia* and *Europe*, at the entrance of *Pontus*, or the *Euxine* Sea; called the great Sea. For which cause, *Ouid* calleth it the Port of two Seas, because it standeth in a narrow, or straight. *Constantinople* (according to *Ptolomy*) containeth three and forty degrees of Latitude; that is to say (for their better apprehension who are herein ignorant) that it is distant from the Equinoctiall, three and forty degrees, there, where the Poole is eleuated, and in the sixe and fifty degree of longitude of the *Meridian*, which passeth the Island of the *Canaries*. The

The first founders of *Constantinople*.

first founders of this Citty (by common opinion, and of the best Authors) were the *Lacedemonians*. *Orosius* saith, the *Spartans*, with *Pausanias* their Captaine and King: Albeit, *Eustachius* (according as *Volateranus* also reporteth) that it was founded by a Captaine of the *Megarians*, named *Bizeus*, and after whose name it was called *Bizantium*. *Diodorus* and *Polybius* doe say, that it was called *Bizantium*, after the Name of a Captaine, that laid the Foundation thereof. Neuertheless, *Pliny* affirmeth, that at the first it was called *Ligos*, and not *Bizantium*.

Oros. Lib. 3. cap. 13. Lib. 9. Cap. 19.

Diodor. Lib. 3. Cap. 12. Polyb. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Plin. Lib. 7. cap. 12. & 17.

But that it should be true, that *Pausanius* founded it; *Iustine* iustifies it: The like doth *Paulus Orosius*, and all the Moderne Writers, deliuering the reason of the building it. For (say they) *Pausanias* beeing wandring with his beggerly followers through the Worlde, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, to know where he & they should make their abiding, and had this answere returned him; *That hee should remaine face to face with the blind.* This he vnderstood

Iustin. Lib. 9. Cap. 9. Oros. Lib. 3. cap. 6.

Pausanias conferreth with the Oracle of *Apollo*.

to meane the *Megarians*, who dwelling in *Calcidonia*, in a bad barren place, hauing forsaken the side of *Constantinople*, which was good and fertile. The selfesame is deliuered by *Strabo*; albeit hee doth not name the founder. But in what time soeuer it was, *Eusebius* speaking thereof, saith; that it was builded very neere to the time of the thirtith *Olympiade*, euen then when *Tullus Hostilius* raigned in *Rome*. At the first beginning, it was but a small thing, as all other new erected Townes were wont to bee; and for a certainety, it was some while subiect to the *Lacedemonians*; or, as others say, to the *Athenians*, vntill such time as those two great Estates contending together, it had leysure to growe rich, encreasing both in wealth and power, and by meanes of their dissention still continuing, it enlarged it selfe to some more greatnesse.

Strabo Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Eusebius in Lib. de Temp. Cap. 12.

Strife betweene the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, gaue encreasing to *Constantinople*.

Afterward, it flourished it such sort, with the liberty which it had, and the fruitfulnesse of the soyle, that *Phillip* K. of *Macedon*; Father to *Alexander* the great, grew enamored of her beauty & mighty riches, and concluded to Conquer it; whereto (for his better attainement) he laid a long time of besiedging, and yet could not take it. One day, *Leo* a notable *Sophister*, had conference with king *Phillip*, and the same was afterward written by *Philostratus*, in the History of the *Gymnosophists*. For as *Phillip* continued his enterprise: with a very huge Army of choise selected men. *Leo* a learned *Sophister*, dwelling in *Bizantium*, went vnto him, and spake in this maner:

Philost. in Hist. Gymnos.

The conference betweene *Phillip* of *Macedon*, & *Leo* the *Sophister*, concerning the long siedge of *Constantinople*.

Tell me King Phillip, what iniury hast thou receiued of Bizantiū, that hath moued thee to make Warre vpon her, with such violent fury? I haue receiued (answered *Phillip*) *not any iniury of the Citty, whereby to prouoke me as her Enemie: but because shee seemes more beautifull to mee, then all the other Citties of* Thrace; *as enamored of her perfections, I would faine Conquer, and make her mine. Kings that are amorous* (answered *Leo*) *and would be beloued where they place affection: doe labour to compasse their intent with sweet Musick, pleasing speaches, guifts, and such like kinde behauiour; and neuer striue to enforce them, by rough tearmes and rude Warre.*

And euen so it fell out with this King, for (as we haue already said) hee could not

Trouble doth oftentimes fal out for the best.

not compasse his desire, but left it in far greater strength and liberty, then it was before. Afterward, by succession of time, when the *Romains* began to make warre in *Greece*, they entred into league and amity with the *Bizantians*, and many times were supplied with their helpe and kindnesse, in sundry warres & stout foughten battails, which strēgthned stil her florishing prosperity; and also augmented her buildings and wealth. A long while after, the *Romain* rule comming to the gouernment of Emperors, (*Seuerus* then raigning) the Tyrant *Pessenius* (enemy to the Emperor) tooke possession of this Citty of *Bizantium*. By meanes whereof, *Seuerus* sent thither a great Army to besiedge it: but hauing not strength enough to surprize it by assault, they compelled him by Famine to yeeld himselfe; but first, the wals and goodly fortifications were battered, spoiled, and throwne downe vnto the ground, & so were all the goodly buildings. In briefe, the Tyrant had taken from them all their publick and priuate possessions, which he had wholy giuen away to the *Parintians*; and nowe after this besiedging of it by the *Romaines*, there remained nothing of the former estate, but a very poore desolate Citty, wherein few or none desired to dwell. The parts and fragments of the destroyed wals and Houses, which remained to be seene in lamentable ruines, were of such an excellent kind of Stone, cut and squared with such admirable Art, that hardly could their ioyntes and closures be discerned.

Pessenius the Tirant, enemy to the Emperor *Seuerus*, got possession of the Citty.

Bizantiū spoyled by the tyrant.

This Calamity beeing ouer-blowne, and the Emperor *Constantine* raigning at *Rome* (euen hee that was surnamed the Great, Sonne to S. *Helena* the Queene, that founde the Crosse of our Sauiour Christ) he determined to passe into the East, being mooued and meerely compelled thereto, by diuers Angures or Wizzards, concerniug an Eagle, which broght him (as it is said) a cord between her Tallants, wherewith this Bird had measured out a new Habitation for him in another Countrey. Whereupon he concluded, to haue old ruined *Bizantium* againe re-edified, to honour it with another Name, and to make it the chief City of the world. By this means it was restored to her former estate, with such a large surmounting of Houses & faire Buildings, as she stoode in contention with *Rome* for beauty. There he erected sumptuous Pallaces, goodly Churches, and high Towers; thither also he transported the Empire, with his Court, the Consuls, Senators, and all other Magistrates and Officers. Now, albeit he had amplified it in such forme and greatnes, that it seemed a new *Rome*, and so hee would haue had it called: yet notwithstanding, the voyce of the people so far preuailed, that the name of the Emperor must needs be giuen it, and so it was called *Constantinople*. The historians that then liued, & soone after, doe say, that the greatnes and sumptuous shew thereof was such, as it could not bee described without much prolixity.

An Angurie of an Eagle to *Constantine* the Great.

Bizantium re-builded by *Constantine*, & made as faire as *Rome*.

Bizantium called Constantinople, after *Constantines* name.

The Emperor *Constantine* liued there many yeares, in the height of prosperity; so did the other Emperours likewise that succeeded him. There they continued the Empire, some in peace, others in warre, vntil such time, that (after a large expence of yeares) by diuers fowle sinnes committed by the Cittizens, occasioned thorowe prosperity, ease, and ydlenesse, and partly by the weakenesse and negligence of the Emperors, the greatnesse and power thereof began to decline. So that hauing endured many misfortunes of fire, Pestilence, and terrible Earth-quakes, (the History whereof were too long to recite) there hauing also passed ouer eleauen hundered yeares of the Christians holding it in possession. This famous Citty (that alone ruled ouer so manie Nations, that was rich in Gold and Siluer, honored with approued auncient excellencies, incomparable Churches, admyred Monuments, and raised out of the dust of Obliuion by Gods permission, by *Constantine*; and afterward, by another *Constantine*, Sonne also to an Empresse, named *Helena*) was besieged by *Mahomet* King of the Turkes, Lorde of the Lesser *Asia*, and of many other Regions and Prouinces, the grand-Fathers Father to *Solyman*, that liued when I wrote this History; the Predecessours of which *Mahomet*, had before that time Conquered the greater part of *Greece*.

Constantinople begins againe to decline her glory.

Constantinople besiedged by *Mahomet* the Turke.

The siedge was laid against this Cittie with such power and perseuerance, and maintained with so violent fury, that after

after many bloody Battels, & by course of as many Months while the siege continued, after the deth also of infinit worthy men, as well on the one side as the other, the Turke appointed the last day of Battaile, to be the nine and twentieth day of May, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, fifty three (some say fifty two) the Emperor *Frederick* raigning then at *Rome*, thirde of that name, and he gaue them battaile by breake of day. In which extream fury, the inhabitants being no longer able to resist the huge multitude of their Enemies and the impetuous storme; at length, the Cittie was surprized in the assault; and some Authours Record, that it was in this manner:

The Turke assigneth his last day of battell.

The manner how Constantinople was conquered by the Turke.

The Emperor being giuen to vnderstand, that the Turke had abandoned the Citties Pillage for three dayes together, after many woorthy Orations made, he went out of the walles with a great number of his people, to defend the Barbacanes or Subburbes, which were of as high mounture and strength, as the walles of the Citty. And he went himselfe in person, to counsell and giue order what was to bee done, causing the Citties Gates to be fast shut after him, to take from his people all hope of Flight.

And euen now, did there happen the very fiercest and most cruell Battaile, that euer was seene since the inuention of Warre, with al kindes of Armes and Instruments for fight, as well for defending, as assayling. It seemed as if the very Heauens would haue split in sunder, with the noise and outcries of the Soldiers; and the earth looked like a Shambles, couered ouer with the Bloude of the slaine and Wounded. The Emperour on the one side, and the Turke on the other, added Spirite with their chearefull Wordes, to the great Encouragement of their armed Troopes, being themselues euer formost or hindmost, according as occasion and need required.

Of *Iustinian* the valiant man of *Genoway* on whom the people much relyed.

Among the Valiantest Warriors, that boldly stood for defence of the Barbacanes, there was a *Genowese*, named *Iustinian*, vppon whose Vertue and Valour the people within the walles not a little depended, in regard of his skill and manly power; and because in al the precedent battailes, he had bin stil the principall occasion of the Cities safety. Neuertheless, after a long resistance, beeing sore wounded, and his bloud abundantly streaming from his hurts, he forsook the place that he defended, to haue some Medicines applied to him in the Citty. Which when the people perceiued, their courage became imediately quailed; and worde thereof beeing brought to the Emperor, hee ran after him, instantly desiring him to return & make good his place, shewing what necessity stood vpon his presence. But no conditions or promises whatsoeuer, could cause him to go backe: be it, that either it so pleased God, that his corage should faile him, or else that hee could no longer beare the griefe of his woundes, but (hauing them drest) intended to returne; the Gate was opened to him, and Chirurgions called to giue what help they could. In the meane space, his folowers that defended his quarter, not hauing him with them, began to shrink backe and giue ouer the place.

Iustinians departure disheartneth the people.

The Turkes no sooner beheld this aduantage, but they fell afresh to a much more dreadfull assault; and contrariwise the Christians were so weake and out of hart, that being able to resist no longer, they turned their backs, seeking to shelter themselues in the City. The Gate remaining open, (wherat *Iustinian* had entred) in expectation of his return; the Turkes mingled themselues among the Christians, and entering the City with them, went vp vppon the wals, and did pittiful massacres vpon the Christians. The Emperor (as some report) hauing changed his habit, to the end hee might not be knowne, was slaine by the enemies. Others say (among whom is Pope *Pius* the second) that as he desired to retire into the Citty, grieuing to see his people in such disorder, he was thrown down by the flying multitude, & being greatly trampled vpon by their passage ouer him, he died vnder the feete of his own followers, euen in the very gate of the City. But be it howsoeuer, his body was knowne by the Turkes, who cut off his head, & fixing it on a Lances point, caried it (as their victories trophe) thorow the Camp, & after, into the City.

The Turkes driue the Christians to flight, and enter with them

Pius 2. Pap. in Hist. Const. c. 3.

The Emperor trodden to death by his owne people.

As for *Iustinian* (the flight of whome was the principall occasion of so Lamentable

The death of *Iustinian* the *Genowese*.

mentable misfortune) he seeing the City taken, fled away by the Sea, and dyed in a little Island, either of the woundes he had then receiued, or of some other disease; albeit he had it once in his own choise, to haue died honourably in the place where he had liued with so much Fame and Credit. The Turkes beeing thus entred the Citty, left no kinde of bloody cruelty vnperformed, that malice or villany could deuise. All the household and Kindered of the Emperour, both Men and Women, were (without mercy) put to the sword; & in like sort they dealt with all the people, except such as escaped, or whom they tooke to their slauish seruitude.

The tirany of the Turkes in their Victory.

And heer I may not forget one notorious detestable action; for they could not content themselues, to execute their barbarous malice vpon Christian Men and women, but hauing gotten a goodly Image of the Crucifixe of Christ, they (in a shameleſſe mockery) would needs performe another Crucifying thereof, vpon a Crosse made foule and filthy by their own beastly ordure, representing a new passion of our Sauiour; and ouer his head they wrote this Inscription: THIS IS THE GOD OF THE CHRISTIANS, with many other abhominable blasphemies. In this manner, that Noble Citty of *Constantinople*, fell into the hands of the Disciples of *Mahomet*, the sworne Enemies to Iesus Christ, as yet they doe continue. I would it pleased God, that euen as ther hath bin in her wals many mutations to her great misfortune, that once againe it might bee regained, to serue to his Glory, and the generall good of Christendome.

The Villany of the Turkes to the Crucifix of Christ.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of what Nation and race the Impoſture Mahomet *was, and at what time his Sect had his first beginning.*

THere is a variation among the Historians, concerning of what Stocke or Parentage, as also of what country the false Prophet Mahomet was. *Platina* saith, that he was of a Noble lignage. *Pomponius Letus*, a very diligent Author (whom I meane to follow in this Chapter, principally in his abridgement of the *Roman* History,) He writes, and so doe diuers others beside, that he was of ignoble Race, Obscure and vile, and so indeede we may safelieſt credit; because so wicked a man hauing nothing in him worthy of Memory, but a pride in Malice, Lewdneſſe, and Iniquity, could neuer bee deriued from any Noble Blood. Some say, that he was an *Arabe*; Others, a *Persian*: but this is a matter of small moment, & yet both may haue some good colour of Reason, because in those times, the *Persians* had Dominion ouer *Arabia*. As for his Father, let him be either Noble or a Villaine, sure it is, that hee was a Gentile, an Idolater, and no Christian, much leſſe a Iew, according to *Platina*, and all the reſt. As for his Mother, most Authors are of Opinion, that shee was discended of *Abraham*, by the Linage of his Sonne *Ismael*, whom hee hadde by his Handmaid *Agar*: and therefore, she was Iewish, and obserued the Lawes of the Ieweſſe, for euery Father then delighted to instruct his Children in his owne Law.

Plat. in vit. Pap. cap. 30. Pomponius Letus in Breui. Hist. Rom.

The Nation and parentage of Mahomet.

This *Mahomet*, was of a quicke and liuely spirit, very soone apprehending whatsoeuer was taught him: but being yet very young, and left as an Orphant, was by a casuall aduenture, taken as a Slaue to the *Sconites*, who were then in that Countrey, as now at this day the *Arabes* are in *Affrica*. For they hadde no certaine place of abiding, neither any setled Goods or possessions, but liued in Common, vnder Tents and Trees, doing dayly Thefts and Robberies. Hee was afterward sold to a rich Merchant, named *Adimoneple*, who for the delight he had to see him so young, well featured, and quietly disposed, would not vse him as a Slaue, but rather as his owne Sonne. *Mahomet* being thus fortunately entertained, managed his Maisters Affayres with great care and diligence, making a mighty returne of profite, by trading dayly both with Iewes and Christians. Moreouer, by reason of this frequent conuersation, he learned sufficient in either of their lawes. While matters thus continued, the Merchant his Mai-

The disposition of Mahomet.

The *Sconites* are a people that liue in Tents, who sold Mahomet to a rich Merchant.

Maister died, without any children, leauing his Widdow very rich, aged about some fifty yeares; and she (according as I finde in the Chronicles of *Constantinople*, which agreeth with the opinion of some others) was of *Mahomets* Kindred, and named *Ladigna*. She hauing made proofe of his person, & his sufficiency, (euery way) took him to bee her Husband, making him (of a poore wretch) a rich Lord.

Mahomet marrieth his Mistresse.

It fortuned at this very time, that there trauailed vppe into those parts of *Arabia*, a Christian cowled-Monke, named *Sergius*, a man of very euill nature, and who (for his Heresies) was fled out of *Constantinople*. Being come thither, he fell in acquaintance and amity with *Mahomet*, who already began (as puffed vp with Ambition) to thinke on great matters, and yet by very oblique waies. For he had an accute spirit, and was wel entred into Magicall Sciences, so that by the Counsell and helpe of *Sergius*, he resolued to perswade the Gentiles, that he was a Prophet; and to that end, hee performed diuers sleights of Magicke, whereby his Wife, and they of his own house were first abused. Heere we are to vnderstand, that he hadde a disease (somewhat straunge to such as knew it not) which indeed was the falling sickenesse, wherat his wife and the rest waxing amazed, desired to know some reason thereof; and he would answer them, That the Angel of God vsed often to come and conferre with him, and hee could not (as being a mortall man) endure his Diuine presence, but fell into this Agony and alteration of spirit; but by these frequent visitations, he had instructions what to do, according to the will and direction of God. He was likewise so subtle and cautelous, that by meanes of his wife, who did constantly credit him, and made such straunge reports to her Neighbors, as also, the chiefest of her friends and Kindred, that they grew by little and little to believe him, and (among the Gentiles) hee attained vnto an especiall reputation.

Sergius the hereticall Monk commeth acquainted with *Mahomet*.

Mahomet wold becom a Prophet, and was a great Magician.

Soone after, his wife died, so that he remained her vniuersall heire, in verie wealthy possessions, and huge sums of Money, which made him much bolder then he was before: and therefore, by assistance of *Sergius* the Monke, he published himselfe openly to be a Prophet, saying; that he was sent of GOD, to giue new Lawes to the world. And because he was very learned in al the laws, he practised so industriously, that he accorded partly with the Iewes, to possesse their affection, and partly with the Christians, not to make them his Enemies. Hee likewise held consent with many Heretickes then liuing, to compasse their fauour; with *Macedonius* hee denied the Holy-Ghost to bee God; & approued the multiplicity of Wiues, with the *Nicholaitans*. On the other side, hee confessed that our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, was Holy, and a Prophet; and allowed that the Virgin *Mary* was also holy, and woulde much extoll her. With the Iewes hee helde Circumcision, and other Ceremonies: and generally, he permitted in his false Religion, all Vices of the flesh in absolute Liberty. In all which, beeing made potent and no way contradictory, they were written altogether in a Booke, named *Mahomets Alchoran*.

Mahomet publisheth himselfe to bee a Prophet, by helpe of *Sergius* the Monke.

The variety of opinions maintained by *Mahomet*.

Now becaus he distrusted the sufficiency of his cause, he did forbid to all men whatsoeuer, not to dispute his ordinances on paine of death, saying; that they ought to bee obserued by force of Armes throughout the World. At the beginning of these things, he was much frequented with the vulgar multitude, and men apt to be abused by his grosse persuasions. They flocked together in huge troupes, to bee acquainted with him, for all carnal vicious men were his chiefest fauourers, and being no meane number of them in the world, they grew to a very great Sect, and by their means and assistance, he assaulted the Confines of Arabia, and made himselfe Lorde of much wealth. This was done, in the year of our Lord, about 620. *Heraclius* being then Emperor of *Rome*, and holding his seat at *Constantinople*. *Boniface* the fifte, being then Pope and great Byshop of Rome: and after him, *Honorius* his Successor.

The Disciples and cheefest followers of *Mahomet*.

This Newes comming to the Emperor *Heraclius* (as *Platina* testifieth) he prepared to redresse it; & partly did so, by entertaining in pay the *Scenites* of *Arabia*, a warlicke people, and who had fauoured *Mahomet*. The Emperour dispersed them into sundry places, and they preuailed

Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

The Emperor *Heraclius* seeketh to cut off

this new Sect, but leaues it off before it was finished.

uailed so well by their power, that this new Sect (for a time) became indifferently asswaged: but it was a great errour in him, that he did not still pursue them, or seeke such meanes, as might root vp that wicked generation, who deliuered such Diuellish Doctrines abroad. For proceeding on no further in his enterprize, it did the more harme that he had begun it; because through defect of keeping promise with the *Scenites*, and paying them their accustomed wages; they (in meere despight) ioyned with *Mahomet*, and elected him to be their Captaine, because he was of great reputation, and held to be a Prophet of God. They grew to such boldnesse and strength, that they assailed the people and Countries belonging to the Romain Empire, and entring *Syria*, conquered the Noble Citty of *Damas*, with all *Egipt*, *Iudea*, and the Lands neighboring therabout, perswaded the *Sarasins*, (a people of Arabia) that the Lande of Promise appertained vnto them, as the Legittimate Successors to Father *Abraham*.

Mahomet with his Confederates, do enter the bound of the Romaine Empire.

Mahomet beholding such prosperous succesſe, and ayming to Maister all the World, he proudly attempted to warre vpon the *Persians*, who were then verie mighty: but at the beginning it went not well with him, in regard hee was vanquished; and some say, that it was in the very first battaile. Afterward, hauing recomforted his troopes, & inlarged them with a greater number, he set vpon the *Persians* againe, brought them into subiection, and inforced them to embrace his Religion. Now, albeit the Emperor *Heraclius* was heereof aduertised, yet he offered no such assistance as he ought to haue done; for hee might haue stifled this Brat in the verie breeding: but nowe, it was a matter much more difficult, for hee had conquered *Cosroes* the potent King of *Persia*, taking from him the Crosse of our Sauiour, which he had broght from *Ierusalem* into *Persia*, as a safe defence for it, that it might not fall into the handes of *Mahomet*, and the *Agarians* his Complices.

Mahomet warreth vpon the *Persians*, and is foyled at the first.

The reason why he tearmeth them to be *Agarians*, because they called the Christians so in scorne

I tearme them *Agarians*, because that they which followed *Mahomet*, and tooke part with him, wold cal the Christians *Agarians*, in derision and mockery, saying; that neither they, nor *Mahomet*, had taken their Originall from the line of *Sara*, the Wife of *Abraham*; and therfore ought not to be cald *Sarasins*, as after *Saraes* name, but rather they shold bee called *Agarians*, as deriuing their sourse from *Agar*, the Hand-maid of *Abraham*. To conclude, after Mahomet had run thorough many strange & horrible things, he was poisoned, and died in the fortith yeare of his age, (some say at the age of thirty foure yeares) in the yeare of our Lord (according to *Sabellicus*) 633.

The death of *Mahomet*, and the time whē.

And because, Mahomet had often tolde his pertakers, that (after hee was dead) he should mount vp to Heauen, they kept his body for certaine dayes aboue ground, vntill such time, that it sauoured most horribly, stinking euen like his soule; & then, it was put into a chest of Iron, and they carried it to the Citty of *Meca* in *Persia*, where it is adored of all the people of the East; yea, euen of the greater part of the world, and that for our sinnes.

Mahomets body carried to *Meca*, where it is worshipped of the greater part of the world.

Calipha succeeded Mahomet in the Empire, and *Haly* after *Calypha*. These two, did greatly augment the power & Sect of Mahomet, and so from time to time, by diuers orders and successions; but especially by the sinnes and Cowardise of the Christian Emperors in those times, this pestilence hath spread ouer the world, euen to our dayes. But by the care and good dilligence of that Noble Emperor *Charles* the fift, we were once very graciously deliuered, euen when the great Turke *Solyman*, came with an Army of about 600000. men, to enter the Countries of *Hungaria* and *Austria*, with intention to conquer al Christendome. Against which enterprize, the Emperor *Charles* presented himselfe in person, hauing but a small moity of men with him, in comparison of the multitude broght by the Turk, yet were they all well chosen, and able fighting men. At the report whereof, the Turke left his enterprize, with losse of many of his people, as hee did also the second time, in the yeare, 1557. when he came by Sea, and by Land, against *Italy*; and surprized some places in the kingdome of *Naples*.

The happy deliuerance by *Charles* the fift, from the Turkes intended spoile.

There are some Authors, who haue written the original of Mahomet, much different from this which I haue heere set

set downe, and say, that he was a theefe vpon the High-waies, and by the means of great robberies, attained to his greatnesse; but indeede, they carrie slender credit, and therfore their opinion is disabled. The most part, and all the best Writers, do agree with our discourse. *Platina* is one, in his liues of the Popes. *Blondus*, in his Booke of the *Roman* Empires declining. *Baptista Ignatius*, in his abridgement of the Emperors. The Annalles of *Constantinople*. *Nauclerus*, *Antoninus*, and other.

Platin. in vit. Pap. Blond. de decim. Imp. Ro. cap. 19. Baptist. Ignat. in Bre. Imp. cap. 20. Annal. Constant. Nuucler ca. 50. Anton. cap. 34.

CHAP. XXV.

The Originall and beginning of the Turkes, how they came to their Gouernment, and what Princes haue ruled among them.

THE mighty Dominion of the Turkes, which at this day is so great & dreadfull: likewise the Lignage and Family of the *Ottomans* & Kings; they are but nouell, and of no Antiquity, albeit the Turkish people haue bin of long continuance; so that it is a matter almost meruailous, that in such short time they should be so hugely augmented. For it is not aboue* two hundred and fifty yeares, that they were knowne to begin and get a Name. Behold therefore, how it may well be credited, that they were sent as a scourge by Gods permission, to chastise his vnthankful christian people, euen as heertofore, he sent an *Antiochus*, a *Nabuchodonosor*, a *Cyrus*, and such other, to oppresse and vex his elected children. And because the Christian Church hath receiued by them one of the most memorable persecutions and losses that euer she had, I held it not much differing from my purpose (especially, hauing made mention of the Original of this Sect) to speake somwhat more thereof, as briefly as may be. As the like hath bin done by *Æneas Syluius*, *Raphael Volateranus*, & *Nicholaus Secondinus*, far more distinctly then any of them before named. Also, *Frances Philelphus*, in a Letter which hee wrote to *Charles* 8. K. of *France*: & *Antonius Sabellicus* in his History. From all which Authors, I haue collected what I will briefely set downe. But principally, I do obserue *Paulus Iouius*, in a particuler Tract by him Written, concerning these people and Turkish Nation, not forsaking *Plinie*, and *Pomponius Mela*, in the end of his first Booke.

Paulus Iouius. Plin. Lib. 6. Pomp. Mela. l. 1

To begin with these two last recited Authors, they say, That their Original came from the * *Sarmates*, which are on the Confines of *Scythia*, at the vttermost entrance into the *Caspian* Sea, and that they liued sauagely in vast Fieldes, hunting for victuals to maintaine their Liues: Of which *Sarmates* or *Scythians*, it is certain (all other opinions left) that the Turkes (to this very instant) haue receiued their Originall. And all such as say or thinke, that they were discended of the *Troyans*, do but abuse themselues. It would seem to them, that because the Turkes haue ruled *Troy*, and that the *Troyans* were named * *Teucres*, that the Turkes had thence their first deriuation: But indeed, they are issued of the *Sarmates*, whom all out Ancients hold to bee *Scythians*, and so did they call them. But in former times long since, their proper name was *Turaces*. *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela* do title them so, but since thē, they haue bin called *Turks*; and so commonly are they vniuersally tearmed. These people (as *Otho* the Arch-byshop affirmeth in his History) about 800. yeares after the Natiuity of our Lorde (albeit some others write that it was before) would needs depart out of *Scythia* into the lesser Asia, which to this day, in regard of their name, is cald *Turky*; where by robbing and spoiling they conquerd some few Princes; and then (as people barbarous and voide of Faith) they embraced the wicked sect of *Mahomet*, as the very first that presented it selfe vnto them, and seemed most conformable to their detestable customs. Thus, this people, by reason of their multitude and sauage fiercenes, became dreadfull to the world, & soone surprized many Cities.

*Some hold, that they intruded vpon *Persia*, *Armenia*, and *Media*, but howsoeuer it was, it is most euident (among al other thinges) that they inhabited the Lesser Asia, according as we haue already declared: yet not by meanes of any King, or any other chief notable head among them, but coupled themselues in

Æneas. Syl. in Cosmograph. Raph. Volat. li. 7 Nico. Secondin. Fran. Philel. Anton. Sabelli.

* Accounting to the yeare, 1577. from the precedent time.

* Of *Teucer*, a King that gouerned *Troy*.

Plin. lib. 6. cap. 7

Otho in Hist. c. 3

Asia Minor, now called *Turky*.

They liued without any King or commander amōg them.

in companies together, sustaining and defending one another, for a long space in that Countrey. Some of the most aparant or best note among them, wold call such supply of men as they best fancied, and with them they would goe to seize on Townes and Countries.

Solyman first named himselfe King of the Turkes.

Among those of boldest spirit, there was one named *Solyman*, who got to himselfe the Realme of *Cilicia*, and part of the bordering limits. In those dayes, Duke *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, accompanied with diuers other christian Princes, passed the Seas (with such powers of men as they had assembled) to Conquer the Holyland. Against whom, *Solyman* (with his followers) came very forwardly, but they were all vanquished and scattered. By which means, the Turkes remained a long time without any Captaine or Commander of name among them; & therefore were little respected, vntill in the yeare, 1300. that another then named *Ottoman* (a man of base discent) began againe (by little and little) to gaine some reputation among them, for that he was a very valiaunt man, mighty of body, fortunat, and of an ingenious subtle spirit. This fellow, took occasion to aduance himselfe, for the discourse hee held with them, and strengthning himselfe with a multitude of able men, hee conquered and made himselfe Lorde of many Countreyes; aswell of his owne, as others of his neighbors. Being by this meanes become somwhat powerful, he left vnto his successors the raigne & authority, which continueth to this day by the linage masculine among the Turks.

Duke *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, his iourny to the Holy-Land.

Ottoman the second man of name among the Turkes, and the second K.

Ottoman was very fortunat in all his Attempts.

He hauing raigned 28. yeares, died, in the yeare 1308. *Bennet* the 11. being the Pope of *Rome*. *Ottoman* thus deceased, a son of his, named *Orcan*, succeeded him; a man no lesse strong and valiaunt then his Father, but rather more industrious and better aduised in his Conquestes. Moreouer, he was a notable inuenter of many Engines & Instruments for war; magnanimious, and very bountifull to all men; in regard whereof, he so much augmented the raigne of his predecessor, and the number of his men of war, that (beside the Countreyes which his father had commanded in Asia) he vsurped vpon *Bythinia*, & the Kingdome of *Constantinople*. And in the lesser Asia, he subdued *Hyrcania*, *Phrigia*, *Caria*, and other potent Lands. When hee had raigned twenty two yeares, in assaying a Cittie, he chanced to be wounded; of which hurt he died, in the yeare, 1350. when *Clement* the sixt was Byshop of *Rome*.

Orcan the Son of *Ottoman* succeedeth him in rule, being the third King.

The great Conquests of *Orcan*, and his death.

He had to be his successor, *Amurath* the sonne of a Christian woman whom he had espoused, she was Daughter to the King of *Celicia*, now called *Caramania*. This *Amurath* was much different from his Graund-Father, and Father; for he was a mocker, a man double and false, weake of his person, and of wicked inclination; Ambitious, and very desirous to enlarge his Empire, whereof he had very faire occasion offred him, when the Emperor of *Constantinople* was in strife with diuers Princes his subiects who greatly fauoured the Lord of *Bulgaria*, which is a portion of the ancient neather * *Mysia*. For the Emperor was then constrained, to request aide of this *Amurath* King of the Turkes, who sent him fifteene thousand woorthy men of Warre, by whose helpe the Emperour ouercame his Enemies. And leauing part of these fifteene thousand Turks in his Countreyes, when hee had sent home the rest, *Amurath* got aduertisement (from them) of the peoples disposition. By meanes whereof, hee determined to visite *Greece*, vnder colour indeede, that he would helpe the Emperor against his Aduersaries. Hereupon, he leuied three score thousand footmen & a great number of Horse, with which strong power, he made himselfe Lorde of * *Callipolis* (which I thinke should more properly be called *Gallois*, because it was builded by *Gallyans*) and of other strong Fortresses therabout, as also the Cittie of * *Adrinople*, now tearmed *Andronople*.

Amurath Son to *Orcan*, was the fourth K. of the Turkes

* A Countrey by *Hellespont* bordering on *Troas*.

* A Cittie in *Thrace* by the *Hellespont*.

* A Cittie also of *Thrace* built vpon the Riuer *Hebrus*.

On the otherside, the great Lord & Maister of *Bulgaria*, named *Marcus*, after he had prepared such an army as was possible for him to do, with the aide of *Lazarus* the *Despote* of *Seruia* (which is a Prouince on the limits of *Thrace*, anciently called the higher *Mysia*, & assisted also with the Princes of * *Albania*, hee went against the Turke, where fighting a great battell, the Christians were in the end vanquished, and almost all slain. Thus *Amurath* (in despight of the Emperour) continued Lord of a great part

* A Countrey between the *Caspian* Sea & *Iberia*.

of *Thrace*, and also of *Greece*. When he had liued 23. yeares; a Slaue (that was Seruant to *Lazarus* Lord of *Seruia*) traitorously killed him, in the yeare, 1373. Hee left two Sonnes; the one, named *Solyman*, and the other *Baiazeth*; which *Baiazeth*, slew his Brother *Solyman*, and remained Prince alone: of a singuler Wisedome, & high resolued courage. He was extraordinary diligent, and of great iudgement in Warre, very ready in effecting what he had commaunded: And for this cause hee was called generally, *King of the Sunne*.

Amurath was traiterously murdered.

Baiazeth killed his elder Brother Solyman to rule alone.

Baiazeth fift King of the Turkes.

So soone as he began his raigne, hee determined to make war vpon the christians, in iust reuenge of his Fathers death, and with admirable speede (hauing prepared a very powerfull Army) passed into Greece. First of all he set on *Marcus*, Lord of *Bulgaria*, who ioyning battell with him, was there slaine, with the greater part of the Nobility of *Bulgaria* and *Seruia*. Three yeares after a victory so famous, hee returned againe vpon the Christians, and made most cruell warres in *Hungaria*; but first of al in *Albania* and *Vallachia*, which is a great Countrey, in ancient times stiled * *Dacia*, and it extended it self in length euen to *Hungaria*: from whence he brought home into Turkey, a very great number of Christians, and there made them Slaues.

Bulgaria and Seruia won by Baiazeth.

* Deuided into four parts, Valachia, Bulgaria, Seruia, and Transyluania.

Seeing himselfe to bee possessed of the greater part of *Greece*; that is to say, of the old city and Country of * *Athens*, of *Boetia* and *Arcania*; hee then came & laid siege to the great City of *Constantinople*; which was the reason, that the Emperor (in person) went to entreate the Westerne Princes, to fauour him with their needfull assistance. To help a case so desperat, *Charles* the 7. gaue ayd of 2000. Lances, amongst which faire Troope, were two French Gentlemen of worthy note, that ioyned their power with *Sigismond* King of *Hungaria*, who afterwards was Emperor, and had likewise prouided a great Army for the same enterprize. With them tooke part the *Despotes* of *Seruia*, the grand Maister of the *Rhodes*, & a great number of other Christian Princes. Whereupon, *Baiazeth* leauing his attempt for *Constantinople*, marched suddenly with 300000 men, to meet these Christians, who were about an 100000. whereof there were 20000. Horse. Being met together, they had a wonderfull bloudy battaile, wherein the Christians were conquered, and the greater number of them slain, by reason of the base Flight of the King of *Hungary*, and the Maister of the *Rhodes*; as for the French-men, they wer all slaine, or taken: and this battell was fought in the yeare 1395. being the Eeuen of S. *Michaell*.

*Betweene Macedonia, & Achaia, builded first by Cecrops, and called Cecropia, but called Athens of Minerua, who in Greece, was named Athene.

Baiazeth leaueth his siege to meete the Christians power.

After which Victory, *Baiazeth* returned againe to his former besiedging of *Constantinople*, which hee reduced to such hard extreamity, as (without anie doubt) he had taken it, but that Newes came to him of *Tamburlaine* the Great, (of whose life and actions, we shall discourse heereafter, by it selfe) that (with a meruailous Army) he was entred into his Countries of *Asia* and *Turky*, and there already had surprized many goodly Cities, Townes, and Prouinces. Wherfore, trussing vp bag & baggage, he returneth into *Asia*, where preparing to the Fielde his very ablest power, hee went to encounter this presumptuous Enemy.

Baiazeth goeth againe to besiege Constantinople.

Great Tamburlaine entreth into Asia, and causeth Baiazeth to giue ouer his siege.

Now, did the two most potent Princes in the whole world, make a meeting day in Martiall armes together; where, to speake of the dreadfulnes of the fight and wonderful slaughter on both sides, it may much easier be imagined, then in any brenity reported. But fortune was aduerse to *Baiazeth*, for his power was vanquished, and himselfe taken; Nay more, he endured the most vile & strictest imprisonment that euer was. For, *Tamburlaine* led him in triumph along with his army, in a great cage of wood; (or of Iron, as some others report) & at euery time he mounted on his horse, he made the shoulders of *Baiazeth* his foot-stoole. Moreouer, when he should eat, he made him to lie vnderneath his Table; to the end that he should feede on nothing, but what he cast down to him, euen as if he had bin a Dog. And in this manner, this Prince ended his life, who had bin the most aduenturous, most renowned, & more feared, then any other that was in his time. *Tamburlaine* Conquered *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, with many other countries in the Dominion of *Turky*: and from thence, he went and made war vpon the Soldan of *Egipt*.

The calamitie of Baiazeth, beingconquered by Tamburlaine.

The Conquests of *Tamburlaine* in Turky.

The

Baiazeths children taken by Gallies of Christians.

The Children of *Baiazeth*, who escaped from the battell wherein their Father was taken, in their flight towardes those parts which they commaunded in *Greece*; were surprized vpon the Sea by certaine Christian Gallies. But if such extremity had bin shewne them, as was necessarily required: those harmes had bin preuented, which after followed. For *Calapine* being one of them that was deliuered, comming to name himselfe Lord in the Empire of his father, began to strengthen himselfe, and mustering vp his people together, fortifying also his holds in *Greece* and *Thrace*: the Emperor *Sigismond* made offer to hinder him, to the end he might not come vpon him againe; and also to reuenge on him, the battel hee had lost against his Father; whernpon he leuied his forces, and made against him very valiauntly. *Calapine* prouiding to encounter him, appointed the day for fight, wherein *Sigismond* was againe vanquished, & escaped from the battell by Flight: this was 3. yeares after his first discomfiture. Afterward, *Calapine* hauing sufficiently spoyled the country of *Seruia*, he returned to his owne Prouinces, where hee raigned six yeares; and died in the time of Pope *Alexander* the fift.

Calapine left two sons, the eldest named *Orcan*, and the other *Mahomet*; but *Orcan* was slaine by his Vnckle; because he would haue had the gouerment himselfe. Neuertheless, *Mahomet* obserued so discreet a cariage, that hee slew the murderer of his Brother, & got the Empire into his owne hand. Soone after, he made strong Warre vpon the Christians in *Valachia*, and passed thence into *Turkey*, or the Lesser *Asia*, where hee reconquered the Landes and Prouinces which *Tamburlain* had gotten from his Grandfather. In which war, he spent 14 yeares of his raigne, and died in the year 1420. during the High Priest-hoode of Pope *Martine* the fift.

Calapine fixt King of the Turkes.

The Death of *Calapine*.

Mahomet seauenth King of the Turkes.

Amurah eight King of the Turkes, a fortunate Prince

After *Mahomet*, succeeded a Sonne of his called *Amurath*, a very fortunate Prince: for he being at the death of his Father in *Asia*, assembled a mighty power of Soldiers, and in despight of the Emp. of *Constantinople* (who much laboured to resist him) he entred very far into the Christians Countries. He took diuers Cities in *Seruia*, conquered the kingdom of *Epire* (at this day called *Romania*) & made diuers courses into *Hungaria*, then into *Albania*, which is a part of ancient *Macedonia*. In which enterprises, albeit he receiued many shrewd endamagements, yet such was his fortune, that hee still continued victory; beside much wealthy profit, and great store of Horsses. He besiedged also the Cittie of *Belgrade* in *Hungaria*, on the riuer of *Danubie*; but yet he could not take it, wherfore he was compeld to raise his siedge, with great slaughter of his men.

Amurath besiedged *Belgrade*.

Not long after, *Ladislaus* K. of *Polonia* and *Hungaria*, came with a great Armie against him, which when hee heard, hee sent before him, one of his chiefest Captains, conducting a potent company of men; and the two Armies ioyning in battell, *Ladislaus* (after much resistance) becam the Conqueror, with a wonderfull massacre of the Turkes. By meanes whereof, and because *Amurath* was aduertised, that the K. of *Caramania* made warre on him in *Asia*, he was forced to make peace with *Ladislaus*: which peace while *Amurath* was fighting in *Turkey*, was broken, by perswasion of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, Pope *Eugenius*, the *Venetians*, and *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundy*, who altogether in one vnanimity, bound themselus by oath, so strongly to defend the straits of the Sea, at the entrance into *Europ* and *Asia*, that *Amurath* could not passe with his Troops, to succor those parts which were afflicted, and so *Ladislaus* should haue leysure to win, & make himselfe sole-Commander of them. *Amurath* hearing of this bolde enterprize, returned very powerfully, and in despight of the Christians Army, passed the straits, and after, came to present *Ladislaus* the battaile: wherein the aduenture was so doubtfull for *Amurath*, that hee saw no remedie but Flight. Neuertheless, one of his valiant Bashaes cõpelling him to stay, they got the victory, and *Ladislaus* lost his life, on S. *Martins* day, in the yeare, 1440.

The ouerthrow of the Turkes by *Ladislaus* King of *Poland*.

Amurahs powers disapointed of passage.

King *Ladislaus* slaine in the field, and the Christians vanquished.

After this great conquest made in *Hungary*, he set vpon the kingdom of *Morea*, in elder times called *Peloponnesus*, where the Famous old Cities of *Lacedemon* & *Corinth* were; and hauing broken down the wall at entrance into the Prouince, which contained six miles in length; he entred into the *Ionian* Sea: As also,

the *Ægean, where he conquered al, except some few coasting places. This he did, when he had raigned 31. yeares, and died in the yeare, 1450. Hee first ordained the band of *Ianissaries*, which were reuolted Christians, who are the principall strength of Turky. By reason of his death, his Son Mahomet came to succeed after him in the Empire. But some say, that his Father resigned it to him in his life time, feeling himselfe far spent and aged.

This Mahomet was excellent in all things, only he was somwhat too cruel. At the beginning of his raigne, to the end he might attempt some matter, answerable to the greatnesse of his mind, he determined first of all to conquer the Citty of *Constantinople*: and the better to accomplish his purpose, hee leauied mighty powers of men, as well by Sea, as on the Land, wherewith he besieged it, and wonne it also, according as wee haue declared in the former discourse of that Citty, and all other places in Obedience to that Empire. Which done, hee came against the Citty of *Belgrade*, but it was defended by the strength of a woorthy *Hungarian* Captaine, named *Iohn Vauoida*, who in many valiant Battels, vanquished great numbers of the Turkes best Captaines; and now also, he compelled him to raise his siege, after diuers sore wounds and losses, & to leaue his best Artillery behinde him. These things not prospering to his purpose, he sent one of his Bashaes to spoil *Morea*, which had entred into rebellion against him, by the assistance of the Venetians, and to rumate the Isle of *Neyropont, in former times cald *Euboca*, with *Mytelene* and *Lemnos*, an Iland in the *Archipelagus*, bordering on the *Egean* sea. Then he entred the Prouince of *Bosina*, which is part of the vpper old *Mysia*, and into *Seruia*, where he tooke the King, & commanded his head to be smitten off.

Hauing gottē al these victories against the christians, he crost into *Asia* against *Vsancassanus* the puisant K-of *Persia*, bidding him two seuerall battailes; In the first whereof he was vanquished, but after, remained conqueror. This businesse ended, he determined to set vppon the Emp. of *Trebisand*, which is one of the coasts of ancient *Capadocia*, on the shore of *Pontus*, or the *Euxine* sea, winning the Empire, and killing the Emperour himselfe. So ended all the gouerment which the Christians had in those Countries. He sent also a potent army (vnder Conduct of a valiaunt Captaine) into *Italie*, which passed on to *Carinthia and *Istria*, euen to the lands of the Venetians, who sent a strong power to withstand him: but in the conflict, the Christians were vanquished, and there perished many of the Nobility of *Italy*. Moreouer, he sent another army against the Isle of *Rhodes*, but beeing able to compasse nothing there, he withdrew again. Then he sent the like army to the kingdom of *Naples*, conducted by one of his Bashawes, named *Acomath*, who won the City of *Ottanta*, which was in the Turkes possession aboue a yeare, to the great scandall and damage of *Italy*.

Afterward, with an army of 300000 men by Land, and 200. Gallies, accompanied with 300. armed Shippes, he set forward to make war against the Great Soldan of Egypt, but he was preuented by death on the way; by means whereof, the enterprize went not forward, but was presently staide. And hauing raigned 32. yeares, he died of the Collicke, in the year 1481. By whose death, the Citty of *Ottanto* was recouered, and *Pouilla* also released from the Turkes, which was a great comfort to *Italy*, in no meane feare and wofull Calamitie; which indeed was such, that Pope *Sixtus*, in whose time this terrour happened, determined to withdraw himselfe downe into *Fraunce* (the Auncient recourse of the Romaine Church,) for that there was small hope of defending Rome against him. And it is reported, that in the Warres of this vnhappily too fortunate *Mahomet*, there dyed (aswell by Weapons, as other violences, which were acted and vsed in the saide Warres) more then three hundred thousand men.

Two Sonnes remained as Heyres to this Mahomet; the one, being Named *Baiazeth*, and the other *Zizim*, because their Elder Brother died before their Father. Each of these sons sought the aptest meanes, to get possession absolutely of the Kingdome. *Zizim* had the helpe of the Soldan, & some strong Bashawes, likewise another part of the Bashaws & *Ianissaries* fauored *Baiazeth*: on

*part of the *Mediterane* sea neere *Greece*, deuided *Europe* from *Asia*.

Originall of the *Ianissaries*.

Mahomet, 9. King of the Turkes.

Iohn Vauoida defendeth *Belgrade*.

*An Isle in the *Egean* Sea ioyning to *Boetia*.

Mahomets fortunate successe in warre

*In the South of *Italy* ioyning to the *Alpes*.
*Ioyning to *Illiricum*, and now called *Slauonia*.

The death of Mahomet the great conqueror.

The great distresse of *Italy* by meanes of the Turkes.

The heyres of *Mahomet* contend for the Kingdome,

Baiazeth tenth King of the Turkes.

on the other side, a Son to this *Baiazeth*, called *Corcutus*, was created grand Signeur in *Constantinople*. Whereupon, *Baiazeth* made such quicke speede thither, & carried with him so strong a power, that he took such sufficient order with his son, as the Empire was his own. Vpon this good successe, he returned again into Turky against his Brother, & droue him to Flight among the Christian forces; and finally, he died in *Italy*, *Baiazeth* remaining then Lord alone. Within 3. yeares after, hauing prepared a puissant Army, hee passed along on land, by the Riuer *Danubie*, & hauing performed many disma stratagems, he returned home. Then sent he a strong power against the Soldan of *Egipt*, with whom he was exceedingly offended, for giuing aid to his Brother *Zizim*. The Soldan also sent an Army to meete him, which was much lesse then that of the Turkes, & yet they had the victory, with a great slaughter of the Turkes. Which when *Baiazeth* vnderstood, he took truce with the Soldan, and made war vpon the Christians, wherein he sped so wel, that he won the Citty of **Durace* in *Albania*, and that of *Vallona*, which bordereth on the coast, & frounteth *Pouille*. Hee sent also a great number of men into *Hungary*, against whom the Princes came with their forces, but were foiled to their great losses.

The Soldane vanquisheth *Baiazeths* Army.

* *Dyrachium* in *Macedonia*, where *Tullie* was releeued in his banishment.

In these times, he did much harme to other Countries of the Christians; and ayd being requested of him by *Lewes* D. of *Millaine* (who made warre vppon the *Venetians*, that ioyned themselues with *Lewes* king of *France*) he sent him a stout Captaine with 10000. horse, who passing along by *Frioly*, without resistance, tooke, burnt, and made hauocke of the Country, euen so far as the Mountains which front *Venice*. The year following, in person he conquered the city of **Modon* in *Morea*, with other Sea-coasting places held by the *Venetians*, and labouring to make a deuastation of all, his intention was hindered by the Duke of **Sessamum*, who being a Spaniard, by the helpe of a stout company of Spaniards, called him to battell, and there ouercam him, conquering also for the Venetians, the Isle of **Cephalonia*; by means whereof, the Turke was forced to take Truce with them, which euer since hath continued, euen to our time. And in this narrow straite, ceased the fury of *Baiazeth*, for then he quite gaue ouer warre (seeing himselfe aged) to rest & betake himselfe to study. In his time, began the Empire of the Sophy in *Persia*, which hath bin, and is, a great bridle vnto the Turkes, and hindereth them from doing such endamagement to Christians, as they haue done, and wold do. For these two mighty Princes, are continual enemies one to another: Which hapned, thorow a man named *Ismael*, that called himselfe a Prophet, and published a new manner of *Alchoran*, contrary to that which was inuented by *Mahomet*; by whose meanes he leuied a very powerfull army, wherwith he vanquished certaine Bashawes, which *Baiazeth* had sent against him, and so put himselfe into ful possession of *Persia*, with diuers other wealthy Prouinces beside; since when, he hath much inlarged his Dominions. But to our former purpose.

The Original of the Persian Empire, and the hate betweene them and the *Turks*.

* By the Sea side in *Peleponesus*, in olde time called *Methon*.

* A Towne in *Paphlagonia*.

* In the *Ionian* Sea beyond *Corcyra*.

This *Baiazeth* had three Sons: The first named *Acomath*, the second, called *Corcutus*, who (as wee haue already declared) gaue himselfe into his Fathers hands at *Constantinople*, and resigned vp the Empire. The third, was named *Selim*, great Grand-father to the Turke now raigning. And albeit this *Selim* was yonger thē the other, yet had he a more manly spirit. This fellow, seeing his Father olde and decrepite, determined to take the kingdome from him, and put himselfe in possession thereof: which the better to effect, hee acquaints himself with the Great *Tartarian*, and makes his Daughter his Wife. No sooner came an inckling heereof to the other Brothers, but each of them went seuerally about the like purpose. It appeared for lawfull in the eye of *Acomath*, because he was the eldest Sonne, and in reason the Succession appertained vnto him. On the other side, *Corcutus* pleaded, that hee once had possession of the gouernment, and resigned it in dutie to his father, who being now old & vnable to rule the kingdom, he ought in reason returne it to him againe. The Old man perceiuing these busy disputes, and the daungers thereby like to ensue: became greatly perplexed, specially at the disobedience of his children. During these intercourses, diuers murmurs & tumults arose, wherin many of the chiefest partakers

Baiazeth had three sonnes, *Acomath*, *Corcutus*, and *Selim*.

Selim conspireth against his Father, and so do the other Brothers by his example.

Old *Baiazeth* grieueth at his sonnes disobedience.

kers in either faction, died and miscarried. Neuertheleſſe, *Selimes* ſide, (albeit he was the yonger Brother) continued yet of beſt ability: becauſe (vnder colour of begging pardon, and making peace with his Father, as alſo defending himſelfe againſt his eldeſt Brother, who made war with his Father) he caried his courſes ſo currantly; and preuayled in ſhort while, to win the harts of the *Ianiſſaries*, and the other ſtouteſt Warriours, that (by their helpe) he took the Kingdome from his Father, compelling him (perforce) to renounce it; whereupon, he baniſhed him from *Conſtantinople*, and in the end (continuing in exile) procured him to be poiſoned. Thus died *Baiazeth*, in the yeare, one thouſand, fiue hundred, and twelue. And in this manner, came the Turkiſh Empire into the hand of *Selim*, a Traitour and Parricide.

Baiazeth baniſhed and poiſoned by his Sonne *Selim*.

Selim the 10. King of the Turkes, a traitor and Parricide to gaine the Kingdom.

He cauſed himſelfe to bee Crowned with great ſolemnity, euen the very ſame day, which fell out to be ſo cruell and bloody to *Rauenna* in *Italy*. So ſoon as he ſaw himſelfe ſeated to his owne contentment, he began to diſtribute the Riches and Iewels of his Father, to his *Ianiſſaries* and Valiaunt men of Warre, which made him the better eſteemed, and the more ſtrong in power. Soone after, hee went into Turky againſt his Brothers; where firſt of all, he ſlew diuers Children of ſome other Brothers of his, deceaſed in the life time of his father; and followed ſo fiercely on his Brother *Corcutus*, till hee got him into his hands, and then he murthered him. *Acomah* the eldeſt Son, acquainting himſelfe with the Sophy and the Soldane, by their meanes prouided himſelfe of a great Army, wherwith he gaue his Brother battell, wherein hee looſing the day, was taken, and afterward ſtrangled.

Selim the murtherer of both his Brothers.

Thus this Wicked Tyrant, hauing ſlaine all of his owne bloud, liued without icalouſie of his Kingdome; and becauſe he held the Sophy and the Soldan in diſdaine, hee made peace with *Ladiſlaus* then King of *Hungary*, and confirmed his league with the Venetians. Then preparing a very great army, with no meane forces of Artillery, hee went againſt the Sophie; who truſting in his happineſſe and proſperity, made heade againſt him with a ſtrong Army, & wel prouided. Notwithſtanding, when it came to bee diſcided by batteil, which was very ſharpe & violent for the time: the Sophy was foyled and Wounded, glad to ſaue himſelfe by Flight, which meruailouſly augmented the honor and reputation of the Turke by this ſucceſſe: and this diſcomfiture hapned the 24. of Auguſt, in the yeare 1514. The yeare following, he being addicted wholly to warre, would goe againſt a great Lord, whoſe Regiment was at the Mountaine *Taurus*; and albeit he was a very valiant Prince, yet was hee ſo hotly purſued, that falling at length into the Turkes hands, he put him to death, and tooke poſſeſſion of all his iuriſdiction.

The Sophy of Perſia, vanquiſhed by *Selim*.

This done, hee concluded to make the like war vpon the Soldan, and bringing his army neare the Coaſt of *Suria*, gaue it out in common report, that hee wold once more try his fortune againſt the Sophy. But the Soldan, who was not void of ſuſpition, had euermore in readineſſe a mighty power of men, able to encounter the greateſt Lorde, that would reſiſt againſt him in *Suria*. In the end, theſe two puiſſant Princes came to accoſt each other, and met neer the City of *Damas* in *Suria*; and after certaine skirmiſhes paſt on either ſide, the battell was giuen the 24. of Auguſt, in the yeare one thouſand, fiue hundered and ſixty, vppon the like day as the Sophie had before by him bin vanquiſhed. This Battel was for a long while maintained very woorthily on both parties; but in the end, the victory fell to the Turkes, by reaſon of the great diſtruction which their Artillery made vpon the Soldanes people: and likewiſe, becauſe a Captain (the Gouernor of *Alleppo*) ioyned with the aduerſe ſide, and yet would not fight neither he nor his men. In this Battaile the ſoldan was found dead, without any wound, but onely by being among the great throng of horſes, hauing attained to the age of ſeuenty ſix yeares. The Turke tooke poſſeſſion of all *Suria*, and likewiſe *Paleſtine*, with *Iudea*, and going towards *Egipt*, in purſuite of his victory, he reſted for diuers daies in *Ieruſalem*, where hee viſited the Holy Sepulchre; and paſſing further on, hee made himſelfe well prouided of Goats skins, and filling them with Water, they ſerued for his iourny through the Deſerts

Selim makes warre againſt the Soldan of Egypt.

The Souldan meeteth *Selim* before the City of *Damas* in Suria.

The Soldan is ouercome by *Selim*, & found dead without any wound.

By

Tomombeus the new Soldane of *Egypt*, conquered likewise by the *Turkes*.

By this time, the *Mammeluckes* and other men of Warre, that had escaped from the battaile, and were retyred home to *Ægypt*, had elected themselues a new Soldane, a Gouernour of *Alexandria*, named *Tomombeus*, who came in person against the Turkes with a very huge Army. The battaile beeing appointed, it was (by the report of very good Authours) the most cruell and daungerous fight that euer was: notwithstanding, by the wonderfull multitude and power of the *Turkes*, *Tomombeus* was conquered, and with-drawing himselfe to the grand *Cayre*, they fought there two daies and two nights together, without any repose or intermission. So that loosing the Citty, he fled ouer *Nylus*, and labouring to re-enforce fresh meanes for encounter, he was surprized by certaine Traytours, and deliuered into the *Turkes* power, who put him to death. After *Tomombeus* was dead, the *Turk* (in short while) got possession of the most auncient and mighty Kingdome of *Ægipt*, where he left (as also in *Suria*) such order as was best to his owne liking. Then returned hee in great tryumph to *Constantinople*, where his Sonne welcommed him backe from his warres, and there he dyed of an Impostume, in the month of September, one thousand fiue hundred and twenty, hauing raigned eyght yeares, and liued forty sixe. This Tyrant was of such great and vndaunted Spirit, as hee was neuer noted to be fearefull of any thing.

The death of *Tomombeus* by *Selim*, and his seazing on *Egypt*.

Solyman Son to *Selim*, eleauenth King of the Turkes.

He had but one Sonne named *Solyman*, who succeeded him in the Empire, and was Crowned the same day and yeare, that *Charles* the fift Emperour, was heere in Christendome. But so soone as the death of *Selim* was known in *Suria*, a great personage named *Gazellus* (who was Gouernor) rebelled, and made himselfe Commaunder of *Tripoly* and *Baruth*, with other neighbouring Townes and Cities, drawing many *Mammeluckes* and other Nations to his faction. Against whom *Solyman* sent a *Bashae*, named *Ferrat*, who vanquished *Gazellus*, and put him to death, reducing *Suria* to quietnesse, and *Ægypt* also, which began to mutiny. The yeare following, *Solyman* went in person to war vpon the Christians, and laid siedge before the Citty of *Belgrade*, which was the Port and cheefe defence of *Hungaria*, and had beene before in vaine attempted by his Predecessours: but king *Lewes* being then ouer young, and gouerned by the Princes of his Countrey; made no such resistãce as was needfully required. Wherfore, by force of Arms, the Citty was taken by the *Turke*, although it cost much blood, and many liues of his people. When he had accomplished this enterprise, hee went againe in person (contrary to the opinion of al his *Bashaes*) and would needs besiedge the Isle of *Rhodes*, with an innumerable multitude of Men and Artillery, both by Land and Sea, and hauing conquered the Isle, hee brought his Campe before the Citty, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred twenty and two, in the end of the month of Iune. During this siedge, there was then performed such Noble and heroycall deeds of Armes, as it is impossible to make any small abridgement of them, or sufficiently to extoll the vertuous valour of the besiedged. But in conclusion, after some sixe months hardy resistance, the great Maister and Gouernor of *Rhodes*, named *Phillip de Villiers*, of the French Nation, was constrained to surrender it vp to the Turk, being vnable any way longer to defend it. Heereon, the Turke returned triumphantly to *Constantinople*, not a little glorying in so great good fortune. And three yeares after, which was, in one thousand fiue hundred twenty and sixe, hee entred *Hungaria* with a wonderfull Army: against whom King *Lewes* (badly councelled) went in person with his power, betweene *Buda* and *Belgrade*, at which place (being too confident of himselfe, and hauing ouer few Men) he gaue the Turk battaile, wherein hee was vanquished, and founde dead, drowned in a Ditch. The battaile was the same yeare, the eight and twentith day of August, when as the Turke tooke *Buda*, and diuers other neighbouring places, still returning home Victor. After which, once more hee came into *Hungary*, when *Charles* the fift, Emperor, gaue him resistance.

Solyman besiegeth *Belgrade*, and winneth it.

The Isle of *Rhodes* besiedged by *Solyman*.

Rhodes yeelded vp to *Solyman*, by the Gouernor.

Buda & other places won by *Solyman*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

That the death of Man or Woman, is to bee reckoned happy or vnhappy, according to the quality and estate wherein the party dieth: with sundry examples of the death of many.

THat a Man is to dye once, is a matter common to all Men, but to know when, how, or in what manner his death shall be, is not by any meanes reuealed to him, or euer hath beene in former times: for that mainely consisteth in the good or euill condition of death, and ought not eyther to bee called good or vnfortunate, but when a Man (in that estate) is not found as hee ought to be. Death therefore lyes oftentimes hidden in wayes, walkes, or houses, where men suspect or least looke for him; and sometimes (like his Wife) lies with him in Bed: for which cause, hardly should a moment of life time be spent, without due and intire consideration thereof. Examples tending to this purpose, are infinit, whereof I purpose to produce some very notable: albeit, the effectes of death are not to be wondred at, in regard they continually happen day by day.

The iudgement of a mans death, is according to the estate he dyes in.

Aulus Gellius, and so dooth *Valerius Maximus* also, set downe, that in *Italy* there is a Town called *Crotonna*, neer to *Calabria*, where a Man was borne, named *Milo*, who was so excellent, able, dexterious, and skilfull, either in action belonging to Playes, Wrastling, Dancing, and all sprightly kinds of exercises, as he was not to be equalled by any, but in all such delights he bare away the victory: so that of him it was commonly said, that no Man, eyther in strength, agility, or otherwise, could in his time be found to deale with him. This man, walking one day on the side of a Mountaine (beeing with-drawne out of the common high-way to refresh himselfe) among other Trees he beheld an Oake, which had two great branches or armes falne off and lying by, and had beene begun to be cleft by some labouring Man;

Aulus Gellius. Valerius Maximus.

Of *Milo*, the excellent man in all qualities

who hauing left his Wedges in the Stock, it remained wide open extended by their stretching. Hee being desirous to finish the Mans labour, sets his hands to the braunch to teare it in sunder, and opened it so much by his strength, that the Wedges fell quite out. But whether (as it might bee) that his strength fayled him, or the Branch was ouerweldy for him, pausing a little to breath himselfe, the rift clapt it selfe so suddenly close together againe (except his hands, being now betweene in stead of the Wedges) that by no meanes could he help himselfe, neyther came any passenger that way to helpe him. So that it was his hard fortune, to starue there and dye a most miserable death, worse then can easily be imagined, for he was a prey to wild Beasts, & thus ouerthrown in trying his owne strength.

When Men will try their strength wher they need not

But if this death of *Milo*, may (as it deserues no lesse) appeare to be strange: that then of the Poet *Æschylus* may bee thought little lesse; for hee walking one day out of a Towne in *Scicily* where he dwelled, to take the Ayre of the fieldes, and comfort himselfe in the warmth of the Sunne, becausehee felt his ioynts somewhat chill by standing, tooke this to be his wholesomest recreation. Hee beeing aged, white headed, and balde withall, sat downe vpon on high place, where the Sunne might haue greatest power to heat him, and being bare headed, an Eagle (by accident) was houering aloft in the Ayre, holding a Tortuise in her Tallents, and espying the bald head of *Æschylus*, which shee imagined to bee a stone, forthwith let fall her burthen from an high, to breake the Tortuise vpon that supposed stone, that afterward she might deuoure the creature. The Tortuise falling iust vppon the Poets head; cleft it so farre, that instantly he dyed. A matter of no meane maruaile, becausehe sat so high, and openly discouered, as it might seeme impossible, that any thing whatsoeuer, shold from so high light vpon his head.

The strange death of the Poet *Aeschylus*

That which is ordained, cannot be auoyded.

Baptista Fulgoso, in his learned Booke of extraordinary examples, declareth the vnfortunate death of a King of *Nauarre*, named *Charles*. This Prince was old and very sickly, feeling great anguish in all his Nerues, and (for this disease) by aduise of most excellent and skilfull Phisiti-

Baptist. Fulgo. in lib. de Excmp

The strange deathot *Charls* K. of *Nauarre*.

Phisitions, there could not any likely remedy be found but one onely, which was thus: His body was to bee round wrapped about with a Linnen Cloath, that first had beene well steept in *Aqua-vitæ*, and then it must bee sowed somewhat strait about him. The party that performed this businesse, hauing fullie ended his labour, and wanting a Knife or Sheares ready to cut the thred: took the Candle to burne it in sunder, and the thred flaming to the Cloth, caught such sudden holde on the same and the *Aqua-vitæ*, that before any meanes of help could be applyed, the King in this flame was burnt to death. Thus was he cured of that extreame paine, and all other diseases he had beside.

Philemon died with extream laughter.

The death likewise of *Philemon* was in a merry manner, for he seeing an Asse draw neer to a Table, & feed vpon Figs that were serued in a dish for himselfe & others, fell into such an extream laughter, that his life ended in his laughing. Wee see then what slender assurance there is of Life, when a man may loose it in a laughter. It is also recorded, that *Phylistion* the Commicall Poet, dyed laughing. And many man haue dyed with excesse of ioy, among which number was *Dyonisius* the Tyrant, *Sicilie*, *Diagoras*, and the *Romaine* Lady, seeing her Sonne returne from the battaile, where she heard he was slaine. The accident also happening to *Cratis* the Goat-heard, was very strange; for he sleeping vnder a Hill side among his Goates, an Hee-Goat killed him, in iealousie of his She-Goat, wherewith this *Cratis* had diuers times peruerted the course of Nature. This is faithfully affirmed by *Ludouicus Cælius*, and *Volateranus*, who do alleage for their authority, diuers good Greek Authors.

Phylistion died laughing.

Dyonisius the Tyrant, *Dyagoras*, and a *Roman* Lady, dyed with excesse of ioy.

Cratis the Goat-heard kild by a He-Goat.

I forbeare to speake of diuers other kindes of Death, as that of Pope *Boniface*, who died in Prison with extreamity of hunger; that also of *Richard* the second, King of England: or that of the Arch-Byshoppe of *Magunce*, who was kild and eaten vp by an huge multitude of Rats: or that of *Decius* the Emp. of whō *Æmilius Victor* writeth, that being very victorious, yet he was found dead, drowned in a Lake. In which manner diuers haue dyed in our time; as *Lewes* King of *Hungarie*, and *Sforza* the Father of that worthy Captain *Frances Sforza*, who drowned himselfe to saue one of his Pages. *Andrew* the King of *Prouence* dyed by the hand of a Woman, who (being assisted by other Women) hung and strangled him. The Emperour *Tiberius* was likewise poysoned by his Wife *Agripina*. And therefore Emperours, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, haue beene euen as subiect to vnfortunate and vntimely deaths, as the verie poorest or most wretched person, albeit (in vaine) they sometime purposed to preuent such inconueniences.

Diuers that haue died many strange deaths.

CHAP. XXVII.

How many Popes of Rome there hath beene since Saint Peter; And wherefore the Names of the Popes are still changed: As also, by what authority they haue beene vsually elected.

ONE of the most excellent Histories, and deserueth among Men to be remembred, is the liues of the cheefe Byshops or Popes of *Rome*, who if Saint *Peter* were the first (because there hath beene much doubt and question about it) are tearmed his successors, and Vicars of Christ. I meane all them that haue beene Byshoppes of *Rome*, in succession order from the first, who in regard of our purposed discourse, we will admit to be S. *Peter*, and so proceede by the obseruation of some Authors. And first we are to consider, that sometimes these chiefe Byshops haue beene absent from that Cities seat, yet *Rome* ceased not to bee the principall Seat, though the Byshop were absent, as belonging to the deputation of Saint *Peter*. But returning to our intent; there hath been in *Rome* two hundred and one and twenty Byshops and Popes, as I haue gathered from the beginning, to *Iulius* the third of that Name, who was then Pope, when I made this collection, among whom haue beene most excellent and learned Doctors.

Many haue doubted whether *Peter* was Byshop of *Rome*, or no.

Two hundred twenty & one who haue bin Popes to *Iulius* the third.

But me thinkes it is a matter of some maruaile, and needes must haue some Mystery

Myſtery in it, that not any one of them in ſo long a time of ſucceſſion, attained to ſuch length of time as S. *Peter* did: for it pleaſed God, that as he exceeded al other in ſanctity, ſo held he poſſeſſion of this dignity much longer then any other, for he liued twenty fiue yeares after the death of Chriſt. The firſt ſeauen he remained at *Antioche*, and the following eighteene at *Rome* (as it is ſaid) where he confirmed his Seat. And I haue read, by the opinion of ſome, that not any one of his ſucceſſors after to enſue, ſhould enioy ſuch length of time, as hee then did. There is alſo another thing, whereof I haue made obſeruation in the liues of the Popes; which is, that from the beginning, to this very day, there is not any one found, that (in the change of his name) hath bin called *Peter*, or that his name was ſo before the change: whereby (ſay ſome) that God would permit the Name of *Peter* to none other, but onely to him on whom he founded his Church.

S. *Peter* liued twenty fiue yeares after the death of Chriſt.

No *Peter* but the firſt amõg all the Popes.

But *I know not* (ſaith a very learned Writer) *from what Authours this laſt opinion may be deriued, becauſe I can produce ſeauen (at the leaſt) whoſe Names before the changing, were Peter. And theſe were they.* Innocentius *the fift*; Iohn *the two and twentith*; Celeſtine *the fift*; Gregory *the eleauenth*; Boniface *the ninth*; Clement *the ſixt*; *and* Alexander *the fift, without adding hereto one* Anti-Pope.

Claud. Vſt. in 19. Lib. de Pont. Chap. 12.

Now, it is good to vnderſtand whence proceeded this mutation of their names, and vpon what occaſion. Let me tell you then, that Pope *Gregory* the fourth being dead, in the year eight hundred forty two; the next election of Byſhop and Pope of *Rome*, was made of a worthy *Romain*, of Noble blood, honorable diſcent, & very gratious behauior, whoſe name was *Hogs-face*, or *Swines-face*, chuſe ye whether. Now, in regard that this name ſeemed very harſh, rude, and vnfitting a place of ſuch Dignity, they remembring withall, that our Sauiour had changed S. *Peters* name: they would now alſo begin that order, and changing his name, called him *Sergius*, according to the Name of his Father. And from hence came the cuſtome, which is yet obſerued to this day, that hee who is elected Pope, may make choiſe of what name he wil, or fancieth beſt: But albeit hee altereth thus his name, yet they hold an eſpeciall order, that he muſt accept the name of ſome one of his Predeceſſors. And Authours to iuſtifie this, are *Platina*, *Matheus Palmierus*, *Euſebius*, and others.

The originall of changing the Popes names, and vpon what reaſon.

The new *Pope* muſt be named after ſom one of his predeceſſors.

We are moreouer to know, as we find recorded in the beſt Hiſtories, that vntil the time of *Conſtantine* the great (who gaue ſuch wealth and large priuiledges to the *Romain* Church, becauſe many of the Byſhoppes had ſuffered the death of Martyrdome) there was no ſuite made for the place, neither were any very deſirous of it; but contrariwiſe, by force or faire meanes, they were conſtrained to vndergo the charge; becauſe in thoſe times they were aduanced to that Dignity, onely by the Prieſts in the *Romaine* Church. But when the Emperors began to bee Chriſtians, and likewiſe many worthy Cittizens of *Rome*; the election then was made by them, when the Cleargy had made preſentation of the Man, and the voyce and conſent of the people concurring. Which being done, Meſſengers were diſpatched to *Conſtantinople* (where the Emperors then made their abyding) to deſire his confirmation of the election, becauſe their choiſe was not abſolute til then. And it appeareth, that this order was obſerued to pleaſe them, or elſe it was their will to haue it ſo: and ſometime it was done by a deputy or ſubſtitute of theirs, who remained for them at *Rome*, being named *Hipparchus*, exerciſing (in this caſe) the authority of the Emperour.

The election of Popes by the Clergy & common people, and not abſolute, but by confirmation of the Emperor.

This manner and cuſtome of electing *Popes* by confirmation of the Emperor, made their eſtabliſhment the more certaine (though ſome ſay they did it as in tyranny, and not by permiſſion of the Church) yet after the death of *Benet* the firſt, *Pelagius* the ſecond was next elected, and becauſe (in that time) *Rome* was beſiedged by the *Lombards* (of whom thoſe of *Lombardy* to this day are deſcended) and in regard alſo, that it rained ſo exceſſiuely, as the Floodes, Riuers, and other Waters ſwelled in ſuch ſort, that (as *Platina* ſaith) infinite people were drowned & periſhed, wherby it was expected to haue proued another deluge; therefore this *Pelagius* was the firſt that tooke on him the Popedome, without knowledge of the Emperor.

The *Lombards* beſiedged *Rome*.

A great and mighty flood in *Rome*.

Neuer-

Neuertheleſſe, fearing leaſt *Maurtius*, Emperor then at *Conſtantinople*, would be offended thereat; he ſent an Ambaſſadour to make his excuſe, and deliuer thoſe reaſons before expreſſed.

Conſtantine, the fourth Emperor of that name, renounced the election of Popes.

Afterward, diuers yeares being paſt, and this order obſerued without diſcontinuance; *Bennet* the ſecond comming to be elected Pope, the Emperor *Conſtantine*, fourth of that Name, being aduertiſed of his ſingular Holineſſe and Learning, in regard alſo of his own authority for his Election: hee ſent the Pope a Charter and Letters Pattents, whereby he renounced to himſelfe and his Succeſſours, all cauſes and reaſons before pretended, for confirmation of the Papal Election; but that thence forward, ſo ſoone as the Cleargy and people of *Rome* had made choiſe of their chiefe Byſhop, he ſhould then bee held as Gods Vicar, without any other confirmation or amplification. This endured for ſome ſmall while, till afterward the Romaine Church happening to be afflicted againe, & her Patrimony much moleſted by the *Lombards*, who ſwayed mightily in thoſe parts, being then ſuccoured by *Charles Martell*, in the time of *Gregory* the third, and by his Son *Pepin*, in the time of *Stephen* the ſecond; they were glad to let fall their former priuiledge, becauſe they had found no mean helpe (alwaies) from the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*.

The tranſlation of the Empire out of the Eaſt into the Weſt, where it hath euer ſince continued.

Finally, Pope *Leo*, the third of that Name, after much diſcourſe and deliberation about this matter, conſidering what great helpe and ſuccour he had receiued from *Charlemaigne* K. of *France*; laboured and procured him to bee named Emperour, and ſo tranſlated the Empires Seat out of the Eaſterne parts, into the Weſt, where it hath ſtill remained to this inſtant. Whereby may eaſily be gathered, whether in regard of eſpecial priuiledge, or vſurpation of *Charlemaignes* Succeſſors in the Empire, the Popes helde on their confirmation by the Emperours or no; and confirmed & approued their election of the cheeſe Byſhops, in acknowledging alwaies the Weſterne Emperours, and hauing recourſe to them in all their affaires and neceſſities. By ſucceſſion of time, and in the yeare eight hundred and ſeuenteen, *Paſcall* the firſt was elected (by death of *Stephen* the fourth) and enſtalled, without attending the confirmation of *Lewes*, Sonne to *Charles* the great. And yet he was glad to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Em. to make his excuſe, and ſay; that hee was thereto compelled by the people, and could not ſtay for his confirmation. The Emperour *Lewes* allowed of this excuſe, and yet ſent an expreſſe commaundement, that he would haue all auncient Cuſtomes to be kept and preſerued.

The Emperor would haue no ancient orders and cuſtomes broken

Long time after, and while the abuſes of Men ſtill encreaſed, there were many ſcandals and diſorders happening at theſe elections; for remedy whereof, Pope *Nicholas*, ſecond of that Name, in the yeare one thouſand ſeauenty nine, procured a publique Counſell, whereby there was made a Decretall, which beginneth in *Nomine Domini*, in the three and twentith diſtinction, and thereby it was giuen in full authority, to Biſhops, Prieſts, and Cardinals, to make this election. According to which order, the Election hath in that kinde continued, without any requeſt of the Imperiall confirmation, but in the abſolute power & priuiledge of the Church, becauſe by Emperours and Kinges, it hath not (ſince then) beene called in queſtion.

Platina. Diſt. 59

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *The cauſe of thoſe daies which are called* Dies Caniculares, *or* Dogge-daies; *And wherefore they are ſo called: With many notable examples incident to the ſame purpoſe.*

The reaſon of the Dog-daies is ſcarcely knowne to all Men.

THere are few or none, but (in common conuerſation) they will talke familiarly of the Dogge-dayes, onely by reaſon of the extreamity of heate, which vſually continueth all that time: And yet notwithſtanding, all men doe not know, vppon what occaſion thoſe daies are ſo called. Or let vs admit, that there are very few of any diſcreation, but the reaſon thereof is well enough knowne vnto them; yet may we ſpeake our minde to thoſe few, and ſatisfie them as well as the reſt, accor-

according to the iudgement of Aſtrologers, both Ancient and Moderne.

Moſt true it is, that among many other conſtellations and figures, which the auncient Aſtronomers both knew and obſerued, in company of the fixed Starres; there were two eſpecially, and they were tearmed Dogs: one of them the great Dogge; the other, the little, or leſſe; which leſſer hath two Starres, one equalling the firſt in greatneſſe, the other not ſo much by a fourth part, and they are of the Nature of *Mercury*, and ſomewhat of *Mars*. This conſtellation of the little or leſſer Dogge, was at the time of *Ptolomy*, in the ſigne of the Twinnes: and from that time to this inſtant (by reaſon of Motion in the eight Sphere) one of theſe two Starres hath attained to the fift degree; and the other to the nineteenth and a halfe, of the ſigne of *Cancer*. Of this Conſtellation theſe Authours doe ſpeake; as *Pliny*, *Iulius Firmicus*, *Manilius*, *Eginus*, and *Ptolomy*. But becauſe that this is no occaſion at all of our Caniculare or Dog-daies, let vs come to the other, which is called the great Dogge, which is a Celeſtiall Image or Figure, hauing eighteene Starres, and they were placed alſo by *Ptolomy* (in his time) in the ſigne of the Twinnes; except one onely, by reaſon of the Motion it made by the eight Sphere, from the Weſt to the Eaſt. But at this day, they are all to bee found at the ſigne *Cancer*, except one or two, that are not (as yet) departed from the ſigne of the Twinnes.

Among which Starres, there is one that is ſaide to bee in the throat of the fore-named Dogge, which by the *Arabies* is called *Alſabor*, and by the *Greekes*, *Seirios*. It is of the cheefeſt greatneſſe, and more cleare and ſplendant then any other of the fixed Starres; which in the time of *Ptolomy* (as appeareth by his tables) was eighteene degrees and tenne minuts from the Twinnes. Afterward, King *Alphonſus*, iuſtifying the ſaide Tables, found yet the ſaide Starre to be in the fourth degree, and forty eight minuts of *Cancer*: and now at this day, we finde it in the eight degree of the ſame ſigne *Cancer*. Her Latitude is Meridionall (according to ancient obſeruation) ſixteene degrees and ten minuts, and is vnvariable; notwithſtanding, the opinion of Moderne Writers, touching the mooning of trepidation or terror: For although ſhe were not certaine, yet moſt ſure is it, that the mutation of the ſaid Starre is no way notable. Her declination is Meridionall, by fifteene degrees, and fifty minuts. And albeit that the whole Conſtellation of this Celeſtiall Image, hath very great power and influence, yet are we to ſpeake eſpecially but of the very greateſt Star; becauſe all ancient and Moderne Authors, haue made great reckoning thereof, and by her occaſion are the daies called Caniculare.

She is of ſuch power and efficacy, as during the time that the Sunne and ſhe doth go together from the Eaſt, the vapours and beames of the Sun, do in ſuch ſort heat and chafe themſelues, by the vigor of her property; that ſhee procureth a maruailous alteration & warmth, both on the Earth, Sea, and in all other things, as *Pliny* and *Auicen* hath intirely noted. *Hippocrates* in his Aphoriſmes, did expreſly forbid, that (while the Sun walked in this Conſtellation) no Man ſhould take any Phiſicke, becauſe the time was full of daungerous effectes; which are ſo euident and certaine, as all the World is well acquainted therewith, and ancient Authors haue ſpoken thereof very plentifully. Eſpeciallie *Pliny* in diuers places, ſaying; *That during this time, the Wine is troubled, and becommeth ſtarke naught. In ſome Countries, you ſhall ſee the Sea to caſt vp her Fiſhes, & they to ſwim dead aloft on the Water, the Dogs alſo to run mad about the ſtreetes*. In like manner, *Columella* giueth aduiſe to Shepheards, that while the Dog-dayes doe continue, they ſhould ſuffer their Flockes to feede from morning to mid-day, driuing them continually from the Eaſt towards the Weſt, to the end they ſhould not haue the Sunne vpon their ſhoulders: But after mid-day is paſt, & onward to the Euening, to guide them from the weſt to the Eaſt, becauſe they ſhould neuer haue the Sun on their eies. For he further ſaith, that thoſe daies are very daungerous, and doe cauſe many great inconueniences to happen vnto Men.

Moreouer, *Iulius Firmicus* ſaith, that ſuch as are borne during the ſeaſon of theſe Caniculare dayes, will prooue to be

The great Dog and little Dog obſerued by the Aſtronomers.

Plin Lib. 16. Iul. Firm lib. 6. Manil. Lib. 5. Egin. Lib. 2. Ptolo. in Almageſt.

Of the Starre called the great Dogge, and the obſeruations thereof by our Elders.

The power of the Star, called the great Dogge-Star, while it goeth with the Sun.

Plin. Lib. 2. Auicen. Lib. 4. Hyppocrat. lib. 5

Pli. lib. 5. ca. 18

Columella lib. 7 de Agricult.

How daungerous it is to be borne in the Dogge-dayes *Iul. Firm. lib. 3.*

bee men of very badde inclination, forward and apt to commit great Euilles; Proud, Cruell, Furious, Daungerous, full of Vaunting, Seditious, and to be suspected; which MANCVS MANILIVS in like maner affirmeth.

Manil. Lib. 5.

Cicero saith also, *The Inhabitants of the Isle of* Cea *or* Ceos, * *Neighbour to* Negropont, *doe make Obseruation of this Starre, and iudge thereby the whole course of the yeare, whether the seasons will be healthfull, or subiect to sickenesse. For, if it appeare obscure or Clowdie, they gather thereby, that the Ayre is moyst, thicke, and naught, and the whole yeare to holde the like qualitie. But if it be seene to rise cleare, bright and shining, it then signifieth a pure ayre, Healthfull, and Sweete, and accordingly they do prognosticate wel fare vnto men.*

* An Island in the *Egeū* Sea, wher the Silk wormes were first found.

Cicero in Lib. 2. de diuinat.

These things, are in this manner set downe by *Cicero*; and yet we know, that such kinde of Iudgements are not sufficient, because one Starre onely sufficeth not, to prognosticate the whole yeares course. True it is, that sometimes these Dogge-Dayes do fal out to be Colde, and the times verie Rainie, which is occasioned by the Suns Coniunction with Saturne, or else by some other Colde Starre, whereof *Thomas Aquinas* sufficiently speaketh. Besides, *Saturne* may bee the cause of this times ill disposition, beeing opposite to the Sunne, or in a Quartile Aspect with the Sunne.

Tho. Aquin. in Metaph. Lib. 6.

The Dogge-dayes doe begin, when the Sunne riseth with the Dog-Starre.

Behold the Effects of this Star, and of her Constellation, which doe continue diuers Dayes, and beginneth when as the Sunne mounteth or ariseth with her in the Horizon: These are they, which deserue most especially to be noted and knowne at what time of the yeare they are. Then for our better direction heerein, it is to be vnderstood, that euery Starre is saide to be rising or springing; and likewise, that they doe bestow and order themselues in diuers kinds; some hauing respect to the Horizon, and others to the Sun, who one while keeps aloofe farre off from them, and another while approacheth neere vnto them. But we will speake of them onely, that aunswere to our purpose, which (at one time in the yeare) do rise with the Sunne vppon the Horizon, as hath beene well knowne, vnderstoode, & Written by them that haue discoursed thereon, and then is the beginning of the Dogge-dayes.

The order & obseruance of the Starres.

The beginning of the Dog-Dayes.

Now this moment of birth or Originall, is not common to all places, nor at all times alike, because the mooning or motion (as we haue already said) being according to the succession of the signes, this Starre came forth (heeretofore) in one certaine time of the yeare, and now it happens in another. For the Star being in lesse degree of longitude, euen so as the Sun, it goeth according to the order of the signes, and passeth the rather to the point of the Zodiacke, that holdeth euen way with him toward the East, in what place soeuer wee shall consider him: Therefore, in one and the same place, and one selfe-same Horizon, the apparition of this Starre was more forward, and sooner in times past, then now adayes it is: And likewise, by the finitures or limits of sight, shee beginneth to yssue foorth rather in some peculiar places, then in others. Wherefore, the Dogge-Dayes do beginne rather with them that are neerest vnto the Equinoctiall, then with those that are more Northerly, according to the seat of the most oblique Horizons.

The rising of the Dog-Star is not alike in all places, or at all times.

The Dogge-daies doe begin with them neerest to the Equinoctiall.

Necessarily then it is to bee noted; that although this Starre were in the eight Degree of Cancer, yet would she spring or rise from one Paralell onely, in the same Degree; but (in all the rest) diuersly, more or lesse, according as shee raungeth or keepeth her selfe off from the Equinoctiall, so shall shee be the more slacke and tardie in her appearing; whereof an example may bee hadde, by the Inhabitants of Ciuill, which is at the end of the fourth Climate, in thirty seauen Degrees of Latitude.

In those Dayes when as AVICEN Liued, (according as himselfe hath Written and Recorded) beeing about foure hundered yeares agone; the Dogge-Dayes beganne then the fifte day of the Month of Iune: and yet notwithstanding, in those verie times, when the Sunne had made two Degrees, and fiue and twentie Minutes in the Signe of Leo, this Starre yssued from foorth the Horizon, so soone as the Sunne. This haue I equalled, by the Direction of *Iohn de Mont-royall*,

Diuersity of the dog-daies beginning, by diuersitie of places.

a great Astrologer and Mathematician, and it is to be seene and knowne by the *Astrolobe*. But, if wee speake of the ordinary time, which is the seauenteenth day of Iuly, then truly doe the Dogge-dayes begin in our City of *Ciuill*: so that it is an error to say, that they commonly begin the fift or tenth day of Iuly, although it might be true in some precedent times; and in like maner it may be beleeued, that for certaine dayes, some of the effects declared themselus to the world, before the Sunne was perfectly eleuated in the Horizon, with the Starre.

To such as dwel in places far off from the Equinoctiall line, and are neere neighbors to the North; the Dog-Dayes do begin much later, becauſe the Sunne muſt bee riſen in more degrees of the ſigne *Leo*, and therefore more dayes of Iuly muſt be paſt. Alſo in the Paralell of 41. degrees, whether it bee *Rome*, *Tolledo*, and other places; this Starre, riſeth with the Sunne, when he commeth to the ſixt degree of *Leo*, which will bee the 21. day of Iuly, and then beginneth the Dog-daies with them. And to them that are vnder the 47, 48. or 49. Degree; as are *Paris*, *Strasbourg*, and *Vienna*, with other Cities; this Star ariſeth in the Horizon with the Sun, euen then when he enters into the 12, 11, and 10. Degree of *Leo*, which ſhall be the 24. or 25. day of Iuly. Hence may it bee concluded, that the Dogge-dayes doe not begin alike in all places; or euery yeare, at one certeine or ſelfe-ſame time of the yeare.

It is an errour then to ſay, that they haue their beginning vniuerſally, or in all places, the tenth day of Iuly. For, ſuch as are vnder the ſeauenteenth Degree declining, haue thence that verie day to beginne with them. And they which are vnder the twentie nine and thirtith degrees, haue them the ſeauenteenth day of the ſaide Month; becauſe (as we haue ſaid before) this Diuerſitie proceedeth from the different eleuation, in diuers Horizons or Limits of the eye. For which cauſe, thoſe men that read Poets and Hiſtorians, are to be aduertiſed, that when they finde in diuers Authors, diuers Births or Originalles of this Starre, and as diuers beginnings of theſe Canicular dayes, they muſt duely conſider, at what time, and in what Climat the Authors liued that Wrote thoſe thinges, to the end, they may bee confronted with truth; for otherwiſe, he may aſſure himſelfe, that they do expreſly contradict themſelues.

The length of time or continuance of theſe Dog-dayes, which is all the while the Sun tarrieth his paſſage in this conſtellation (according to the opinion of Phyſitians) is forty dayes, wherof ſome are much more dangerons then the reſt, according to the Aſpects that be in this Starre, and the Sunne, with the other Planets; becauſe that if thoſe Aſpectes be good, the good Plannets doe partly temperate and correct his Malice; but the badde doe worke the quite contrarie.

And now it appeares to mee, that in this matter, concerning the Canicular Starre, or Dogge-Dayes, we haue ſaide ſufficient, and giuen taſt enough thereof. Now, albeit there might be much more ſaide and knowne; yet in regarde that it is not fitting to euery mans Apprehenſion, I will reſt ſilent, and paſſe on in this Argument no further. Many others, haue Learnedly and ſufficiently Written, of the Power and Effectes of this Starre: as *Plinie*, *Ptolomy*, and almoſt the whole Schoole of Poets. *Perſeus* calleth it the Madde Dogge, and ſayth; That it burneth vp all Seedes. *Ouid*, *Virgill*, *Macrobius*, *Iulius Firmicus*, *Marcus Manlius*, with diuers other excellent Authours beſide (aſwell Auncient as Moderne) whom heere I will not ſpend time to name, they haue at large ſet downe their Opinions of this Starre; & ſuch as are further inquiſitiue in this caſe, may there be fully and amply ſatiſfied by them.

To ſuch as are far from the Equinoctiall, the Dog Star is long before it riſeth

An eſpeciall direction for the beginning of the Dogge-dayes.

How long the Dogge-dayes haue their continuance.

Plin. lib. 2. Ptolom. in Alm. Perſeus Lib. 1. Ouid. 4. de Faſt. Virgil. Geor. 1. Macrob. in ſom. Scipionis. Iul. Firm. lib. 8. Mar. Man. li. 5.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Admyrable Art (in Man) of Swimming: The Originall of the Fable of the Fiſh Colas, *with ſome incident Hiſtories beſide.*

MAny men of good and ſounde iudgement do ſay, that matters of meruaile or rarity ought not to

Matters of nouelty, doe carry suspition of certainty.

to be Written, becauſe doubt of their truth or credit, dooth moſt commonly attend on them. Neuertheleſſe, when for ſuch things as are alledged, the Teſtimony of vnreproueable Authority is auouched; a man may remain the more aſſured of them. I can well remember, that in the dayes of my Child-hoode, I heard old people oftentimes talke of a Fiſh named *Colas*, that had the true Figure and proportion of a man, and vſed to ſwim dayly in the Sea. Of this Fiſh, many fabulous deuiſes haue bin reported, and my ſelfe neuer caried any other opinion of them: vntill by the reading of many Books, I found as many things written in them, and as full of admiration; ſo that, if I had receiued them frō men of ſlender worth or reſpect, I ſhold haue reputed them for vaine and ydle lyes.

The Fiſh *Colas* carried the true ſhape & proportion of a man in all parts.

Concerning thoſe aged peoples Reports, which the cōmon vulgar held to be fabulous, I made ſome pauſe of raſh Cenſure, after I had read two excellent men, of no leſſe Authority then Learning: The one of them, being *Pontanus*, a great Humaniſt, Oratour, and Poet; the other, is *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, a Doctor of the Ciuill Lawes, a man of Deepe Experience and Learning, ſpeaking of them in his Booke named *Genial Dayes*.

Pontanus lib. 2. Alex. de Alexand. in lib. Dier. Genial.

Both theſe Worthy men do write, that in their time, there liued in *Catania* a Towne of *Sicilie*, a man, whom euery one tearmed to bee the Fiſh *Colas*, that from his Infancie was wholly enclined to Bath himſelfe in the Sea, and it was his onely chiefeſt Delight or pleaſure, either in the Night time, or in the Day. This grew in him (by litle and litle) to ſuch a Cuſtome; and afterward to ſuch an extreamity; that if a day had paſt him without ſpending the moſt part thereof in the Water, he would ſay; that he endured ſuch a paſſion and ſickneſſe of ſtomacke, as made him doubtfull of immediate death.

Continuing in this exerciſe, and hee attaining to the yeares of manly diſpoſition, his ſtrength and dexteritie was ſuch in the Water; that although the Seas were very violent and Tempeſtuous, yet hee would Croſſe-ſwim them, without any feare or perill. And theſe two Authours ſay, that (at a certaine time) he was forcibly compeld to Swim aboue fiue hundred Stades, without finding Land, or any where to reſt himſelf, which Stades do amount to aboue ſixeteene or ſeauenteene Leagues. And ſometimes hee would Swim in the Sea (as a Fiſh) two or three dayes togither, wandering into diuers Coaſtes of the Neighbouring Countreyes, & was met by many paſſengers, to whom he wold cry and call in their Shippes. Diuers times they would take him vp vnto thē, and after they had queſtioned him concerning his voyage, they woulde giue him both meat and drinke.

A matter almoſt incredible, but that good Authors do auouch it for truth.

Thus would he (for ſome ſmal time) abide with them in ſportful recreation, but when he ſaw his opportunity, then would he ſuddenly leape into the Sea againe, to returne whence he came; and by this meanes, oftentimes hee carried tydings to ſundry neere Townes & Villages, of them that he had met at Sea.

Thus liued this man for a long time in good and healthfull Diſpoſition; vntill at length, at a great Feaſt and Solemnitie, which King *Alphonſus* of *Naples* made at * *Meſſana* (a moſt Famous Port in the *Sicilian* Sea) onely to approue the Swimming of this Man, and others, that made vaunt of their skill & dexterity in this Art. There he commaunded a Cup of Golde (of very great woorth and value) to bee caſt into the Sea, and it was giuen as a reward to him that could ſooneſt finde it, purpoſing to throw in other things of worth beſide, after the triall of the Cup ſhould firſt be made.

*A City in *Sicilie*, neere to the Promontory *Pelorus*.

In this Aſſembly, there were manie excellent Swimmers, that made no doubt of their cunning and ſufficiencie, and amongeſt them alſo was this *Colas*, who (with the reſt) lept into the depth of the Sea, at the place where the Cup was caſt in; but afterward hee was neuer ſeene againe, nor any tydings what was become of him. Some thoght, that hee fell into ſome Gulphe or deepe pit, which might bee in the bottome of the Sea, and his diſaſter was ſuch, that not being able to aſcend out of it, there hee died. This Hiſtory being deliuered by two ſuch approued men, gaue me occaſion to conceiue, that this might be the ſame thing which aged people had ſpoken of, concerning the Fiſh *Colas*.

A triall of ſwimming, before *Alphonſus* King of *Naples*.

Vſe & cuſtom begets an habit of courage and boldneſſe

Another History alledged by the same Author.

The same *Alexander*, in the very same Chapter saith; That hee knew another Man, who was a poore Mariner, and had (almost) no other kinde of liuing, but onely by Fishing. This man (as he saith) was so expert a Swimmer, that in one day hee went and returned from an Island, which is face to face with *Naples*, named *Æuaria*, so farre as *Prochyta*, which is vp in the firme Land neere to * *Putcoli*; and there is betweene the one and the other Citty, the distance of fifty Stades. One day also it hapned, that as he threw himselfe into the Sea, to make the like Voyage, there were other men in a Boate to passe the same place also; but it was no way possible for them (albeit they had men that vowed very speedily) to ouertake the man in his Swimming.

Puteoli is a Citty by the Sea-side, in *Campania*, distant from *Naples*, eight mile

Such things are truely marualous, and our Astrologians say; that it proceedeth from the influence of the Stars, that gouerne in the birth of these men. And that such as haue then the signe of *Pisces* in the ascendent, shall be wonderous strong and excellent Swimmers.

Astrologers opinion concerning such as swim.

Our Naturall Philosophers doe maintaine, that a man hauing his Armes very small, shall be apt and agile to Swimming. The ability of diuing vnder water, is verie admirable in some Men of the West-Indies, whence our choyseſt Pearles do come; for it is said, that they sinke downe into the bottome of the Sea, and do tarry there so long a time, as it seemeth to bee a thing altogether impossible. Our Elders tearmed these people *Vrinators*, but now they are called *Guzans*.

Naturall Philosophers their iudgement for swimming.

Swimmers, called *Vrinators* in olde time, but now *Guzans*.

All the Historians do report meruailous matters, of a man named *Delio*, so that it grew to be a common Prouerb, to say, the Swimmer *Delio*. And albeit (in very truth) it is no Vertue to Swim, neither is a man bound to Learne it, yet the knowledge thereof is no way hurtfull. For the ancient Romaines, according as *Vegetius* declareth, admonished their yong youths, not as yet inured to the Warres, that they should endeuour to Swim, and them they vsed to call *Tirones*. They had also a certaine Custome in *Rome*, that the yong Children should practise Swimming, in a place beside the Riuer of *Tyber*, neere to the fielde called *Campo Martio*, and there they made it a daily exercise, as iudging Swimming to be a lawfull pastime, and necessarie for such occurrences as might happen in war, as well for the passage of Lakes & Riuers, as also to withstand harde fortunes on the Sea.

Veget Lib. 2. de Art Milit.

In Rome they vsed to instruct their Children in Swimming.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Men liuing in the Sea, called Mare-men or Seamen, and weomen of like Nature, tearmed Mare-maids or Sea-women, and of some other notable things.

IT is a matter of no meane maruell, and it draweth a man into hie contemplation of Gods hanoy works, to behold the great diuersity of fishes in the Sea; as also, the Beastes and Creatures liuing on the earth; whereof *Pliny*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Aristotle*, and many other natural Phylosophers, haue liberally discourſed. Full well I know, that man composed of reason & vnderstanding, is no wher to be found but on earth, and that men were not ordained to liue in the water. Neuertheles, I haue diuers times read, that there are fishes in the Sea, which beareth the liuely shape of a man; among which, there is both male and female: The Female hath the perfect resemblance of a woman; and as they are called *Nereides*, so are the males named *Tritons*. Of whom, I will not recite diuers thinges, which a number of light-headed men, and of slender authority haue reported, in whose Books may be read very strange & variable matters. And yet notwithstanding I may lawfully set downe those things which I haue obserued and collected from writers of sound iudgement; men of grauitie, and deseruing credit. Among whom, *Plinie* saith, that in the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*, the Inhabitants of *Lisbone*, a Citty of *Portugall*, (famous then, and yet continuing so to this day) sent Ambassadours to the Emperour, to certifie him, that they had seene one of these Trytons, or Marine men, oftentimes to with-draw and hide himselfe in a Caue rne neer to the Sea; and that there he vsed

Plin. Lib. 9. Alb. Mag. lib. 1 Aristot. Lib. 3

Nereides and *Trytons* are as women and men liuing in the Sea.

Plin. lib 6.

Tydings of a Tryton sent to the Emperor *Tyberius*, by the inhabitants of *Lisbon*

vsed to sing in a great shell of the Sea. And *Pliny* saith moreouer, that *Octauianus Augustus* was certified, that on the Coast of *France*, many *Nereides* or Sea-women hath bin seene, who afterward were found dead vppon the Sea-shore. The like tydings also was sent to *Nero*, that among many Fishes of the sea (cast vpon the sandes) diuers *Nereides* were found, and other kindes of Creatures Marine, like vnto Beastes liuing on the Earth; The same, and much more is confirmed by *Elianus*, in his Booke of Beasts.

Elian. in lib. 1. de Animal.

Ouer and beside, those of Antiquitie who haue written of these things, & diuers others in like nature. Our Modern Authors also haue spokē as meruailously; as (among others) *Theodorus Gaza*, a man very learned in sundry Sciences, & who was liuing in our Fathers Dayes. His writings are iustified by many, and especially by *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, who saith, that the said *Theodorus* being in *Greece* on the Sea-shore, after a huge stormy tempest that then happened, he beheld abundance of Fishes cast vppon the sands, among which was a *Neriade*, or Fish, hauing a face perfectly human, and like vnto a very beautifull Woman down to the Girdle, but all the rest was formed of Fish, writhing vp the tail like vnto an Eele; euen after the same manner, as wee haue seene a figure painted, called a *Syrene* of the Sea; so this *Neriad* being vpon the sands, by her outwarde gesture and behauiour, appeared to bee in great paine and anguish. *Alexander* further saith, that this *Theodorus Gaza*, tooke the said *Neriade*, and (by the best meanes he could deuise) put it into the water, wherein shee was no sooner entred, but she beganne to swim very delicately, and vanished on a sudden out of his sight.

Theodorus Gaza, a Famous Writer, saw a Neriade cast vpon the Sea-shore in *Greece*

A Neriade taken, and being put into the water presently it vanished away.

Georgius Trabezonzius, a man of no lesse learning and authority, affirmeth also, that passing along the Sea side, he saw a Fish rise vp in the water, & al that could be discerned vnto the middle, seemed to bee a very beautifull Woman, whereat hee was no lesse amazed then terrified, because she wold hide and discouer her selfe, according as she perceiued her selfe not to be noted; but beholding too many eies to gaze on her, shee sunk into the water, & was neuer seen after. All these things are maruailous, & yet notwithstanding, who will not giue credit to such worthy men, being fortified with that which I can yet further say?

Georgius Trabezonzius concerning another Neriade.

Alexander of *Alexandria* declareth, that in his time he was aduertised by credible assurance, that in *Epirus*, (now named *Romania*) there was a Riuer neere vnto the Sea, where children often vsed to fetch Water thence. In short while after, a *Triton* resorted thither, and would hide himselfe in a Caue neer adioyning, watching till he could see some maiden come alone: whereof speeding at last, he would seize and carry her along with him into the Sea, and thus he did to diuers young Maidens. The Inhabitants being heereof aduertised, beleagred the place in such sort with spies, that he was taken and brought before a Iustice there dwelling, where he was found in all his Members like vnto a man. For which cause, they put him vnder safe custodie, giuing him sustenance to preserue life withall; but he would feede on nothing that was giuen vnto him, and therefore pined away with hunger to death, by beeing too many dayes in an Element strange vnto him, and wholly contrarie to his Nature. This History, is in the same manner deliuered by *Petrus Gellius* a Moderne Authour, in his Bookes of Beasts: where moreouer he saith, That being at *Marseilles*, he heard reported by an aged Fisher (a man of good repute) that his Father had affirmed for truth to him, that he had seen a Sea-man or *Tryton*, like vnto such as we haue spoken of, who was presented to King *Rene*. We may well then say, that a matter so approued, and by such Learned Authors knowne to the world for men of sound truth, ought not to be held as a Fable, but for an infallible certaintie.

Alexand. de Alex in Lib. 3. Dier. Genial. c. 8

A strange History of a Tryton, that carried young Maidens into the Sea.

Petrus Gellius in Lib. Animal.

The End of the first Booke.

The Second Booke.

CHAP. I.

What manner of Speech was vſed at the beginning of the world: And how the Diuiſion of Languages began at the firſt.

WHen the firſt age of the world began (both before the Floud, & for ſome long while after) men generally vſed one kind of language: for there was (as then) no diuerſitie of ſpeech, neither was there any man, but hee eaſily vnderſtoode when another ſpake to him. The firſt diuerſity & confuſion of Tongues, which hath done ſo much dammage, cauſed ſo many miſchiefes, and yet is the continuall Nurſe of them to this day (through the ſinnes of men) was ſent them by God. *Moyſes* recordeth in the Holy Hiſtory of *Geneſis*, that the Malice and Preſumption of men encreaſing, *Nemrod* (Nephew to *Noah* by the diſcent of *Caine*) was ſoone after borne, and manie others beſide, of as audacious a Nature. Theſe Men concluded among themſelues, to make a Tower, the top whereof might reach vp to Heauen; and this they did, in remembrance of the deluge, becauſe they had heard it reported, that GOD had ſent ſuch a Flood vpon the earth, and therefore they would thus reſiſt againſt God, if the like invndation ſhould happen againe. *Ioſephus* ſpeaketh thereof, in the firſt Booke of his Antiquities, and ſaith; That ſo many men aſsiſted *Nemrod* in the erection of this mighty building, that the work grew incredible for height & ſtate. *Ioſephus* moreouer writeth, that they made the foundation thereof ſo large and deep, that althogh it was of wonderfull height (according as Holy Writ maketh mention) yet it appeared to be more broad then high.

Ioſeph. in lib. 1 de Antiquit. c. 9

But God being willing to Correct this audacious enterprize (albeit not with punniſhment anſwereable to the pride) gaue inſtantly ſo many manner of ſpeaches amongeſt them, and ſuch a myraculous Confuſion of Languages, that they who at firſt vnderſtoode one onely tongue, were diuided now into ſeauenty two: by means whereof, ſuch variance grew among them, that thorough defect of vnderſtanding one another, not only the worke remained vnperfect, but euery man departed with them he beſt vnderſtood, and ſo inhabited diuers Countries: and for this cauſe the Tower was named BABELL, that is to ſay, *Confuſion*. *Iſidore* ſaieth, that it was in height, fiue thouſand, one hundred, ſixty foure paces, all made with ſtone of Bricke, bound and knit faſt with Clay, inſted of Morter; of which clay, there was very great ſtore found in diuers parts of the Country.

Iſidor. in lib. 15. de Etimol.

In the ſame place where that Tower was built, according to the ſaid *Iſidore*, *Ioſephus*, S. *Auguſtine*, and *Oroſius*, was likewiſe builded that moſt famous Citty, whereof ſo many great matters are

Iſidor. vbi ſup. Ioſ lib. 1 de An. Auguſt. de ciuit. Dei. Oroſius.

Men ſpake all one language at the beginning of the world.

Geneſis 11.4.

The confuſion of 72. languages.

are remembred, called *Babylon*, vppon the Riuer of *Euphrates*, whereof the round Neighbouring Lands and Countries tooke their Names; as *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*. The Sacred Scripture also maketh mention, & is of the same consent with them, that the beginning of *Nemrods* raigning was in *Babylon*: wherfore, by opinion of the same Authors, it must needs be graunted, that *Nemrod* builded that renowned Citty of *Babylon*, which afterwardes was walled and more ennobled by *Semiramis* and *Ninus*.

Gen. 10, 10.

Nemrod built the Citty of Babylon.

Now to returne to our former intent, concerning tongues and Languages, the question is well worthy disputation, to wit; what Language it was that men did then speake, before the Confusion and Diuision of Toongues. Saint *Augustine* moueth the argument, and plainly determineth; that the first Language or Speech was Hebrue, and the same that the Iewes do yet speak to this day. Which, according as may be gathered from the Bible, and likewise as Saint *Augustine* iudgeth, was preserued in *Heber*; of whom, both *Abraham* and the Hebrewes discended, because neither he, or any one of his Lignage, are found to haue giuen any helpe in the building of that Tower. In regard wherof, both hee and his discent, that neuer consorted to such a sinne, had no feeling of the punnishment. And therefore, it may be very well presumed, that in *Heber*, and in his family, it remained still sound and entire, euen the auncient and first Tongue, not any way corrupted or confused, but only in that house it continued firme, being vtterly lost in al the other; and hence it commeth, that of *Heber*, the Language hath euer since bin called *Hebrue*.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 5. cap. 2

Not any of Abrahams race, were at the building of Babell.

The Originall of the Hebrue Tongue.

Many *Hebrues* (his Successours) haue affirmed, that this Language is the very same that *Adam* spake, and al those men of the first Age, conserued in *Heber*: and his Successors *Abraham* and *Iacob*, & the very same also wherein *Moyses* Wrote. Such is the opinion of S. *Augustine* and *Isidore*, that it may be rather credited in this kinde, then their coniecture, that hold the *Chaldean* to be the first tongue. And yet in some measure they may bee excused, because those two Tongues haue a very neere Neighbouring vnity, as also a great conformity in their Letters and Charracters, and in great store of other matters. Besides, in this case it hath bin questioned, and partly concluded, that if two Children or more in number, being borne and nourished in some obscure place, where company may bee no hinderance, or any other voice heard; some are of the mind, that their first Language would bee *Hebrue*; and others think, the *Chaldean* Toong.

Adam spake Hebrue.

Of the Chaldean Tongue, somewhat agreeing with the Hebrue.

The naturall Language of Children.

But if we may beleeue *Herodotus*, a very famous and worthy Historian, he tels vs, that experience was made in this case, by reason of a contention happening betweene the *Ægiptians* and the *Phrygians*, each man pretending a primacie of Antiquity, and a soueraigntie in Language aboue al others; as also for the first inhabiting of Citties. To stay the head-strong course of this diffrence, it was thus concluded betweene them; that two Children (of either Nation) should be nursed in such manner, as we haue before declared: & in such a place, where not any kind of speech might be heard, but that which they naturally began to speake, and it should bee confirmed, to be the first and chiefest: as also, the people (speaking the same) to be of oldest Antiquity. He addeth moreouer, that a King of Egypt, caused too infants to be nourished in a Desert, where no man could be heard to speak in any maner whatsoeuer: And when the Children had attained to foure years of age, he commanded them to be brought before him, & they vttered in his presence many times, the word *Ber*, which signifieth Bread in the *Phrygian* Language, & therefore the *Phrygians* (of all men) wer said to be most Ancient. Thus writeth *Herodotus*, and many other Authours, both Wise and Iudicious, do giue him their approbation, and (in such Differences) do chiefly alledge him.

Herodot. Lib. 2 cap. 1.

The Egyptians and Phrygians, their strife for Antiquity, by the Naturall first Speech of Children.

The Phrygians held to be most ancient.

Neuertheless, were it, that we shold allow this his opinion for trueth, yet it may (by some others) be answered, that perhaps these Children heard and vnderstood the voyce of some Beast, Bird, or other Creature liuing in the Fields, that did bellow, bray, or shape the same word in his voyce, and so in that kind it might be learned. But for my selfe, I am of the minde, that were there two children now brought vp in this manner, I thinke

The Authours opinion concerning the first Speech of Children.

thinke they would speake the first Language of the Worlde, and that is the *Hebrue*. And I dare as boldly maintain, that they woulde shape to themselues, some noueli strange speech, deliuering new and vnheard of Names, Accents, & Attributes, as Children (of themselues Naturally) are enclined to do, and will bestow names least knowne, on thinges that by them are most desired. Whereby we may gather, that Nature woulde instruct them in some new kind of Language, before they could attaine to that of their Fore-fathers. Experience (in this case) may cleare vs from all doubt, and serue (as a true Schoole-maister) to them that are most curious in questioning, if their Wisedome would striue to reach beyonde the best receiued apprehensions. And yet (in meane while) I will not be so preiudicat, but leaue euery man to be gouerned by his own censure; Prouided, that it stretch not to wrong the Learned, who haue labored heerein for their best information; and will further satisfie them, if they be capable of their writings.

CHAP. II.

Of the Deuision of the Worlds Ages, & what notable matters haue happened in them. Also of the beginning of Kingdomes and Common-weales.

ALbeit that many men haue taken no meane delight in talking of the ages of the world, and what occasions haue hapned in one, with as straunge occurances following in another: yet are there a great number, that know not how the Diuision of these Ages came at the first, nor what yeares is required to each Ages accomplishment. Let me then tell ye, that the Age or life time of the world, from the first Originall vntill this instant, is diuided (by the greater part of Authors) into sixe parts or Ages. Neuertheless, there are diuers that number them into seauen, which diuision is made according to the *Hebrues*. But for my direction in this enterprize, I purpose to bee guided by *Eusebius*, with the common receiued iudgement of all Historians, that haue set downe their rest on the number of six. Concerning the Diuision of these Ages, there is great difference and confusion found among thē, so that very hardly can a certainty bee resolued on. For it principally apeareth, that those authors are diuided into two seuerall factions: One side following the computation of the Septuagint, or seauenty two Interpreters, that traduced the Old Testament out of the Hebrew Tongue into the Greeke; the others do imitate the Hebrues, and the common Text of the Bible, all which opinions, I will seuerally declare.

The first Age of the World, is reckoned (by the common account) from the first Creation thereof, to the vniuersal Deluge and drowning of it. And this was tearmed the Worlds Child-hood or Infancy, which Age lasted for a long continuance. Wherefore, it may well be credited, that during this time, there hapned many notable accidents among men, although there be no History, nor any recorded memory made of them: Only the Holy Scripture saith; That after God had created *Adam* and *Eue*, and (before them) all other creatures, which he gaue in subiection to man, with absolute rule and soueraignty, both ouer the Beastes on Land, and Fishes in the Sea.

Adam did then beget two Sons, who were *Caine* and *Abell*, that likewise begat diuers others Children, from whom ensued a mighty people. *Moyses* afterward Writeth, that *Caine* builded in the East, a Citty, which he called *Henoch*, after a Sonne of his that was so named. In that time, *Lamech* was the first twice-married man, and that durst aduenture vpon two Wiues: By one of them, he had a Son named *Tuball*, or *Tubal-Kaine*, that inuented the Art of Musick, as also the sound of Vialles and Organes. *Caine* deuised the skill to worke in Iron, & to engraue thereon.

While this Age continued, there wer many Gyants, of whom many Authors haue written, and say; that they were of wonderful stature and strength sterne, rude, and robust, far exceeding humaine ability. Finally, for the sinnes of

Variety and difference found among the Authors.

The first Age of the world.

The building of the first City in the world, and the name thereof.

The first *Bigamus*, was *Lamech*.

Of Gyants in the first Age.

The world diuided into six Ages by som, and into seauen by others

of men, came the generall flood vppon the earth, whereby all mankinde was drowned, except *Noah*, and such as wer preserued with him in the Arke. This Age endured, according to the opinion of the *Hebrues*, one thousand, six hundered, fifty six yeares; whereunto agreeth *Philo* the Iew, *Beda*, S. *Ierom*, & the common Text of the Bible. But according to the seauenty two Interpreters, *Eusebius*, and other Historians, it lasted two thousand, two hundred, forty and two yeares. Saint *Augustine* saith, two thousand, two hundred, seauenty two years: and *Alphonsus* King of *Spaine* saieth, two thousand, eight hundered, eightie two yeares.

Contrariety in opinion, about the length of time in the first age.

The second Age of the worlde.

The second Age beganne in *Noah*, after that hee was come foorth of the Arke, and continued vnto the byrth of *Abraham*, consisting in length of time, according to the Interpreters, *Eusebius*, *Isidore*, and the greater part of Chroniclers, 942. yeares. But the *Hebrewes* make lesse account, and grant no more then 292. yeares; and of the same opinion is *Philo* and *Iosephus*. S. *Augustine* affirmeth one thousand, seauentie two yeares. There remaineth very litle certainty, concerning such occasions as chanced in this Age, for no perticuler History is found thereof. Only there are some things saide in generall, touching the beginning of Kingdomes & States, and those that were the first inhabiters of Prouinces.

The *Hebrewes* account of the second Age.

Of the beginning of Kingdomes & Regiments.

Noah being come forth of the Arke, planted the Vine, and what therby hapned to him, is sufficiently knowne. Hee begat children, the like did his Sonnes, so that the world began againe to bee greatly peopled. *Cham* the second Son of *Noah*, begate *Cush* and *Mizraim*, of whom are the *Æthiopians* and *Egiptians* descended; the *Æthiopians* of *Cush*, and the *Egiptians* of *Mizraim*: then had hee *Canaan*, from whom the *Canaanites* are deriued. His other Sonne *Iaphet*, begate *Gomer* and *Magog*, of whom so many nations descended, as were ouer-tedious heere to recite. In this time was the Tower of *Babell* builded, and the confusion of Languages then hapned by meanes whereof (as hath in the former Chapter bin declared, and as *Iosephus* truely hath recorded) men were thence sundered into diuers Isles & Prouinces, wher afterward they made their abiding.

Genesis 10, 6.

The race deriued from the Sonnes of *Noah*.

Genesis 10, 2.

Ioseph. in 2. lib. de Antiq. ca. 20

During this Age, *Tuball*, or *Tubalkaine*, the Sonne of *Iaphet*, went to dwel in *Spaine*, where he erected a kingdom, and began there his raigne. Some also say, that he was indifferently called *Suball*, or *Tuball*, the Sonne of *Falech*, and Nephew of *Heber*. The raign of the *Scithians* began in this Age, in the northern or Septentrionall parts; and therefore, they haue alwayes pretended, that their Dominion preceedeth all other in Antiquity, as *Trogus Pompeius*, and *Iustine* haue recorded: whereupon, great enmity still grew betweene them and the *Ægyptians*; and heereabout they hadde continuall controuersie. Then was the Art Magick, & Incantations first found out by *Cham*, who likewise was called *Zoroastres*. About the ending of this Age, and a little before the birth of *Abraham* (according to the iudgement of *Eusebius* & *Beda*) the most potent raign of the *Assyrians* began to exalt it selfe, hauing *Belus* for their first King, whom some others tearmed to bee *Iupiter*. It is also Written, that the second *Ninus*, in whose time *Abraham* was born, did then conquer many Citties and Prouinces. Moreouer, there was then another kind of gouernment in Egypt, tearmed *Dinastia*, where the first supreame Ruler was named *Vexor*, or *Vezor* (as *Eusebius* saith) who about the ending of this Age instituted the Kingdome or sway of the **Sicyonians* in *Peloponesus*, now caled *Morea*, whereof *Agesilaus* is said to bee the first King. In this time likewise beganne Idolatry and Gentilisme. Behold, what a confused knowledge we haue attained vnto, of this second Age; in the end whereof, the most famous Citty of *Niniuy* was builded, consisting of admyred greatnesse: for, according to the Scripture, it was three dayes iourney in Circuit about.

Trog. Pomp. Iustin.

Cham surnamed *Zoroastres* was the first inuenter of the Magicke Art.

The beginning of the Assyrians raigne.

* An Island in the *Egæum* sea against *Epidaurus*.

The building of *Niniuy*.

Immediately after, the third Age began, euen in the birth of *Abraham*; and thence it held on to the Prophet *Dauid*, when, without all contrarietie of Authors, it continued 942. yeares, whereunto *Isidore* onely addeth two more: & this we may well tearme the *Adolescency* or youthfull yeares of the worlde, because in this time all things increased, & were greatly augmented. In the which time, *Semiramis* the wife of *Ninus*, performed

The third Age of the world.

Of Q. Semiramis her valiant deeds.

formed her memorable actions. For, faigning her selfe to bee yong *Ninus* her Sonne, and hauing chaunged hir Womans habit, she raigned so a long time, and conquered many great Landes and Prouinces. She also re-edified, & round engirt the famous Citty of *Babylon* with wals. In this time did *Abraham* (by Gods Commandement) make his peregrination, and won the victory which he obtained ouer foure Kinges, in the rescue of *Lot*, whom they led away as prisoner.

Of Abrahams trauell & victory.

In this time also, the *Amazons* had their first beginning. And likewise, the Kings that were called *Pharaohs*, did then flourish in Egypt; and *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* were also then destroyed. In *Isaacs* time began the raigne of the *Argiues* in *Thessaly*; and in the dayes of his Sonnes, *Iacob* and *Esau*, the Kinges of *Ceста* began their rule; the first whereof was named *Acris*. Then in short while after, *Ioseph* was sold by his Brethren to the Egyptians, in manner as the holy History discourseth; and likewise, how his Father and Brethren (with their children) went into *Egypt*, where the people of *Israell* that discended of them, liued foure hundred and thirty yeares, according as *Beda* writeth, and S. *Augustine* in his book of the *Citty of God*.

The beginning of the Amazons,

Pharaohin the Egyptian tongue signifieth a King.

The selling of Ioseph into Egypt.

August. in lib. 3. de Ciuit. Dei. Cap. 2. Beda in Hist. Cap. 9.

During this Age, *Hercules* of *Lybia* trauelled into *Spaine*, where he beganne his Gouernment. And after him, were *Hyuer*, *Brigus*, *Taga*, *Beto*, *Gerion*, & diuers others. Of their seuerall raignes & Iurisdictions there, *Berosus*, with sundry other well approued Authours, do make like mention. In this time was the Citty of *Siuile* first founded; and it is acknowledged in the world, to be one of the most ancient, as likewise is set down by *Berosus* and others. It was first of all called *Hispalis*, according to the name of *Hispalus*, the Sonne, or (as others will haue it) the Nephew of *Hercules*, who raigned worthily there; and it was hee that caused the first foundation thereof to be laide, and after built it in comely manner. Yet *Isidore* contrarieth this iudgement of *Berosus*, and saith; That it was entitled *Hispalis*, because it was erected in a very Marish ground; and that for their safe security in building, they were compelled to driue great beames of Woode, Trees, and Stakes into the ground. But howsoeuer it was, the City of *Hispalis* was afterward called *Spain*, as wee are credibly certified by *Trogus Pompeius*, *Iustine*, & diuers others. True it is, that *Iulius Cæsar* did terme it *Siuile*, ennobling it with great enlargement, making it his chiefe Colony and abode for his *Romaines*, because it was (before that time) very famous and noble.

Berosus. Lib. 9.

Of Siuile in Spain, and how at first called Hispalis.

The contradiction of *Isidorus*, concerning the place

Iulius Cæsar, made *Siuile* his Colony for the Romains.

But returning again to our first purpose, by succession of this time, *Moyses* was borne; vnder whose guidance, the *Hebrues* departed out of Egipt: in which dayes also liued *Iob* the iust. And not long after, the mighty Deluge or ouerflow of Waters happened in *Thessaly*; whereupon insued the encreasing of diuers Kingdomes in many Landes and Territories: For *Æthiops* the Sonne of *Vulcan*, first raigned in *Æthiopia*, which had bin first called *Ætheria*, next *Atlantia*, and lastly, a Kingdom, after *Æthiops* name. *Siculus* gouerned in *Sicilia*, & *Poetius* in *Boetia*. So that Kingdomes and Countries receiued their Names by them that were the first commaunding Princes: as *Sardinia* likewise was so called of *Sardus*, another Sonne of *Hercules*. In those dayes the famous Citty of *Troy* flourished, and *Iason* made his conquest of the Golden Fleece; & thence ensued the known history of *Medea*, that famous Witch, Daughter to K. *Oeta*, by his Wife *Hypsea*. And now were the *Amazons* more powerfull in strength, then at any other time before or after; and then began the Kingdom of the *Latines* in *Italy*.

The birth of Moses, & life time of Iob.

The drowning of Thessaly.

How Kingdomes at first receiued their names.

The Cittie of Troy, and *Iasons* Fleece.

In this Age also, *Paris* made his rape of the faire *Helena*, which caused that long warre, and lastly, the destruction of *Troy*, with the comming of *Æneas* into *Italy*, beside many other thinges which our intended breuity admits no speech of.

The rape of *Helena*, & destruction of Troy.

Now the third Age fayling, it gaue place to the fourth, entering at the beginning of *Dauids* raigne, who was second King of the *Hebrues*. This fourth Age continued, till the transmigration and peregrination of the Iewes into *Babylon*, containing 484. yeares, (but *Beda* counteth no more then 474. yeares.) This Age may wel terme it selfe the lusty and sprightly Age of the world; for in this time, infinite occasions hapned, wherewith all Histories are plentifully enriched. The famous victories of that holy

The fourth Age of the world.

A note for well vnderstanding this word, *Mundi Iuuentus*.

The victories of Ki. *Dauid.*

The raigne of *Salomon.*

The Assirians Empire ouerthrowne and translated to the *Medes.*

The Greekes Olimpiads.

The building of *Carthage*, & of *Rome.*

Bizantium, afterward caled *Constantinople.*

Ierusalem destroyed by *Nabuchodonosor.*

The fift Age of the world.

Strange alterations of States.

holy King *Dauid* had now their Originall: he conquered the *Philistims*, reuenged himselfe on the *Ammonites* for the disgrace done to his Ambassadors, and put to death the Captaine of the *Assyrians*. Next him, succeeded the raigne of the Wise King *Salomon*, who builded the rich Temple of *Ierusalem*; but he dying, his Kingdome was diuided, *Ieroboam* succeeding in ten Families, and *Roboam* his Sonne in two. After this, the empire of the *Assyrians*, which hadde lasted more then 1200. yeares, became vtterly ruinated, by the death of *Sardanapalus*, who was Lord thereof, & the most potent King in the world; but he being slaine by *Arbactus*, the Empire then fell vnto the *Medes*.

In the same Age, the powerful kings of *Macedonia* began their raigne, and the *Grecians* counted their yeares by Olimpiades, which were Feasts and sports of actiue variety; and continued (by them) from fiue years to fiue yeares, with prizes and rewards for the best deseruers. Then also was the magnificent City of *Carthage* builded by Queene *Dido*, and very soone after *Rome*, by *Romulus* and his Brother *Remus*, where the Romaine Kinges (from this their beginning) alwayes after held on their raigne. The great City of *Bizantium*, was now builded in like manner, and afterward, was named *Constantinople*. At this time beganne great Warres and alterations of Kingdomes in many parts of the world, but especially towardes the ending of this Age, according as Histories doe at large discourse. *Nabuchodonosor*, King of the *Medes* and *Babylon*, went against *Ierusalem*, destroying both it & the Temple likewise; then led he the people of *Iudea* thence as Prisoners with him, and thereof was it named the transmigration of *Babylon*.

Whereuppon, began the fift Age of the world, which continued to the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, God and Man, our Sauiour and Redeemer. This fift Age, lasted 589. yeares, by computation and consent of all Writers. During this time, there were many powerful Kings and polliticke Common-weales in the world; whereof to speake, as touching their rare and vnheard of subuersions, their alterations and change of States; the wonderfull leuying and mustering of mighty Armies, would appeare so farre from common beleefe, that silence is more fitting, then an abusiue abridgement; especially, in matters of such weight and importance. Almost at the beginning of this Age, the famous Monarchy of the Persians had hir Original, the raigne whereof was then most powerfull beyond all other, by the means of great *Cyrus* his victories, who raigned thirty yeares. In which time he vanquished and ouerthrewe the rich King *Cræsus* of *Lydia*, but was foiled himself, and put to death by *Tomyris*, Queene of the *Massegetæ* or *Scythians*, who sowsed his head in a barrell of blood.

The Monarchy of the *Persians*, and victories of *Cyrus*, who was afterward slaine by *Tomyris*.

Seauenty yeares of this Age beeing compleated, the Hebrues were deliuered out of their captiuity, and then was the Temple new built againe at *Ierusalem*, which formerly had bin destroyed. In *Europe* also, the Romaines expelled their Kings, and gouerned themselues by Consuls; The first whereof, was *L. T. Brutus*; and next vnto him succeeded *Colatinus*. In *Greece* also flourished learning and Chiualry, which caused no lesse famous Philosophers, then valiant and excellent Captaines. *Xerxes* came thither with an innumerable Armie, as hoping to conquer it, but hee was constrained to retire with mighty losse, and greater shame. After this, King *Phillip* began his raigne in *Macedon*, and he subdued *Greece*, the Mother of good Artes and armes, who had fostered (with her Milke of Knowledge) in those Dayes, *Demosthenes*, *Themistocles*, *Epaminondas*, *Agesilaus*, *Zeno*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and many such like beside. No sooner was king *Phillip* dead, but *Alexander* his Sonne would no longer abide in *Greece*: He entred into *Asia*, which he quickly conquered, destroying the Empire of the *Persians*, and by means of his victory against *Darius*, hee continued the rest of his life time, sole Monarch, and Emperour of the whole world. But after his death, his Captaines diuided his Dominions among them; which dishonorable deed, raised no meane dissention, with warres and battailes thorow Asia, as also in the greater part of *Europe*. Now likewise, (beyond measurable limits) began the strength of the *Romaines* and *Carthegenians*, each Nation contending, & proudly pretending a right vnto the whole worlds

The Temple newly re-edified.

Rome gouernd by Consulles.

Learning and Chiualry began in *Greece*.

Phillip of Macedon.

The most excellent men of Greece.

Alexander, sole Monarch of the World.

Warre and dissention in Asia.

The *Romaines* and the *Carthagenians* begin their strife

worlds Soueraignty, with perticuler attribution of the Empire to their Iurisdiction.

The Captains that either Nation bred.

These two mighty people, not knowing whose number or stomacke was greatest; fought many worthy battailes together, for each of the Cities yeilded Captaines very excellent in armes. *Carthage* had for hir Defenders, *Hasdrubal*, *Hanno*, *Hannibal*, and others; *Rome* also afforded the *Fabij*, the *Scipios*, the *Marcelli*, the *Æmilij*, and such like. But in conclusion, after great expence of bloud on both parts, *Rome* had the victory, & *Carthage* was sackt and vtterly subuerted, all *Affrica* becomming Tributary to *Rome*.

Carthage quite subdued.

This victory thus obtained, made the *Romaines*, grow proud and enuious also of the *Grecians* prosperity, seeking al occasions to war with them, as afterward they did, and taking *Greece*; made it tributary to them likewise. Yet not so satisfied, their greedy Auarice stil increasing; they stroue to gaine a further footing, and passing into *Asia*, they vanquished *Antiochus*, and after him, King *Mithridates*, making themselues Lordes of all the Lesser *Asia*: as also of *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egipt*. And then on this side neerer hand, of *France*, *Spaine*, *England*, and of the greater part of *Germanie*. In which Conquests, the chiefe Commanders, were, *Metellus*, *Silla*, *Marius*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, with many more of as great spirit.

The *Romaines* ouercame the *Grecians*.

The wonderfull succesſe of the *Romains* in their wars.

The *Romains* worthy Captaines.

It came to passe, that these Gallants could not be pleased with their seuerall good fortunes; but enuious Ambition swelling in their breasts, they woulde needs moue ciuill warres, and each of them striue to command the other, but at length the Empire remained to *Cæsar* onely. Next whom (after many great Fortunes) his Nephew or adopted Son *Octauianus* succeeded; and hee hauing vanquished all his enemies, enioyed the Empire quietly. So that seating himselfe in peace and amity with all Kinges and Common-weales, he shut vppe the Temple Gates of *Ianus* his God, which neuer were closed in the time of warres. And now the full accomplishment of al thinegs beeing come, the fift Age of the Worlde finished, with the Birth of our Sauiour & Redeemer Iesus Christ, true God, and true Man, in the yeare of the Worlds Creation, according to the *Hebrewes*, three thousand, nine hundered, fiftie two yeares. And according to the seauenty Interpreters, *Eusebius*, with the greater part of Historiographers, fiue thousand, one hundred, ninety nine yeares. According to *Orosius* fiue thousand, and twenty yeares. According to *Isidore*, one yeare lesse. But according to *Alphonsus*, sixe thousande, nine hundred, eighty four years, which are many more then others make account of.

The Computations of these seuerall Ages by mee recited, are collected out of these alledged Authors, S. *Augustine*, *Isidore*, *Beda*, *Eusebius*, *Philo Iudaicus*, and *Orosius*, all singuler Historians beside, *Vincentius*, a man of excellent Learning. Our Moderne and Later writers are, *Petrus de Aliacus*, and more especially, *Ioannes Driodonus*, in his Ecclesiasticall Writings. The Poets do graunt to the worlde but foure Ages, and no more. The first, the Golden Age; the second, the Siluer Age; the third, the Brazen or Steele Age; and the fourth, the Iron Age: As signifying thereby, that the Mallice and Wickednesse of men encreasing, the excellencie of Mettalles should also decay, whereto the seuerall Worlds were compared; and so sayth *Ouid* in the first Booke of his *Metamorphosis*.

The variety of Authors.

Augustin. in Lib. 15, 16. & 17. de Ciuit. Dei. Isid. l. 3. de Etim. Beda, Eusebius, Philo Iudaicus. Vincent. Histor. Petr. d' Aliacus Ioan. Driodon.

Ouid. in 1. Lib. Metamor.

The birth of our Sauiour Iesus Christ.

The fixt Age of the World.

How the diminishing of the Empire first ensued.

CHAP. III.

Of the State and Gouernement of the Spartanes, the Common-wealth obſerued among them, their Lawes, & other memorable occaſions.

THE Citty of *Sparta*, which alſo was named *Lacedemon*, and now is called *Metriza*, was deſtroyed in the time when the *Grecians* flouriſhed; but it was very famous, by manie honourable actions of her moſt excellent Captaines; and yet much more illuſtrious, in hauing *Licurgus* to be her ruler with his Lawes, which gaue hir long life, and might haue continued for many hundreds of yeares: but after ſhe fell to contemne his Lawes, too ſoone ſhe ſaw hir owne ending. Now, becauſe hir ancient glory appeareth to me, to be a notable State, and worthy much Commendation, I cannot let hir paſſe, with-ſpeaking ſomwhat of hir.

Licurgus the Law-maker of *Sparta*.

Conſidering then, that the Citty of *Sparta*, (aboue all other Citties) was ſufficiently inhabited with men of great ſtrength, and of Name alſo, which only made it Famous in *Greece*; it appeareth to me a very Myraculous matter, how, and by what meanes it could be ſo compaſſed. But then againe, when I remember the ſtudy of the *Spartanes*, all meruaile eaſily is reſolued. And yet, I muſt needs admire *Licurgus*, and repute him to be an eſpeciall Wiſeman, in giuing them ſuch Lawes; and they being obedient to them, did thereby become ſo happy and bleſſed. For they, without taking example therein by any other Citty, but rather being farre contrary in opinion to many of them, did yet ſo carry themſelus, that their country went beyond all the reſt in their felicity.

The happines of the *Spartans* in obeying *Licurgus* Lawes.

For the procreation of Children, (becauſe I take this the principall thing firſt to be ſpoken of) and becauſe there are ſome, who with moſt curious food doe foſter thoſe Children, which they deeme fitting for ſuch kind of delicacy: Wine they vtterly forbid them, or cauſe them to vſe it with great allay of water; now what do they elſe heerin, but euen ſet ſo many Artificers (as it were) in a place of quietneſſe, where no kinde of ſtirring is to be heard; and the women likewiſe to bee in their repoſe, ſetting onely the Virgins (in meane while) to ſpin their wooll for wearing. But who can any way hope, that this is the way to be borne great, and of women educated in this manner. Therefore *Licurgus* was of another iudgement, in that a better building was in this caſe required, and that it was the work of ſeruants and not Children, to ſit and make Garments. And therefore perceiuing, that the generating of Children was an important matter, and with free-women, that were of as free diſpoſition; he eſpecially ordained, that the woman ſhould exerciſe hir Body no otherwiſe then the man. According to this rule, the ſport of running, and actiue vſe of ſtrength, was allowed (among them) to be as free for women as men. Becauſe he held it a principall maxime in his iudgment, that Children being bred and born of chearfull diſpoſed Parents, would themſelues containe the like ſprightly nature, and their iſſue alſo be of the ſame true temper. Whereupon, when conuenient time came, for women to take knowledge of men, it was duly conſidered, that they who were of ſuch temperate capacity in conuerſing with their wiues; in this caſe would haue a quite contrary opinion to the other. Therefore, he ordained, that when the Husband went to viſit his wife, & when he likewiſe departed from hir, it ſhould be done with ſuch diſcretion, as it might not be diſcerned of any other; in which reſpect, it was ſo thought fit, both for the procuring of moſt ſweet delight, and greater deſire of pleaſure in the ſtate of Matrimony. It was withall conſidered, that they of the ſtrongeſt Complexion, might ſomtime fall into infirmity, and therfore it required the leſſe continuance togither, till both the one and the other were in better condition.

women alowed as free exerciſes as men

Children born of chear full Parents, wil be of the ſame Nature.

In what manner men and their Wiues, ſhould meete together.

Of the procreation of Children.

Moreouer, he made a Law, that no man at his owne wil ſhould marry with a woman, neither that any marriages ſhould be made, til the parties had attained to ful ripenes of yeares, becauſe hee conceiued, that it wold be the beſt help, both

At what time men and women ſhould marry, either aged or yong.

both to fecundity and ſtrength. Now, if it hapned, that any old man ſhould haue a yong wife; *Licurgus* did fore-ſee, that men of thoſe yeares would bee hard to their wiues, and ſuſpitious of them alſo: wherefore he ordained the contrary in this caſe, and inſtituted, that any woman of aged yeares being diſpoſed to mary, ſhold make choiſe of ſuch a man, whoſe minde and body might beſt bee pleaſed with hirs, and take him home to her houſe, although no hope of Children were to be expected. Beſides, he made another Law, that if a man had no will to a wife, and yet was deſirous to haue free children: in this caſe he prouided, that if ſuch a man had ſeene a generous & fruitful woman, if he could win the liking of hir husband, cõtenting him and ſhe not diſpleaſed; hee might beget children of hir. Many like thinges were in the Lawes of *Licurgus*, permitting, that a man might haue two wiues in his houſe, if he would; and that maried folk might purchaſe Brethren to their owne borne Children, who equally ſhoulde participate of their family, and of their power, but neuer of their faculties. By this inſtitution of begetting diuerſity of children among the other *Grecians*, it may bee eaſily imagined, how farre the *Spartans* went beyond others, both in excellency of people, and of power.

That men might haue two Wiues if they would.

Concerning their diſcipline (becauſe the reſt of the *Grecians*; & eſpecialy they who deſired to haue their children nobly inſtructed, ſo ſoone as they ſhould vnderſtande what they ſpake; they would preſently giue them in gouernement to *pedante* Seruants, and ſuddenly alſo prouide them of other Maiſters, to learne good Letters, Muſicke, and ſuch actiue feats as appertained to wraſtling. Beſides this, with ſhooes they then wold ſoften their Childrens feet, and adorne their bodies with diuerſity of garments and moderate their Diet, according to the ſtature of their bodies. But *Licurgus* in exchange of pedanticall ſeruants, to whom priuately they gaue their Childrens gouernment: ordained, to haue them tutord by one of thoſe men, that ſhould be elected by the chiefeſt Magiſtrate, who, becauſe he was an inſtructer of children, they vſed to call him *Pedonomo*. To him they gaue authority to congregate Children together, as in a Schoole, and he might ſeuerely chaſtiſe them, that (by him) were founde inclined to bad, crafty, and lewde diſpoſitions. According to their increaſing in yeares, ſo was one ſet to walke vp and downe among them, that carried a rod in his hand, wherewith (as they offended) they were beaten: the puniſhment wherof, & the publick diſgrace, in ſhort time made the children ſo aſhamed, that they would readily obey, and performe whatſoeuer they were inioyned to do.

The diſcipline vſed among the Spartans, concerning their children

The Spartans hardning of their children

And then at this growth, in ſtead of Hoſe & ſhooes they were appointed to go bare foot, and bare legd, becauſe *Licurgus* foreſaw, that by this hardning exerciſe, they would eaſily run vp the hils and rockes, as alſo with moſt ſafety diſcend down again, mount, or diſmount, running ſwifter vnſhod, after they had well exerciſed their feet, then if they were ſuffered to weare ſhooes. And for variety of Garments, he commaunded, that they ſhould vſe themſelues to one kind or faſhion of habit onely, iudging, that (in this maner) they ſhould the better indure both cold and heat. Next, he appointed, that the Male-child ſhould haue ſo much meat, as neuer afterward his ſtomack might be offended with ouerfeeding. Aduiſing alſo, that he ſhold be invred to taſt want or ſcarſity: as wel vnderſtanding, that ſuch apted bodies as ſhould be trained vp in ſuch manner, would much better (when occaſion ſerued) be enabled to endure labour without food, then others, becauſe this kind of education, gaue them the meanes of longeſt abſtinence; and beſide, taught them to make vſe of any other viands, then their accuſtomed meat and drink, ſo to content themſelues with any nouriſhment whatſoeuer.

Their Childrens Garments & food for the preſent, and for time of abſtinence.

Preſeruation of health, and encreaſing of ſtature.

Alſo, he very well knew, that whoſoeuer was deſirous to preſerue health, and to encreaſe the bodies ſtature, ſuch kind of ſuſtenance was more conuenient; then to feed the body with ſubtile & ſuperfluous meats, which only made them groſſe. And to the end likewiſe, that they might not be oppreſſed with famine, he would not permit, that ſuch as ſuffered want through ydlenes, ſhold haue any thing giuen them: but tollerated them to ſteal ſuch food as might ſuffiſe againſt famine. And this he did, as knowing no readier way, whereby to

Againſt Sloth and Idleneſſe.

make them induſtrious or forward, for their owne wants and neceſsities. And it is very euident, that hee that is deſirous to ſteale any thing, it is neceſſarie for him, to ſpend the night in Watching, and the day time in ſubtle Deuiſes, laying his Traines equally in order, if hee will compaſſe thoſe occaſions which hee moſt aymes at. It is not to be doubted then, that they who would haue their Children quicke and apteſt, for ſuch neceſſaries as are to maintaine life, they ſhould haue them in this manner educated and enſtructed.

A pretty queſtion well anſwered.

But ſome man may heere infer, that if to robbe and ſteale may be counted a good quality, when a man grewe expert and cunning in Theft, wherefore did they puniſh him with many ſtripes? Thus I anſwer, according to mine own opinion and coniecture, that as in other matters taught by men, the learners are puniſhed for dooing them well; euen ſo in like manner, they that held on in theſe Pilferies, as pretending ſufferance to be a Licenſe vnto their immoderate Libertie, were as ſeuerely chaſtiſed, as they that ſtole fooliſhly and without diſcretion, and both duly reprehended, for knowing no end of their owne leudneſſe.

The Children looſe no inſtruction in the abſence of their Maiſter.

If the *Pedonomo* chaunced to bee abſent, yet that the Children might neuer be without a Maiſter, it was ordained, that the Cittizen, who was preſent at his departing, ſhould haue Authoritie and command ouer the ſaide Children, to inſtruct them according to his owne liking, and as they offended, accordingly to correct them. But this prooued moſt vnto the Childrens ſhame and diſgrace, in regard, that neither Children nor men will feare any one more, then him that is their chiefe Maiſter. Yet ſom man muſt needs be preſent, for the childrens better gouernment, and ſuch an one as was imagined beſt able to command, he euermore had the Male Children in charge, as the like care was had ouer the Female; ſo neither of them were deſtitute of Maiſters. But now, I hold it conuenient, to ſpeak ſomewhat concerning the Childrens Loue, becauſe it alſo appertaineth vnto Diſcipline.

Some of the *Grecians*, as they of *Boetia*, permitted yong men and Maides to be together; the *Epheſians*, in the interchange of affable courteſies, made eſpeciall delight in eithers beauty, yet ſome others there were, who by no meanes would ſuffer yong Louers to talke togither. *Licurgus* was of contrary opinion to all theſe, becauſe if there were any, who (as Nature requireth) conſidering the inward beauty of a Maidens minde, became affectionat towards hir, & ſo to grow to irreprehenſible loue, & without taint or blemiſh: he graunted them licenſe, that they might be together, and reputed it to be honeſt diſcipline. If any were thought to deſire the Maidens body, it (beeing iudged a moſt ſhametull matter among the *Lacedemonians*) he ordained that Louers ſhould no otherwiſe abſtain from cõpanying with maidens, then as fathers did with their Children, or Brethren with Brethren, in the pleaſures of *Venus*, which thing I maruel not a litle, if ſom there be that ſcarſe belieue it; becauſe in many Citties, that Lawes do not hinder their owne practiſe. But ſo ſoon as children leauing their ſchooling, attained to more forwardneſſe in youth-hood, ſome ceaſed immediately from all control of Schoole-maiſters or other Gouernors, & freely were at their owne diſpoſition. This courſe alſo, did *Licurgus* much diſlike, & as one that wel knew, that youth do naturally incline to great ſurlineſſe of minde, by vnbrideled licenſe, and vncircumſcribed Libertie of pleaſures, therefore he enioyned them to very hard labors, and deuiſed ſuch apt occaſions for them, that alwayes they ſhould be full of buſines. Whereunto, he alſo added, that if any one contemnd or fled from ſuch imployment, he ſhold neuer riſe to any degree of honour: ordaining withall, that not only publicke perſons ſhould bee deputed to this Gouernment, but that parents alſo ſhould haue eſpeciall care of their Children, to the end, that this kind of fear remaining as a Bridle in the city, few or none ſhold become inſolent or vngracious.

Of Loue betweene the children.

Licurgus his opinion concerning yong louers.

Licurgus diſliked the liberty of youth.

Next to this, being deſirous to plant in them a graue and naturall kind of honeſty, he commanded, that paſſing thorough the ſtreets, they ſhould hide their handes vnderneath their Cloakes, and neither talke together, nor gaze about them, but ſtill to keepe their eyes fixed vpon

Orders for walking abroad in the ſtreets.

vpon the ground. By which meanes, it was obserued, that the Masculine sexe excelled in modesty and bashfulnesse, the very choisest perfections in the Feminine. Their voyces were no more heard, then as if they had bin Statues of stone; and as easily were their eyes enduced to gazing, as if they had bin Pillers of Brasse; nor were the young Damosels more chast in their Chambers, then young men were as they walked in the streets. In like manner, if they were inuited to Feasts or Bankets, they vsed neuer to answer or speake, except some question were first mooued or demanded. Concerning Orders and Institutions among them, the one was no sooner commanded, but the other was as duly and diligently obserued, especially among the young men, of whome, no meane and prouident care was had, because the course of their education, did greatly auaile to inable them for the Commonwealths benefit. And for this cause, the Manners, Disposition, & behauior of euery one was diligently noted, and such as naturally were addicted to make proofe of all Exercises; their Minds and affections were most listned vnto, the game of Wrastling being in frequent vse among them, because they reputed it an especial exercise, to imbolden young men to buckle with Vertue; and thereby attaine to the chiefest perfection of all other good qualities.

Orders and institutions for youth.

The *Ephori* were as the Tribunes among the Romaines.

The *Ephori* would Elect three of the gallantest Spirits among the rest, who in the Assembly of the Caualery or Horsemen, were called *Hippagriti*. Each one of these made election of an 100. men, declaring by their seueral respects, which sort were to be honoured, and which to be reiected. They that stood out of this honourable Election, were commaunded to incounter with the other in battell, to win the reputation which (as yet) they wanted, if their skill and indeuour would stretch so far, and so, by this meanes, iust trial was made of eithers Vertue. This proued to be a very pious and profitable contention for the Common-wealth, wherein such actions were best declared, as beseemed a man of vertuous inclination: and so seperately (on either side) such Study and diligence was daily put in practise, as no one could be found an idle & vnfit member, but altogither (one way or other) auaileable to publick benifit. They were also constrained to haue an especiall respect of health, in euery place where they met to encounter, either in ambitious fighting, or manly wrastling. And while in this maner they contended together, euery man that was there present, and had authority, might part thē; but if any one would not bee obedient, the *Pedonomo* caused him to be called in iudgement before the *Ephori*, and they would very seuerely punish him, as men that hadde discreetly ordained, that no man should be ouercome with rage or fury, but euery way be obedient to the Lawes.

Orders against disobedience in their contending.

So soone as these yong men came to years of Maturity, and some of them elected to be Magistrates: diuers of the *Græcians*, without any regard of their bodies strength, would put them to the affairs of war. But *Licurgus* made a law, wherein he declared, that it was an excellent exercise for a man of those years first to be trained vp in Hunting, except it might be hinderous to some publick Office, and thereby both yong men, as wel as others of riper yeares, were the better enabled to indure the trauaile of Military Discipline.

The young Spartans wer exercised in Hunting.

Now concerning their maner of feeding, for sustentation of life, *Licurgus* vnderstanding, that the *Spartans*, as also diuers of the *Grecians*, vsed much priuat banquetting in their Houses, he thereby gathered, that much riot & excesse was daily committed: whereupon he commanded, that all such meetinges of the people shold be in publick; conceiuing that (by this means) they durst not transgresse their inposed iniunction, but obserue such a comly order in feeding, as they would not exceed, either in too litle, or too much. Moreouer, idle persons were easily alured to commit many disorders; & rich men (oftimes) held som resemblance with the slothful or negligent; whereby insued, that (while they sat at the table (they wer suffred neither to be too sumptuous, nor too sparing. Therfore prohibiting them of vnnecessary drinking, which offendeth both the mind and Body, it kept them from drinking til they wer thirsty, for that it was both wholsom & profitable: & the people being thus orderly gouerned, what

Orders for diet and banketing.

The profitable exercises of the Spartane youths.

is he that can wrong either himselfe or his dwelling, with vnseemely gurmandizing or drunkennesse?

Licurgus his orders both for young and olde.

In other Cities, men of equal condition would drinke extraordinarily together, and made such a custome thereof, that no shame or respect was hadde among them: but in the City of *Sparta*, *Licurgus*, to them of younger years, administred Discipline, and to the Elder, graue Customs and Obseruations. And it is a matter much concerning anie Countrey, that at Feastes or such like meetings, honorable occasions of the Citty should be the chiefest talke, to auoid all other lewde and vnbeseeming Discourse; as also, ouermuch quaffing, whereto vaine speech is the onely Spur and Prouoker; nor should any but honest actions passe thorough the Table, or any word that may make the speaker ashamed. And by this publicke feeding together, it proued to be another benefit, that men woulde haue care of their home-returning, and not ouer-weaken their Bodies with Wine, lest they shold passe disorderly thorow the Streetes. For they knew very wel, that they were not to rest where they had supt, & night must be no other Mantle or Cloake for them, then the day had bin: wherefore, as they were vnder an honest subiection, so should they gouerne themselues honestly both for day and night.

Idle talke, the Spur to drunkennesse.

The benefit of publicke meetings.

Licurgus likewise considered, that such as went to labour after their meat, were of a well coloured Complexion, healthfull and lusty; but others, that consumed time in Idlenesse, became Corpulent, swolne vp, and verie sickely; therefore, he prouided against such inconueniences, and knowing that idle immaginations were but to pamper the body, as bringing fresh Fuell to the fire; he appointed, that the Elder persons in this case, should haue care of the younger, and keepe them stil from excesse of feeding, and set them to one lusty exercise or other, by which commendable meanes, hardly could any men elswhere be found, that either in health or strēgth of body, could compare with the *Spartanes*, for they made equal exercise, both of their Legges, Armes, and the whole bodie.

Labour is the best nourisher of health.

Licurgus made Lawes also contrary to them of other Cities; for, in other Cities, each man was Lord of his Sons, Seruants and Money; but *Licurgus* ordained, that Cittizens (without any offence among them) might haue the benefit of Commerce or Exchange, and no man to commaunde his Children or Seruants, but in such things as were iust and behouefull. So that heereby, both Honesty of the Father, and Duty of the Sonne, were equally discerned; that, as no shame ensued by the Iniustice of the Fathers command, so no punnishment followed by the Sonnes disobedience. And if Children quarrelled, or fell out together, so that blowes (perhappes on either side) ensued; if the Parents had no vniust hande therein, the reconcilement was the sooner, and no partie offended. Such order also was for the seruants, both in Domesticke and Open Businesses, and the Iustice of the Mayster, was no meane honour to the Seruant.

Licurgus Lawe for Fathers & Maisters to their Childrē and seruants.

Hee appointed also, that Houndes for Hunting should be to common vse; and such as had no delight in the game, should yet keepe Hounds, & lend them to others benefit. The like seruice was commaunded of Horsses, and hee that was not able to trauell on foot, and had neither Horsse or Waggon, yet must needs bee at some place in hast, where his earnest ocasions vrged his presence: whersoeuer he saw an Horse, he might safely take him; and when his businesse was ended, restore him backe vnto the Owner, who might be as bold with him or any other, and all accepted in friendly manner, as doing no worse then hee would be done vnto. And when anie were returned from Hunting, and wanted food to supply their Hunger, it was ordained, that such as had supt, and left prouision fit for the vse of other, they should make it presently knowne, & deliuer it where such vrgent occasion required. By which meanes, the pouertie of many was oftentimes well releeued, and those Victuals honestly eaten, that else (by couetous keeping) had bin spild and spoild.

For the exercise of Hunting.

In other matters likewise, *Licurgus* would haue the *Spartanes* to differ from other *Grecians*; for wheras in other Cities, euery man endeuoured (to his vttermost) for his owne enriching, some by Husbandry, others by Nauigation; others

Licurgus wold not haue free men to meddle with money.

others by Merchandize, and others by Handy-crafts: *Licurgus* did then prohibit the *Spartans*, that Free-men should not meddle with any thing, whereby any Money was to bee gotten; but all such matters, as brought liberty to Citizens, & no way made thē seruile; them he appointed, and them they might iustly terme to be their studies. For to what end should men toyle themselues for riches, where all thinges necessary are equally brought vnto them? By this institution for honest maintenance, it came to passe, that no occasions whatsoener, could make men desirous or couetous of Money. And that which is much more, no gaine could enforce them to variety of Garments, because they cared not for any exterior or magnificent pompe in cloathing, but onely for well ordering and gouerning their bodies. In which respect, they made the lesse esteeme of Mony, to haue vse or expence thereof in any company, because they were of the minde, that much more nobly one man might helpe another, being his friend or familiar, with the labor of his body; then with such needelesse trash, which declared them to be as industrious in minde, as others were in gathering Riches. And yet notwithstanding, no man (in any case whatsoeuer) might enrich himselfe by anothers wrong or preiudice. Wherefore first of all, was ordained such a piece of mony, as was of the value of ten Drachmaes, to the end, that so soon as it was broght into any house, it might not bee hidden either by the Master or seruant, because it required a great place and carriage: Whereupon, diligent search was made for Gold and Siluer; and whersoeuer it was found, the possessor thereof was seuerely punished. What needed anie man then to hide or hoord vp money in any place, where the keeping brought him greater daunger, then the getting could yeild him pleasure? By this it may be gathered, that among the *Lacedemonians*, euery one obeyed both the Magistrate and the Lawes. And I am of the minde, that *Licurgus* neuer attempted this excellent order of a Common-wealth, before hee had thereto first reconciled the Noblemen that were in the Citty. The rather am I induced to this perswasion, because in other Cities, the men that were in greatest power, stood in little or no feare at all of the Magistrate, but held it dishonourable for them to be obedient. But in *Sparta*, the very Princes themselues woulde yeeld reuerence, especially to the Magistrate, and they reputed it their greatest glory to be humble, and would rather run then go, when they were called, so tractable wer they to obedience, because they were perswaded, that others would be the easier drawn by their example, when they themselus first shewed Humility, and so indeed it came to passe with them. But very like it is, that the power of the *Ephori* had thus ordained it, well vnderstanding, that obedience is the greatest benefit that can bee in any Common-wealth, both in War abroad, and in peace at home: therfore the greater persons of esteeme, that are about the Magistrat, the sooner (in mine opinion) are Citizens drawn to declare their obedienee.

The *Ephori* were such potent men, as they might punish whom they pleased, reconcile all differences, and depriue other Magistrates of their Authority, or preuent them before they came to it: they might commit any man to prison, and call him in question for his life. But these that had such supream priuiledge, would not permit (as in other Citties they did) that such as were elected to be Magistrates, should alwaies beare sway according to their owne wils: for so they might haue prooued to be Tyrants, or as ouer-awing Schoole-Maisters, without feare or discretion, punishing what they pleased to term breach of Law. No, *Licurgus* in this case declared great prouidence; and as in many things hee became admired for conforming the people vnto the lawes, yet this (aboue all the rest) I hold to merit no meane applause, in that he wold not publish any Law to the people, vntill himselfe and the Princes had first gone to *Delphos*, to demaund of their God *Apollo*, whether it might be profitable, & for the wel-fare of the Citty of *Sparta*, if the people did yeild their Obedience thereunto. If he had answere from the Oracle, that it was for the best, then he would divulge it; iudging it to bee not only very vniust, but also meer wickednesse, if any man should be obedient to

a

The Spartans hated Couetousnesse of money, or pompe in Apparrell.

The Spartans Drachmaes, valued 3. s. 4. d. and was very bigge of stampe.

Example of obedience in great men, is the best lesson that can be to the meaner sort.

The power of the Spartan *Ephori*.

Licurgus wold first question Apollos Oracle, before he published any Law.

a Law, that had not bin confirmed by *Apolloes* Oracle.

An honorable death, preferred before a shamefull life

In one thing also, *Licurgus* is said to deserue immortall memory, because he inioyned the *Lacedemonians* to prefer an honourable death, before an infamous life. And surely, if men doe consider it well, they shall finde the one much more glorious then the other: And let them speake but truely out of their owne hearts, they do (in honesty) beleeue, that they liue longer by the meanes of Vertue, then by the idle allurements of Vice; because Vertues Documents, though they appeare to be vntastable at the first receiuing; yet (in proofe) they are found to bee more easie, more delightfull, more expeditious and lasting, then any other offered to the contrary. For, it is manifestly seene, that (aboue and beyond all other things) Glory is the onely Companion of Vertue, because all men (in a certain manner) do desire to be helpfull to the good and honest. Vppon which solid ground, methinkes it is expedient that wee should heere discourse, after what manner those people applyed their endeuour, that they might attain to such true fame and credit. They dealt therefore in such sort, that good men liued in honor, and bad men miserably. For, in the Neighboring Cities, when anie one offended lewdly, he was rewarded only with the name of a bad man; and yet notwithstanding, in one & the same Market, both good men and bad might Trafficke together, sit, sport, and feede in one company. But among the *Lacedemonians*, euery one took it as no mean reproach, if hee were but seene talking with a badde man, or offered to try his strength with him in Wrastling. And many times, a man of ill repute, intruding himselfe among them that plaid at Tennis; caused them instantly to giue ouer play, and could not be accepted as a Companion, on either side. And while the young people were at Dauncing, the very worst place of al was this vnwelcome Guestes allowance, and at parting thence, euery one would shun him on the way, and very rarely coulde he be admitted into any assembly, either among the young or olde: but that he must giue place vppon their present appearance.

Glory is the sole companion of Vertue.

Bad men, might not cõuerse or sport with them that wer good and vertuous.

It was ordained also, that the Parents of Virgins should traine them vp in their owne Houses, till their abilitie of body made thẽ fit to be seen abroad. And it was not lawfull for any Man, to leaue his Wife alone in his own house, least thereby he did incur great punishment: for solitude (oftentimes) admitted way to vnmeet insinuations, with others dangers thereon depending, easily listned vnto, & learned of the lewd, which Offences wer euermore seuerely chastised of the better sort. And therefore, when euill doers were exposed to publicke shame; it was no great matter of meruaile, if Men and Women did much rather couet death, then to liue in apparant disgrace and obliquy. Worthily then did the Lawes of *Licurgus* deserue commendation, which made such excellent prouision, that (to the verie extreamity of Age) euery one (in duty) might apply himselfe to vertue. For, such was his opinion, that the Crown or honour of a mans life, consisted on age, and therefore the younger sort (attaining to that renowne) by example of their Elders, were bound to the greater care of goodnesse and honesty. In which respect, wee may not omit another singuler Law by him prouided, for such aged persons as were good and Vertuous. For he considering, that the best triall of true life indeed, was in the aged mans hand: expressely commaunded, that Age should be more highly honored, then the best strength of youth. And to speake vprightly, this time of triall or conflict, doeth make the best proofe (beyond all other) of a man. For as the exercise of Wrastling, giues Testimony of the young mans able bodie. so do the Combats and Conflictes of Age, yeild absolute euidence of the old mans mind, and looke how much more excellent the soule is aboue the Bodie, euen as much, or rather more, doo the exercises of the soule conquer them of the body. Wherefore then should we not (euen to this day) admire & honor this good Institutiõ of *Licurgus?* For after he perceiued, that such men as were negligent in the actions of vertue, could no way exalt the dignity of their country: he tooke diligent care, that in *Sparta*, all Vertuous endeuours should bee publickely exercised. So that, as men adorned

No mã might leaue his wife in his house alone without company.

Age is the honor & crowne of life.

The combats of Age, exceedeth the wraslings of youth

adorned with vertues, doe easily vanquish abiect or priuate Spirits, and the studious, the negligent: euen so *Sparta*, that (onely) made publique exercise of goodnesse and honesty, ouercame (by many degrees) all other Cities in vertue. For they would punish such Men onely, as did iniury to others; but *Licurgus* would haue any man in like manner chastised, for not expressing a manifest care, both how to auoyd such offences, and how to equall his reputation with the best. For *Licurgus* was perswaded, that hee which did cast his Neighbour into Prison, or forcibly did steale any thing, or priuately vsed purloyning; all these were no more but priuate iniuries to the persons offended: but the Common-wealth was more haynously wronged, yea (in a manner) betrayed to the Enemy, when idle and vitious Varlets escaped vnpunished; and therefore, for such Cankers and Caterpillers to common good, hee ordained very strict and seuere punishments.

Sparta onely allowed publike exercise of vertues.

No greater enemies to any Common-wealth, then idle and vitious liuers.

Beyond all these fore-recited ordinances, as in an intollerable case of necessity, his care was extraordinary, for all ornament due to Ciuill life. And therefore, such as were of ability, and had least feeling of others wants, were enioyned to haue equall respect of the Common-weale, both in infirmities belonging to the body, and other occasions as they happened. Beside, if any Man were found negligent, in any office committed to his trust; he was not afterward numbred among the Cittizens. Which appeared to be a very ancient Law, because *Licurgus* is found to be in the time of the *Heraclidæ*; who albeit they were of great Antiquity, yet (in these times) they seemed new to others: and that which most of all is to be admired, was the promptitude of all men, to like and allow of their studies, yet not any Citty or State willing to solow their example, then which could be no greater benefit, both in Peace and Warre. Therefore, if any one be a curious Inquisitour in this case, he shall plainely perceiue, that *Licurgus* (better then any other) prouided for the affairs of Warre. First of all, the *Ephori* tooke graue aduise together, in what yeare they should send forth their Armies, vnder what Commaunders, and with what prouision; electing first the ordinary Footmen, and next to them Artificers, appointing Armour for each, according to their seuerall condition, and as the necessity of the case required: whereby ensued, that as the *Lacedemonians* had great plenty of Warres, so could they as plentifully serue themselues, with able men of their owne Cittie. They likewise ordained, that those Engines or Instruments, whereof they had most neede in their Armies; should all be readily brought thither in Carts, or on Beasts backes: so that, euery Man might foorth-with perceiue, which of them needed most imployment.

Negligent officers lost the name of Cittizens.

Orders for wars among the *Spartanes*.

And first of all, each Souldier was appointed to weare a Crimson Stoale or Tippet about his necke, and a Shield of Brasse; because they knew that this kind of Stoale (being most apt for war) was not meete for Women to weare, in regard it kept longest cleane, and free from soyle. It was permitted also, that such as had past the years of Childhood, might weare a little Bush or tuft of hair before on their heads, appearing thereby, to be free-borne, of greater Spirit, liberall endowments, and much more fortunate then others were. The Armies being in this manner ordered, the Horsse and Foot-men were distributed into sixe Tribes or parts. Each Tribe of the Citty had a Tribune ouer the Souldiers, foure Marshals for the seuerall rankes of Pikes, eight *Quinquagenari* or Gouernours, of fifty yeares old each Man, and sixteene Captaines of the Squadrons. Out of these Tribes the seuerall Bandes were appointed, sometimes in three Squadrons, other whiles in six. But because there are many, who haue imagined this order of the *Lacedemonians*, to be very vnfit and impeachable for Warre. I will let them see, that they doe diuersly varry in their coniecture, and farre from the truth of the matter indeede. For in the ordination among the *Lacedemonians*, there were appointed diuers heads and commanders, who had power (in euery degree) ouer all things to the vttermost. And so easie was it to learne this institution, that no one (could hee but obserue the knowledge of men) was able any way to erre therein. For as some had commission to be

The Souldiers Stoale and Shielde.

The fiue and thirtith part of the people, after the *Romane* manner

The order obſerued in the *Spartane* Squadrons.

be guides, ſo others were commaunded to be followers. And the manner of mooving the Squadron, was deliuered from the Head or commander thereof, by a word, after the order of a Trompet. One while the Squadron appeared to be very thin and narrow; otherwhiles, more large & thickned with company, which (in their March) was no difficult thing to learne. And albeit ſometimes (by encounters) they fell into diſorder; yet was their obſeruation ſuch, as euery one could retire againe to his rancke, and be as ready to meet with the enemy againe, onely by the enſtructions receiued from the lawes of *Licurgus*.

Many thinges were eaſie to the *Lacedemonians*, that wer obſcure to other.

To the *Lacedemonians* many thinges were apt & eaſie, which to the Armies of other parts were very harſh and hard. For when they marched in forme of a Cornet, the Squadron came to his vtmoſt imployment behinde, and if the Enemies Battalion were noted (at the encountring) to proceed in the ſame order; the chiefe of the Squadrons were inſtantly commanded, to confront them with their Targettiers, and alwaies to be in that forme, although the Enemies battaile ſhould ſtand firme. And if the Enemy (in this manner) aſſailed them behinde, they turned all immediatly in order: to the ende, that euermore the ſtrongeſt might oppugne the Enemy. But when the Prince happened to be in the left Wing, they did not therefore iudge their condition the worſe, but many times the better; becauſe, if any attempted to engirt him, the ſtrongeſt Army did preſently relieue him. And for diuers reſpects it ſeemed profitable, that the Generall of the Army ſhould lead the right Cornet, making the battaile of his Cornet, and ordring his followers in ſuch ſort; that, as at the firſt the General guided the right band, ſo at the laſt he ſhould be ſeen in the left. And if the battaile were ſecurely fenced from the enemies right Cornet; they had no other care, but preſently to change all their Enſignes, oppoſing thē all againſt the enemy, as if they were aduanced on the prow of a Galley, and ſo ſhould the rere-ward ſuddenly bring their power on the right ſide. But when the Enemy offered to make his aſſault on the left ſide, they were ſtill ready for him, and either valiantly repulſed him, or reuerſed their Squandrons in ſuch contrarie manner to the enemy, that ſtil the rere-guard ſtood like a Shielde of defence againſt them. In ordring alſo, how their ſeuerall quarters ſhould be lodged, *Licurgus* did iudge it very vnrequiſite, that the Cantons ſhould fall into a quadrant or four-ſquare; but rather to plant their lodging round, except they were ſecured by ſome hill, or had behind them a wall or Riuer. He appointed a Guard for the day time, who ſhould alwaies haue care within the Army, not in regard of the Enemy, but on the friends behalfe; becauſe they might diſcerne thence the Enemies Caualiery, and how beſt to defend themſelues againſt them. And if any one did willingly iſſue foorth of the place appointed for lodging, order was giuen, that the *Scirithi* ſhould obſerue him; for they had authority, to ſuffer no man to ſtep out of the lodging, and to be careful alſo, that ſtrangers ſhould not walke to ſuruay them. Sometimes they vſed to diſlodge themſelues, as beſt they might offend their enemies, & be helpfull to their friends. And to the end they might be forward to this Martiall exerciſe, the lawes had ordained certain honorable rewardes for all *Lacedemonians*, according to their ſeueral quality in merit: whereby enſued, that among themſelues they were moſt magnificent, and appeared to others very valiant. Each man muſt take no more paces, then the Tribune himſelfe did appoint him, becauſe none ſhould ſtray far off from the Army. But after the Warlike exerciſe was performed, the chiefeſt among the Souldiers, would commaund all the reſt to ſit down in a ring; and after they had dined, the Scouts were ſuddenly ſent abroad, in which time they went to councel againe, graunting time of reſt, to ſuch as were to be vſed in the night-ſeruice. Which things being ended, ſupper is publiſhed by the ſound of a trumpet, that afterward they may ſing prayſes to their Gods, and pleaſe them with ſacrifices, while the Army repoſeth.

The lodging of the Armies quarters.

Sentinels for the Corps du Guard.

Rewardes for wel deſeruers according to their merit.

The Generals order in the Army.

Concerning the perſon of the King, when he is in the Camp, it is conuenient to know, that the Citty findeth his prouiſion, and all that are with him. His Guarde are the familiar Seruaunts of his Houſe, and with them the Tribunes of the Souldiers, for they beeing euer

When the K. is in the field.

euer present with him; Councell is the readier, if occasion require it. The chiefe of these familiar attendants, are three especiall men of respected degree, who with the other together, haue the sole care of all necessary matters, and seldom are absent from businesse for the Wars.

The order of leading forth their Armies.

At the Armies leading forth, they doe first offer sacrifice in the House to *Ioue* their Patrone and Guide, and to the other Gods, that if any thing haue formerly beene amisse sacrificed, the *Fecial* Priest (who, of the Fire he carieth, is called *Pirphorus*) taking the fire from the Altar, may go before them to the Confines of the Countrey, where againe he sacrificeth, both to *Ioue* and to *Minerua*. So soone as this Sacrifice to the Gods is performed, he goes on still with them forth of the Countries bounds; the fire continually flaming with that Sacrifice, and Beasts of all sorts led ready by him, to offer as occasion serueth. About the dawne or breake of the day, he returneth from this seruice, perceiuing first, that he hath obtained the beneuolence and fauour of the Gods. About the Sacrifice stand the Tribunes of the Souldiers, the Gouernours of the rankes, the chiefe of the fifty strange Souldiers, the Commaunders of them that beare the Armies luggage, and the Pretors of the Citty. There are also present two of the *Ephori*, who do nothing, except they be thereto called by the King; but stand ready to guard what euery one dooth, and to punish as they perceiue conueniency. The Sacrifices being ended, the King calleth his Councell, and commandeth them what is to be done. And so, he that duely obserueth this kind of discipline, may easily iudge the weakenesse and want in others in Military affaires, and that the *Lacedemonians* might iustly be tearmed, true and expert Maisters in the managing of Armes.

The manner of the Sacrifices performance.

The *Lacedemonians* most expert in war

When the King leadeth forth his Army, if hee see no opposition to come against him, none goes before him but the *Scirithi*, and the Horsemen appointed for discouery. And if he see necessity of comming to the battaile, the King taking the Squadron of the chiefest Tribe, leades it on with quicke expedition, vntill he come into the middest of the other two Tribes, and there ioineth himselfe with the Tribunes of the Souldiers: And he that is of eldest standing in the Common-wealths affaires, giues order of Gouernment to all the rest, which are all those, that (in one and the same obseruation) doe feede together, as the Soothsayers, Phisitions, Trumpeters, Heades of the Army, and all other Officers, that voluntarily happen to be among them. Whereby necessarily ensueth, that there can bee no doubt of any thing needfull, but there it is in order readily prouided. And vndoubtedly, in very excellent manner did *Licurgus* prouide for all affaires in the Army, for if any were to suffer torture in the sight of the Enemy, the Law-commanded, that al the Trumpeters should (by sounding) giue publike admonition thereof, and all the *Lacedemonians* to stand there present, with their Crownes of atchieued Honour on their Heads: that when the Army was rid of so foule an Obloquy, the young sprightly Gallants, and those of choiser election, might enter the next battaile with greater courage, and shew themselues more vndauntedly valiant. The care of all which, consisted in the chiefe of the Squadron, because it concerned none of the company to meddle in the matter, but only the Head and Commaunder of the Squadron; which directly he did, except he pleased to refer it to the Tribune of the Souldiers.

Licurgus his strict Law for torture in the Army

But when was fittest time for the Armies lodging or dislodging; *Licurgus* referred that to the will of the King, that hee should appoint the manner, time, and place. The order also for mission of Ambassages, treaty of Leagues, and motions of Warre; was likewise an Article of the Kings priuiledge, and euery one went to attend the King, when any such occasions were in hand. If any strifes or differences happened, the king commited them to the Iudges appointed for contentions: if about summes of Money, to the Treasurer; if about spoyles or robberies, to those that had to deale therein. Now when the King had ordered all these businesses, there remained no other negotiation for him about the Gouernment; but to carry himselfe as a Priest in Diuine cases, and as a Captaine in Armes towardes his people: Because *Licurgus* had ordained, that the King (in all publique matters,

The Kinges prerogatiue respected by *Lycurgus*.

as

as proceeding from God) might sacrifice in the Citty, and was Captaine of the Army in euery place, whether soeuer the Citty sent it; withall, that hee might take the guift of all such thinges as were to be sacrificed. Moreouer, so many Territories were allowed him in the neighbouring Citties, as he should not grow scanty of honest prouision, not super-abound in excesse and ryot.

The Kinges feeding openly, and prouision for sacrifice.

And because the King might feede in publique, he was appointed a publique Table, and at Supper he was honoured with a double seruice; not because hee did eate twice as much as any other, but in regard they would grace (with his leauings) whom they pleased. They allowed him likewise two companions, such as himselfe liked to make choise of, and them they tearmed *Pitij*. They presented him also daily, a farrowing Sow, that whensoeuer he needed to consult with the Gods, hee should not be destitute of an offering. Neere to his Court they made a great Pond or Pool of Water, which abounded in all prouision thereto belonging, and due care was still had for the maintenance thereof. All the Magistrates (sitting on their Seates) did reuerence to the King, except the *Ephori*, and euery month they gaue the Oath one to another; the *Ephori* in name of the Citty, and the King in his own. The Oath of the King was to commaund, according to the Lawes made for the Citty, which were, to maintaine in the Citty the Kings authority stable, and binde the whole Kingdome inuiolably to obserue the same. Those honours affoorded by the Country to their King in his life time, did very much exceed their priuate obseruations; because *Licurgus* would not attribute tyrannicall pride to a King, neyther prouoke the Cittizens to bee enuious against the Maiesty of Kinges. But those Honours done to their dead Kings, are declared in the Lawes of *Licurgus* at large who would haue the *Lacedemonian* Kings to be honored, not as men, but rather as if they were halfe Gods.

Licurgus his care for the oath due to Kings.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Gouernment and Lawes most vsed among the auncient Athenians; *What kind of Common-wealth they obserued, &c.*

Athens, the most famous and illustrous City among the *Grecians*, was (in precedent times) held only by wise men, and, for orderly Gouernment in their Common-wealth, exceedingly renowned. The first Originall theteof, was attributed to *Minerua*, euen as if it should be saide, that the men liuing in this Cittie in those daies, did manifestly declare, that Wisedome and Prouidence were the onely Builders of *Athens*. *Theseus* was her restorer or deliuerer, but *Solon* was he that did her the chiefe good; because he gaue such Lawes to her people, that diuers other Prouinces disdained not to liue by the selfe-same rule as the *Athenians* duely obserued. And the *Romaines* (at the foundation of their State) sent Oratours to learne the Lawes of *Solon*; approouing them for the most excellent, that the whole World at that time affoorded. Now, in regard that from this Citty, many other receiued their best forme & shape: I am the easier induced, to make known the order of her Common-wealth, which wil appeare to bee as profitable, as pleasing.

The first beginning of *Athens*.

Solon the best Benefactor to *Athens*.

Rome learned *Solons* Lawes.

1. The *Athenians*, who highly delighted to be called *Indigeni*, as much to say, as naturally home-bred, not descending of other people, nor sprung from any other place, whereby to make their originall more high or diuine; were distinguished by three seuerall names, as many good Writers haue well obserued. The first were styled *Eupatride*; that is, Noble-men, holding the like Dignitie in *Athens*, as the *Patricij* did in *Rome*. *Geomori* were the second sort called, who were *Rustici*, or Country-people, and so tearmed, because they had graunted them one part of the *Atticke* fieldes, for their

The *Athenians* were cald *Indigeni*.

Eupatride, *Geomori*, and *Artifex*, three kinds of men among the *Athenians*.

their Husbandry. The third kind were named *Artificers*, who exercised in the Citty both Mechanicall Arts, and Merchandise also: According to the word *Dimiurgi*, which signifieth *Artifex*, and may likewise impart the very same, as the name *Publicanus* among the *Romans*; to wit, a Customer, or receiuer of toles and Customes. As for such as held the supreamest place among the rest, both in honour and yeares; they were called *Demogeronti*, or Senatours, who had a very high authority ouer the vulgar sort. The first name of *Indigena*, was not giuen at the foundation of *Athens*, nor to the place of people, or to the City it selfe; but only to these, who were the greatest persons, and the very cheefest whereof, had onely liued in *Athens*, and could boldly affirme, that their beginning was from no other place. So, by pride, pompe, and ouer-awing, they grew to be tearmed *Sons of the Foundation*; and this or the like names serued, with the memory of Letters, vntill such time as the names of factions arose, which hapning among the popularitie, and the Common-wealth; the diuision continued so long, till *Draco* the Law-maker ordained Magistrates, and the State to be gouerned by *Oligarchia*; to wit, a few persons managing the whole authority: And these were then their names; *Pediei*, *Diacrij*, *Parali*, and *Ettimorij*. The first soly fauoured (as beeing made firme by riches) *Oligarchia*, or the power of a few. The *Diacrij* were appointed to popular administration; enduring (though much against their friends) that the most potent shold hold chiefest place in the Common-wealth. Those who were tearmed *Parali*, fauouring one while the one side, and another while the other, would leane to which part best liked them, taking to themselues, and from others, the meanes of liberty. In this combustion, all iniury fell on the backs of the miserable *Ettimorij*, because all men of least faculty were so tearmed, and euery yeare were they enforced, to giue the sixt part of their goods, to the tyrannous oppression of the stronger power. Whereby ensued (as in like cases it commonly fals out) that extreame right, proued to be extreame wrong, and as euill humours in a body not well purged, do beget and nourish infinite diseases: Euen so fared it with the Cittizens in their miseries, for they beeing forsaken of all fauours, were glad to beare off all blowes with their owne bare heads. And because the people of *Athens* may bee the better knowne, what care and discretion the Magistrates obserued, to contain themselues in their degrees and offices: I thought good to make some description thereof, according as I finde it in the sixt Booke of *Polybius* set downe.

Demogeronti, or Senators.

How the name of *Indigena* was first giuen them.

Magistrates ordained by *Draco*, by *Oligarchia*.

Pediei, *Diacrij*, *Parili*, and *Ettimorij*, their seuerall conditions in the State.

The danger ensuing by potent oppression.

Polib. in Lib. 6. His wordes concerning the people of *Athens* in their diuersity of opinion for gouernment.

The people of Athens were (saith he) *like vnto a Pylot, cast out of his Ship, and quite forsaken. For, as the Pilot giueth command in the Ship (when all the Mariners are accorded with him) that neyther by the Tempest of weather, or dread of Enemies, they should be driuen into disorder, but by their obedience, the greater diligence on all sides vsed: As also when security is thus obtained, they being (in some strange manner) to despise their head and guide, falling to mutiny and sedition, because euery man is of an humor by himselfe; some, desirous to saile on; others, labouring their Gouernour to put into harbour: As likewise, I say, by such distraction in behauiour (most abrupt to behold) the strife and diuersity of opinion among the Saylers, makes some strike the Saylers; others cast Oares into the Water, one part drawing this way; the other to another kind of course, whereon immediat daunger ensueth, and in hoping to gaine Land, runnes vpon a Rocke, and so is split: Euen such, and no other, appeared the wofull estate of the* Athenians. *For when the Common-wealth had out gone great and dangerous perrils, as well by the peoples vertue, as by the care and indulgence of many Magistrates and Captaines: it ruined it selfe rashly in the end, for matters of small importance, and among Rockes that were of no account to be feared. No better can be said of any estate, where the multitude haue the Helme of gouernment in their hands*: Thus far are the words of *Polybius*.

The *Athenians* make choise of a Monarchy vnder one Ruler, & elect *Solon* to be their Ruler.

Now, where the people were so disagreeing both in will and reason, they could do no lesse, but shape themselues into a Monarchy, and to make choyse of one head, who should take on him to gouerne such vnruly mindes. Therefore, by the consent of all, but most especially the popularity: *Solon*, for his

integrity of life, and becauſe he had neuer yeelded to any thing againſt the people, was called to this gouernment. But, it appearing to be a buſineſſe full of perrill, the iſſue very doubtfull, hee being likewiſe a Man of great integrity, and admirable Wiſedome; made refuſall of their offer, with theſe wordes: *If I haue ſpared mine owne Countrey, and receiued therein no tyranny, nor implacable violence, that could deface the glory thereof, or bring ſhame to my ſelfe: I feare the leſſe, in that by theſe meanes I haue exceeded other men, eſpeially in conquering my ſelfe*: Thus auoucheth *Plutarch* of him. But he beeing condemned by many others, who ſought for that Dignity by fauours, guifts, and earneſt entreaties, yet wholly by him ſo lightly neglected, had diuers Verſes of ſcandall and diſgrace framed againſt him, which more at large you may read in *Plutarch*.

Solons words in refuſing the *Athenians* offer.

Plutarch in vit. Solon.

Now, albeit he thus refuſed to bee a Sole-Monarch, yet was he not backeward, in lending help to this diſparing Common-wealth, by ſuch medicinable Art as might be beſt auailing thereto; namely, Wiſedome and Counſell. Firſt of all hee bethought himſelfe, how to ſuccour ſuch as were oppreſſed by the might of great men; wherupon he made a law, whereby any debt was fruſtrated, that any poor man ought to a rich man: but he ſhould ſubmit his body to his ſeruice and command, and yet (not in way of vſury) to abridge him any iot of his liberty. Many imagined, that ſuch kind of proceeding would ouerthrow all manner of debts; and therfore, they who began to execute this Lawe before open publication thereof, were called *Crecopidi*; that is, Cutters off of other Mens debts, which was done in a kind of gratification to them, in whom the deſire of ſuch a law was moſt affected. Others were of opinion, that men of baſe condition, might free theſelues from their Debters after this manner, thereby to increaſe the price and value of Money: becauſe that which formerly was worth ſeauenty Drammaes, was afterward eſteemed at an hundred Drammaes, and according to the auncient valuation ſo paſſed. But both the one and the other were thought ſcarſe tollerable, or the one without the other, becauſe ſuch cutting off of Debters, grew as diſpleaſing to Creditors, as it was pleaſing & coueted by the poorer ſort: wherupon it was ſuppoſed, that this would not proue the way to quench the flame already begun, but rather much more to encreaſe it. For the enhaunſing of the Drachmaes added to the former ſum, was exempted from the poore mans power in paiment; wherby was imagined, that at one and the ſame time, it would commaund both the one and other; to wit, that it would increaſe to the Rich mans aduantage, that which by Law he could neuer haue recouered from the poore man. But becauſe euery Law-maker, in giuing other men example, ought to begin with himſelfe, deriuing the originall from his own poſſeſſions: *Solon* ſent in ſix talents of Gold to the people, which valued as much to them, as forty fiue thouſand Ducates do among vs.

So'on proueth the beſt frend to *Athens*, and ſetteth downe Lawes for them.

Crecopidi, ſuch as did cut off other mens debts.

The debts cut off were offenſiue to both parties.

Solon began his law by his own example

In time, while things ſtood vpon alteration, the Law made, did yet hardlie pleaſe: becauſe Rich men ſuppoſed themſelues to be euill intreated, & poor men expected, according to the vſage of the *Laconians*, the benefite of the *Atticke* fields. Neuertheleſſe, in proceſſe of time, the peace being well conſidered, that ſuch a Law might produce; it was ſo generally approued and ratified, that they gaue it the name of *Siſachthia* among the ſacred occaſions. Things proceeding thus on by little and little, this proued ſound Phiſick to the former vnhealthfull body, and becauſe it might fall no more into the like calamity, euery member was duely made vſe of according to his Dignity. Then he ordained, that the peoples cenſure ſhould be allowed of, to the end that each man, according to his faculty, might haue Honour and Dignity in the Common-wealth, making no difference betweene *Plebeians* or Commoners, and Gentlemen. Neuertheleſſe, eſpeciall regard was had, that ſuch Noblemen, as at that time were ſeated in Magiſtracy; ſhould not any way bee compelled to leaue their places, without their owne free conſent. Wherenpon, by this temperate kind of courſe, great men were the more eaſily enclined, to conſort with them of meaner quality, & ſo much the rather; becauſe, before it was held vnlawfull, for any Commoner to vndergo any office, or to be a Magiſtrate.

The Law named *Siſacthia*.

Allowance of the Peoples cenſure.

Great men ioyne familiarity with the meaner ſort.

The

Foure deuisions of the people. *Pentacosiomedimni, Ippi, Zephtita, Thita.*

The people were then ordered into foure deuisions, with inuention also of such tributes as were to be paid; to wit, *Pentacosiomedimni*, *Ippi*, *Zephtita*, and *Thita*. The valuation of the first degree was allotted to bee fiue hundred measures of Corne. This was the first rate, and these were the first degree of Men in the Countrey, next vnto the degree of Senators. Gentlemen were wont to be elected in the *Eseto Oligarchia*, a place so named, before *Solon* ordained the *Areopagiticall* Senate. The charge of the *Pentacosiomedimni*, was, when any necessity happened, or neede required to conferre matters for vse of the Common-weale. After this ordination, quickly ensued in the same, the second, of three hundred measures of Corne valuation, who were called *Ippi*, because to them belonged the breeding of Horses, which by their faculty they maintained; and in time of Warre, they were bound to pay so much as should sustain a Man and a Horse for a whole yeare. Next to them were the *Zephtita*, who were rated at an hundred and fifty measures of Corne, called halfe a *Mina*. *Aristotle* makes no mention of these men in his institutions of *Solon*, yet writes of them in the Books of his *Politicks*. Goldsmiths, Dyers, and other such like Artizanes, were comprehended vnder the *Thita*, who paied no more but a Crown to the Common-wealth, which (after their name) was tearmed *Thitico*: These men could neuer rise to any Magistracy, while they stood at so low a rate, and in so base a degree. In this manner did *Solon* appoint his Lawes, making a sound and setled estate, of that which before was extreame weake and sickly. And because the approbation of Lawes implyed the greatest power, being imposed both on the Noble-men and Comminalty, for sounder stability, they were engraued in Tables, with the deuision of the *Atticke* fieldes; which being publikely knowne, and vniuersally allowed; they sacred his Lawes to immortality, without any sinister rumour or contradiction.

Gentlemen.

Pentacosiomedimni.

Ippi.

Zephtita.

Thita.

Solon brought *Athens* to full perfection.

2 The people being thus reduced to peace, I think it requisite to begin from the first Originall, discoursing (by the way) of the Tribes. *All people, all Nations & Cities* (as *Liuy* saith) *vsed to deriue their original from rare and excellent men, or else from such, whom rude Antiquity in the Worlds first infancy, placed among the number of the Gods, imposing names on them after their manner.* Hereupon, many ascribed their beginning and protection to *Ioue*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Pallas*, *Vulcane*, & such like Patrones, for the greater supposition of vertue, yet grounded but on their owne bare opinion. By which example, the *Athenians* not contented with one Sole Nobility; to wit, that of *Pallas*, gaue diuers names to variant partitions of their people, whom they tearmed Tribes, after the name of the *Eponomi*, who were worthy Heroes, and whose Memory could not dye, because their statues were preserued, not so much for their vertue, but for others to imitate them, helping themselues (in that manner) to become the more worthy. There were foure Tribes of the first kind; one was named *Cecropida*, of old *Cecrops*, because, if we may credit *Pausanias*, there were two seuerall Men of that Name. The second Tribe of that Nature, was called *Aftochton*, that is; *Indigena*, the peculiar vocable to these people. The third were stiled *Attean*; And the fourth *Paralia*, taking name of their neer neighbouring to the Sea, which more auncientlie was tearmed *Cranao*, and deuided into foure sundry parts. One *Cranao* was so called of it selfe; the second *Attida*; the third *Diacrita*; and the fourth *Nezogena*. *Attida*, so called of the people; The *Diacri*; of a high place in the Citty, because the *Athenians* liued in little hils, and the *Mesogenij*, of the middle Region, were so named. Now, the Mother of *Erictheus*, to hide her Adulterie, told him, that he was the son of *Ioue*, which dissembling, for addition of greater grace to the father; taking away the old Titles, four other names (deriued from the Gods) were imposed vpon *Athens*. It was cald *Diada*, after the name of *Ioue*; *Atineada*, after the name of *Minerua*; *Festiada*, of *Vulcane*; and lastly *Fosidonia*, of *Neptune*: each of them being deuided into three partitions, and therefore tearmed by the Tribes of three, not so named of freedome by guift; compleated their full number to twelue. These 12. parts in threes thus deuided, continued vntill the time of *Alcmeon*, sixe hundred and sixty yeares, or little lesse.

The *Athenians* gaue diuersity of names to their people.

Cecropida, of *Cecrops*.

Aftochton, or *Indigena*.

Attean and *Paralia*.

Cranao, *Attida*, *Diacrita*, *Nezogena*.

Mesogenij.

Foure other names giuen to *Athens*. *Diada*, *Atineada*, *Festiada*, *Posidonia*.

The continuance of these twelue partitions.

Of Tribes & other diuisions of the people.

The ten tribes of the Princes, and how they tooke their names.

Afterward, by answer from the Oracle of *Apollo*, the tenne Tribes of the Princes were named, that before him should raigne in greatest fame. It was called *Cecropia*, of *Cecrops*; *Erictheа*, of *Erictheus*; *Ægea*, of *Ægeus*, *Pandionia*, *Acamanta*, *Leonta*, *Ænea*, *Hippotoonta*, *Antioca*, *Eanta*; whereunto were added *Antigonia*, and *Demetria*, to make vppe the iust number of twelue: all which (euery one by it selfe) like vnto the first foure, were deuided likewise into three partitions, and so made vp the number of thirty sixe Tribes, which the *Romaines* followed in imitation, wanting but one: whereby may be obserued, that not onely they vsed the example of their Lawes, but likewise the deuisions of the *Athenian* people. These thinges, as they were matters of very great and maine importance in in the *Athenian* Common-weale: so shall wee haue the more liberty to discourse of them, in our further progression.

The *Romaines* did imitate the *Athenians*, both in lawes and diuision of their people.

Of these Princes then, of whom the Tribes receiued their Originall Names, were likewise the twelue *Eponimi* first named, whom I knowe not, whether *Herodotus* (in his *Erato*) doe call the Gods of the *Athenians*, or no, because the selfe-same Authour, hauing there described some of their Names, saith afterward in his *Euterpe*, that in *Ægypt* was the first honoring of twelue Gods, and that from thence they were brought into *Greece*, and that in *Pisa* they had an Altar, common to all of them, which was called the Altar of the twelue Gods.

How the *Eponimi* first receiued name.

Obseruations collected out of *Herodotus* in his *Erato* and *Euterpe*.

Moreouer, he saith afterward, that these Kinges were also called Gods, so many of them as had gouerned iustly: beyond which report, the Historie yeildeth no further credence, neyther doth *Aristotle* record any such matter in his *Politiques*. Whereby may partlie be gathered, that those Kinges might also bee tearmed Gods, and that they were foure and twenty in number; to wit, twelue brought out of *Ægypt*, and the other twelue ruling in *Athens*. *Pausanias*, in the place which hee speaketh of the *Eponimi*; saith, that *Herodotus* might well speake it. Yet notwithstanding, there is diuersitie betweene them of their Names, and he reckoneth neyther more or lesse then twelue, whereto consenteth *Attalus*, *Ptolomeus*, & *Adrianus*, in whose time he wrote. But elsewhere shall wee speake of the Magistrate, named *Eponimo*. The people being made knowne, and their partitions declared; it is high time that we should say some-what of their Magistrates.

Pausanias his opinion of *Herodotus* speeches.

3 In three seuerall kindes did they vse to elect their Magistrates; to wit, by lot; by publique voyce of the people; and by election of Dignity. By Lot, they elected all the Magistrates that were intended for Iudgement. The Senate, who were elected in the like manner, were called, *The Councell of fiue hundred Men*. By publique voyce of the people, they created Captaines, Tribunes of the Souldiers, and the Generals for Warre, both by Sea and Land.

After what manner the *Athenians* elected their Magistrates.

By Lot.

By voyce of the people.

Such as were afterward made choise of by Dignity, by Riches, and by Nobility; were called *Choragi*, and serued in the publique Pastimes, as also for Sacrifices: in which weighty charge much liberality was vsed, and great expences of their owne Wealth. Of this order there were no more but tenne. Among, & by al which elections, as *Demosthenes* declareth in one of his Orations, the Common-weale was sweetly embraced by this three-folde Ligature. Because the Iudges (by sound reasons) defended the Citty from the iniuries of Domestickes, Neighbours, and Strangers: The Souldiers preserued and enlarged the Confines; And Religion kept the Soules of Men pure and vnpolluted. Now giue me leaue orderly to relate, how, during the offering of this Dignity, the order began of the *Ariopagitæ*.

By Dignity & Nobility.

Demosthenes his verdit of this triple bond.

4 In memory of Learning, the Senate *Ariopagiticall* had beginning, and both for equity and seuerity was accounted most honourable and famous. Now, as it was in great estimation, so was the number of them not a few; albeit, vncertaine how many, which incertainty of number ensued by the *Tesmoteti* (of whom we shall speake in their apt place) because, as they had ended their Magistracy, which lasted for a yeare: in rendring vp their account to the *Logists* for their passed Office, some of

The Senate of the *Ariopagitæ*.

The *Tesmoteti* and *Logists*.

some of them were entertained and accepted among the *Ariopagitæ*. Such as were to go to the *Logists*, who were Magistrates for publique and generall accounts, should deliuer their Names to a Commaunder, and require open Proclamation in this manner; *Whosoeuer can accuse such men of any vniust Act committed, let him come foorth, for they haue ended their Office of Magistracy.* Vpon this Proclamation, euery Accuser that could make iust proofe of offence, had his free admission; and this made much for the *Logists* credit. Now, by this kinde of iudgement so seuerely followed, it fell out, that few men, but of worth and reckoning, and supported by their owne honest innocency, holpe to encrease the number of this Order. And whosoeuer was noted to be auaritious, or guilty of some other such infamous crime; could neuer gaine acceptance into this inviolable company. And because no man should vse any deceipt or fraud, each man examined one anothers cõscience, in open sight of the people, and of the Senate. Thus by the yearely addition of many of the *Tesmoteti*, the number grew to be vncertaine, and manifested apparantly, that the latter choise in this kinde of life, did much excell the former.

A note worth the obseruation.

Couetous persons not accepted among the *Ariopagitæ*.

Solons institution of Prefects or Rulers.

The like institution was inuented by *Solon*, because (in former times) *Solon* had appointed fifty *Epheti*; that is, Prefects or Gouernours, who gaue sentence in Capitall causes, and on Robbers, which (before that time) appartained only to the Kings office. In their name then did *Solon* constitute the Senate of great authority in this Common wealth, who not onely answered in capitall occasions, but likewise in the very graueſt businesses of State. The chiefe Magistrate of the *Ariopogitæ*, was by the *Grecians* named *Adiadoxon*; that is, perpetuall and diligent. Now, albeit, he was opposed to all scelerous matters, and publikely did punish them: yet notwithstanding, his peculiar businesse, was concerning impoysonings, burning of Houses, Murders, wounds, Cozonages, Treacheries intended against the Countrey, and many other. The manner of Iudgement then vsed, (according as by memory of good Letters is to be seene) was thus. The guilty person, or he that was accused to be guilty; after the first questioning, beeing confronted by coniecturall testimony, and of probation; immediatly sentence should bee giuen, without deferring it to any longer time, for compassion (in the *Ariopagitæ*) was reputed to be vtterly vnlawfull, and so neerely did the *Epheti* ioyne in this seuerity, as they would punish the offendour, with punishment equall to his transgression. *Aristotle* very highly commendeth this seuerity, in the beginning of his Rhetoricke, which praise *Quintillian* briefely Collecting together, saith. *In* Athens (meaning the *Ariopagitæ*) *the Orators were prohibited, from mouing their Auditours to any passion.* For the Senators did apparantly perceiue, that there was no matter whatsoeuer, but Orators (by their Rhetoricke) would reduce the Hearers to their owne opinion therein. Let vs now proceede to the execution of their iudgement.

Adiadoxon, cheefe Magistrate of the *Ariopagitæ*.

Their maner of iudgement then vsed.

Aristo. in Rhet.

Quintillian his words concerning seuerity.

The Offendour being in Prison (let vs suppose the case to be Homicide, or Murder) by commaund: the Parents, Seruants, Friends, and neerest acquaintance of the dead person, are summoned together, and as (in their Iudgement) the penalty is imposed, so dooth the punishment proceed, according to the iniury receiued: which Custome, because it is vsed and obserued to this day among the Turkes, wee therefore may make more ample demonstration thereof.

Their maner of executing iudgement.

The *Cadi* (for so signifieth the name of a Iudge in the *Arabian* Tongue) so soone as an offendour in Murder is taken, presently aduertiseth the dead parties Parents thereof. If he haue none, then others are sought for, to whom the deceased was most beholding in his life time. If that none at all be found, yet will hee proceede as Atturney to the King, and punnish according to the written Law. He then entreateth, that such men as are there present, will declare, whether they will haue the Offendour punnished by the Law, or payment of Money, and according to their desire, so shall be his sentence. If the man dead were thought to be worth threescore thousand Aspers, which (after our account) are a thousand

The order obserued at this day among the Turkes.

and two hundred ducates of Gold: with that price ſhall the dead mans loſſe of life be paid. If he pay halfe, then he payes but for halfe a Man; and halfe a Man, is hee that lackes a hand, an eye, or ſome ſuch member of his body, and ſo the payment is obſerued, according to the dammage done to the body. If the party offended be dumbe, a fatherleſſe Child, or imperfect in ſpeech; the *Podeſta* or Iuſtice hath power, to iudge the penaltie according to the condition, and aunſwerably to puniſh the offender with Death, or pecuniary payment. Thus, as the *Ariopagitæ* vſed great diligence and ſeuerity in their Iudgements; ſo were they rarely or ſildome troubled with ſuch inflictions, and they gaue Iudgement onely but three dayes in a Month, and aſſembled not together, except they were thereto required, or vpon neceſſity of ſome important buſineſſe. Which is very like vnto the Conncell of *Venice*, who, for election of Magiſtrates, do meete once together euery eight daies.

Payment for halfe a man.

Iudgment giuen but three dayes in a month.

Of this Senate, and of many other, *Gulielmus Budeus* hath very amply written, in his Annotations and firſt *Pandect*, and therefore I referre theſe matters to thoſe Authours, from whom hee hath collected them. And yet, (vppon *Lucians* Word) he ſaith; *That the* Ariopagitæ *were wont to deliuer their Iudgement in the Night time, and in greateſt ſilence, becauſe they would not be ſurprized by the cunning of them, who (in the preſence of Man) had moſt delight to talke:* For ſo might their Iudgements bee interrupted, while others liſtened to the curioſity of Oratours eloquence. And hence grew that which is vſed as a common Prouerbe; *The ſilent Ariopagitæ*; ſignifying thereby, that a Wiſe Man ſhould likewiſe be ſilent. Nor was their ſilence without great reaſon, becauſe thereby they did the more attentiuelie liſten to Offendours cauſes: And neuer would they diſcloſe the ſecrets of iudgement, but write downe the ſentence, becauſe they would not ſwarue from their opinion, who had beene of greateſt wiſedome and years, but euery way to correſpond with the ſame. The *Venetians* are (in this caſe) like to the *Athenians*; to wit, that their ſentence muſt neuer ſee light, or the ſecrets of their Iudgements, which doubtleſſe is done with great diſcretion. For by this means neuer can their authority be impaired, while their opinion ſtands cleare from calumny, and not to bee wreſted by other Magiſtrates, or rude capacity of the vulgar.

Guliel Budeus, in Annot. Pand. 1.

Lucian.

They gaue their ſentence in the night time.

The ſilent *Ariopagitæ.*

The *Venetians* like to the *Athenians.*

Next vnto the *Græcians*, it would be ſeene what the *Latines* haue written of the *Ariopogitæ*. *Valerius Maximus* writing of them, ſaith thus. *In the ſelfe-ſame Citty was the moſt ſacred* Ariopago *Councell, who vſed to haue care of that which euery* Athenian *did, and vvith what recompences they ought to bee rewarded: That Men ſhould liue honeſtly, and be duely remembred, that they were to yeelde an account of their behauiour. The ſame Senate ordained, that euery good Cittizens head ſhould be adorned with a Crowne, and kept it as a contimall cuſtome, becauſe honour was the onely nutriment of vertue.* Theſe thinges beeing found in autenticall Writings, it may be credited, that ſuch as could not iudge well of thoſe times; did ſuffer their Wittes to wander elſe-where at randome. But as it appeared then, ſo ſtandes it cleare ſtill from all contradiction; that they were extraordinarily iuditious, and meerely Diuine. For *Cicero*, a Man of ſingular iudgement, would needes compare this Senate rather to GOD, Gouernour of the whole World, then to the *Romaine* Senate. For (ſaith he) *To deny that this World is gouerned without prouidence, is as if a Man ſhould ſay, that the Athenians were to be gouerned without the Councell of the Ariopagitæ.*

Valerius Maximus of the *Ariopagitæ, in Lib. 9.*

The honor of euery good Cittizen.

The words of *Cicero*, of the *Ariopagitæ.*

Concerning that which *Pliny* ſaith, in the ſeauenth Booke of his Naturall Hiſtory; to wit, *That the firſt caſes of Capitall Iudgements, came from Ariopago*; (eyther a Man ſo named, or the reaſon whereof the Sect tooke Name) therein I can perceiue very ſmall likelihood: becauſe it appeareth by al the Greek Authours, that *Solon* was the Man that ordained ſuch a Magiſtracy, and vſed ſome moderation (as is ſaid) which the *Epheti* formerly obſerued not.

Plin. in 2. Lib. Hiſt. Nat.

But it is very manifeſt, that *Draco* was before *Solon*, and ordayned ſuch ſeuere Lawes againſt Captiues & Bondſlaues, that, for the ſmalleſt matter of Theft,

Draco was before *Solon*, and wrote his lawes not in Inke, but in blood.

Theft, each man was punished Capitally, whereon grew a vulgar and common saying; *That Draco wrote not his Lawes with Inke, but with blood of men.* But, if any one shall alledge, that by this *Ariopago*, *Pliny* would seem to mean *Athens*, or that people, it cannot be graced with the least glimpse of trueth; because before the *Grecian* Empire, the state of the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Egyptians*, yea, & the *Sorians*, were ruinated, who, without imposing penalties vppon Captiues, could not haue stoode so long time, whereby it may appeare, that *Plinie* (in this point) speaketh not truely; which needs no wonderment, in regarde that himselfe being a Senatour, and much busied in the Negotiations of the Cõmon-weale, very hardly could hee win time, to set downe the realty of his own Collections. Concerning the authority of this Senate, euery thing is perfected by very sufficient Authors: yet one Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Aristocratia*, doeth speake thereof in amplest manner, and thereto I referre the more curious Reader.

An obiection against *Pliny*.

5 The Name of *Nomoteto*, or *Nomotheta*, comprehended many generations or kinds of Dignity, whereof I purpose to make some little Narration, before I proceed any further. I find (according to *Suidas*) that there were three *Nomoteti* among the *Athenians*; namely, *Draco*, *Solon*, and *Æschylus*; not the Famous Poet, but another born in *Athens*, and not made famous by any Authour. Moreouer, *Nomoteto*, or *Nemotheta*, signifieth a Law-Maker in any kinde whatsoeuer. And because the vocable or word, is answereable to the effect, the *Athenians* vnderstoode by *Nomoteto*, a thousand Cittizens congregated in a knot (as it were) together, who had absolute power, to cause the Lawes to be obserued, to ouer-see, change, and reforme them. These *Nomoteti* had authority to relate & discourse with the people, whether the lawes appointed, were pleasing to them, or no; and all questions were of no validity, if they were not first vnder-scribed by al the Magistrates of the *Nomoteti*. They vsed also to bee continually present, when Iudgement was giuen in graueste occasions: and if the actour or guilty person were not obedient to their sentence; hee had a pecuniary punishment imposed presently on him. This is all the opinion of *Pollucius*. But *Budeus*, seconded by *Demosthenes*, sheweth another matter, speaking much more largely in this case, and in what manner those Lawes were woont to be propounded; and therefore, wee will deliuer his owne words. *Demosthenes* makes mention, that *Solon* (among other things) thus ordained; *That when any Law was to be proposed to the people, it should first bee rehearsed by the Law-maker himselfe. Afterward, it should be written in some notable place of the Citty, where greatest concourse and frequentation was daily. Then, a publicke Notary must read it in open Parliament, to the end; that if any thing were then distasted, it might by them bee amended: but if it were liked, it was then deliuered to the* Nomoteti, *who lastly should approue it; which beeing done, then it was appointed to be obserued.* Thus saith *Budeus*, whose opinion, albeit it is most aparant, yet is it confirmed by the wordes of *Macrobius*, with this addition. *Rutillius* (saith he) *writeth, That the Romans erected a Market place, wherein the Countrey people, for eight dayes together, might dispatch their affairs. But the ninth day, forsaking al other businesse, they should come to Rome, and there, in the Market place likewise, they must listen to the Lawes, because there they should be declared in the presence of all the people.*

Budeus ex Demost. Orat. 3.

Macrobius cõcerning the words of *Rutillius*.

The Dignitiẽ of the *Nomoteti*, and signification of the name.

What the *Athenians* vnderstoode by the word *Nomoteto*.

6 The *Nomoteti*, were much different from the *Nomophilaci*, who had that name of keeping the Books of the laws, because, in vaine hadde the *Nomoteti* approued the Lawes; if they should not be put in practise, obserued, and iudged accordingly, which was the especiall charge of these *Nomophilaci*. *Cicero* doth elegantly expresse their Office, in the 3. Booke of Lawes. *The Grecians* (saith he) *verie diligently, so soone as they had created the* Nomophilaci, *not only obserued learning, but the actions of men likewise, and registred them among their Lawes.* In a second degree of Dignity, were these *Nomophilaci*, who vsed to wear on their heads a Linnen white Coife, after such manner, as the Dukes of *Venice* nowe a dayes do. Such honour did Antiquitie giue to the Commonweale, & so much did men then studie to preserue Good Lawes, because it is all one to haue no Lawes; as (hauing many) not to liue there-

Of the *Nomophilaci*, who had the written Bookes of lawes in their custody.

Cic. in lib. 3. de Leg.

The *Ariopagite* were carefull for the making & keeping of Lawes.

thereafter. The *Ariopagitæ* (at all times) were carefull for the making of Lawes, and likewise to haue them kept, which was a charge of great sanctity. Not any matter whatsoeuer, would admit one Office to intermeddle with another, except extreame vrgency so required. Because, one side heard the causes capitall in Offenders of the meaner sort; others afterward approued the sentence; others dealt in fiscall or penall occasions, and such like businesses. Neuertheless, all these partitions consisted of one & the same Senate, and were al members but of one body.

No Officers medled with one anothers businesse.

Our ancient predecessors, neither by long vse could grow so expert, or attain to such perfection, as to vnderstand (in what manner) one Magistrate must bee proposed to diuersity of occurrences; but chose seuerall degrees of Officers, which now adaies, one Senat is sufficiēt for alone. The criminall* *Quarantia*, or *Quarantana*, gouerning in *Venice*, is not much vnlike to that before rehersed, because they iudge of capitall delicts. But heere is the difference, that if any thing bee committed against the Commonwealth, against the Duke, against Religion or Nature (such as is the most abhominable sinne of *Sodomy*) immediately that order of Magistracy, called, * *Il Capode dieci*, do giue a decree for due punishment.

*The Magistracy of forty in Venice.

*The Magistracy in Venice, often.

Among the Turks, two men are elected by the Iudges, and sent for the gouernment of diuers Prouinces. These two are chosen from many other Learned, Discreet, and wisemen, and are named *Cadi-lescher*; to whom the Iudges are inforced to yeild a reason of their cariage in Iustice; and hauing misbehaued themselues, they are compelled to stand to their iudgement and sentence. If they Appeale, the Apealants are referred to the great Court, which they cal *Diuano*. But when reason in the case so requires, both the one and other Senat shal iudge therof, one of four Bashaes being there as President, and the chiefest men in authority also there present. This order of office, is answereable to that which (among the *French*) is onely done by the Chancellor, who may truly be tearmed the Laws auenger. Because he compelleth all other Iudges to obserue the lawes, & iudge accordingly: but if they

The Order amongst the Turkes.

The Chancellor among the French.

do the contrary, he either makes thē feel the Lawes penalty, or speakes with the great Counsell of *Fraunce*, who giueth them such reward, as is fitting for scelerous offenders, against the Magistrate.

7. After the *Ariopagitæ*, in dignitie, name and fame, a Counsel was elected of 500. men: of whome, such memorie liueth among the *Grecians*, that there was no Oration, or any cause whatsoeuer; but it caried a full tast of their commendation. This Counsell had power, to giue iudgement in Ciuill causes, and all actions that daily hapned betweene man and man. They were many times Lieutenants to the *Ariopagitæ*, and their number was the cause, that hardly any vices could be suffered. Now, in regard that so great a multitude of men, being assembled together all in one place, could yeild but slender execution of the charge committed to them: they deuided themselues into ten partitions, according to the number of the Tribes. Each seuerall number of fifty, had their dayes appointed for Iudgement and sitting, and had three and thirty daies assigned them; in which time, they were to dispatch their Office. This number of dayes ten times repeated, makes (according to the *Athenians* account) the Lunary yeare of three hundred and fifty dayes: But, by the reckoning of our Sunnes course, it exceedeth theirs more then fifteene dayes, and one Quadrant. Moreouer, by the ouer-abounding multitude of these fifties, election was made of ten, who were called Presidents, out of the which tenne, they chose seauen Weekly, and euery day, each man was a President, for expedition of needfull occasions; and euery Night he carried the Keyes of the Cittadell, to him that had been the day before President: but heereof we shal discourse more at large heereafter.

The Counsell of 500. men, & wherein consisted their Authority.

The 500 men altred into ten diuisions.

The Athenians yeare compared with our account.

When this number of fiue hundred hadde finished their Offices, the Name changed, and then they were called *Pritanij*, who, as many do oth affirme, had care of all kind of Corne; to receiue the Monies brought into the Exchequer; and to receiue pawnes or pledges of such as voluntarily offered them, beside other affaires of the like Nature. These *Pritanij*, with the Monies gathred in *deposito* from the litigious; paid the Iudges and

Pritanij were Presidents of the Athenian Senate.

and the best deseruers in the Commonwealth. If they were called so by place, then were they to render a reason therfore; and such, of whome the State deserued well, they were both honoured and maintained beside. *Cicero* is witnes hereof, in the first of his Oratour, and that this was great honor to the Commonweale; where speaking of *Socrates*, these are his wordes; *He was in* Athens *condemned for guilty, whose deceit or fraud appeared not to be capitall. The sentence cõming to be giuen, the Iudge would demaund of the offender, what punishment he immagined that his bad behauiour had deserued, as hoping to haue the crime confessed from his owne mouth. Hereupon,* Socrates *being asked what hee thought him to deserue, answered; That he deserued to be honoured and rewarded with ample guifts; moreouer, to haue a publicke liuing giuen him among the Pritanij, which honor (among the Grecians) was verie great*: Thus speaketh *Cicero.*

Ciccro in Prim Orat, lcq. de Socrat.

The Authority of the *Pritanij* in their Office.

These Officers vsed to examin Edicts, Decrees, and Lawes, and giue sentence in cases vnderstoode to the contrarie. Otherwise, without this care and prouidence, the people would easily haue bin drawne into suddaine reuolts, in regard that they oftentimes desired, yea, and approued such thinges as rerurned to their owne ruine, if the foresight of others, and especially of this Counsell, had not preuented them. First of all, by frequency of their office, they propounded all Edicts, which (as readily) were deliuered to the fifty men, in asmuch as a man should say; That whatsoeuer had bin by them approued, was in order to passe from them to the *Nomophilaci*; & they should cause them not onely to be published, but also to bee obserued. Moreouer, that man was very precisely noted; who (for peculiar pleasing of the people) had procured anie Lawe to stand in force, and not first brought it to the place where it ought to be amended.

Against such as made lawes to please common people.

This order of this Ciuill Magistracie, was subiect to yearely change, and their especiall charge, was, to curb the proud minded, and to haue care of the times of Warre, Peace, Truce, Entertainment of Ambassadors, and publication of Edicts. Their forme of writing was in this maner, according as the *Romaine* Consulles obserued: *Policles the Prince, sitting Iudge of the Commonwealth; of the Pandion Tribe, Demosthenes Peatoneus made the Decree*; and the man thus named, was an *Archonta*, of whose Authority we shall speak in his meet place, as also of the Tribe heere named of these fifty men, who were deriued out of the fiue hundred Gouernours of the Common-weale. The *Grecians* made their account, according to the *Olimpiades*; the *Musulmans*, after *Mahomet*; we, from Christ; the Iewes, from the beginning of the World; and euery Nation beginneth with his originall.

Their forme and manner of writing.

The seuerall yearely accounts.

8 Because euery day the number of Ciuill causes encreased, and the fifty men were not able to vndergo so great a burthen, therefore they elected (for their owne best helpe) foure and sortie Arbitrators, some by lot, and others by free election. These men, must haue past sixty yeares of age, and no way to be noted of any ignoble action, but reckoned of good and honest behauiour. They were constituted in a place, where the greater number of them might bee alway present, or readily called together, when contentions so required. And this was the manner of their Gouernment. The Plaintiffe and Offender shold make choise of these men, so many as him pleased: conditionally, that vpon their debating of the quarrel they were to finish it, or they to be punished, that wer disobedient to their sentence. Thus the party had double redresse, because, heere each cause was iudicially heard; wheras otherwise, the Apealant, going to the Ciuill Iudge, might haue had some delaying helpe in this cause. Such as were elected by Lot, were not so highly accounted of; not in regarde of their examinations, as because they might referre al matters to the Senates iudgements. The terme giuen to these men among the Ciuillians, was not so much Arbitratours, as Compromisers or Vmpiers in businesses. Only by such Monies as were to be laid down by the party, and adiudged to be paid, if he lost his cause. The *Grecians* in stead of Lots of Gold and Siluer, made vse of Beanes White and Blacke.

Of the Arbitraitors.

What age the Arbitratours were to be of.

The manner of their Authority in hearing their causes.

Arbitratours called Compromisers.

The *Zitteti*, who were as Inquisitors, did not much differ from the *Dieteti*, whose Office (according to *Iulius Pollucius*)

Of the *Zitteti*, and *Dietèti*.

cius) was, to search into the cause of matters, when they did not appeare to be plaine and manifest, and then they referred the truth of them to the Senate. In which kind of Office, amongest the *French*, they do daily make Election of Commissaries: And (in scelerous causes) they are appointed by the Iudges, be the matters Ciuill, or other Criminal. These Arbitrators wer made choise of as fit men for the place, if they hadde not committed any act of indignity, or had bin greeuously punished, or suffred shame in the company of others. Al religious or holy matters, wer handled among them with great reuerence and sanctity. *Pollucius* writeth, that they could not heare any cause, whose worth exceeded the value of ten Drammaes. When any case was transferred from them to some other Iudge; they wrote their mind in a little Table, with what Constitution had first by them bin Decreed, as well for the Plaintiffe as the Offender: and at the beginning of his suite, they receiued a Dramma of the Plaintiffe, which serued towardes payment of other inferiour causes in that Court.

How they were elected.

9 Let vs now speake of the Captaines of the Gallies, who were known by the name of *Trierarchi*, not that I attribute any great Fame to their dignity; but because the *Athenians* (in their Nauall affaires) did oftentimes repose especiall trust in them. Their iust number is not agreed on by any Authors, because according as necessity required, so their number increased or diminished. Only thus much is certainly known, that commonly twelue men had the main charge imposed on them; who, in the time of peace, had the gouernment of the *Arsenale*, where the Ships and Gallies were kept in store and reparation. In time of warre, they were obedient to these Captaines, with other Prefects or Commaunders: as the *Venetians* doe yet obserue to this day; for they create one Generall of absolute power, in Nature of a *Tribunes* Authority, which holdeth only in those places where hee conducteth the Army, but in the Citty he hath no rule at all. These Tribunes likewise were put in trust, to make new Shippes and Gallies, when the old were past vse, as also to gouerne them in their proper

Captaines of the Gallies, who were called *Trierarchi*.

Order obserued among the Venetians

faculties and expences, by account yeilded vp to the State; whereof the cheefest Senatours had the care, who euermore did foresee, whither the Common-wealth did suffer losse or no, by charge of the Army, when other prouision could not elswhere be made. Now to speake vprightly, this little belonged to the publicke Magistrate, and therefore was referred to a certaine number of Citizens; which custom (to this day) is obserued among the *Venetians*, necessity so requiring, because they pay by the Artezans. Not that themselues doo pay any thing, but that one or two trades, do pay the charges of one Gally, by which meanes they gather good store of Gold.

The care of the Chiefest Senators.

This kind of Office, waxing by little and little to decay, by the means of *Demosthenes*, grew to strength againe, hauing imposed a Law vpon such, as were to be elected to this charge, as is to bee seene in diuers places; & among others, in an Oration of his, against *Æschines*. *Behold you men of* Athens (saith he) *what benefit I haue brought to the administration of your Common-wealth, when I perceyued your Nauall affayres to grow weake, & your Cittizens (exempted from paying Tribute) hauing paid but little mony, and such as had the meaneſt faculties to be (in a manner) oppressed with the burthen; and thereby your State pittifully to decline. Then made I a Law, that Cittizens should pay according to a due taxation, such as (in reason) was iudged conuenient, and so deliuered poore men from those iniuries, which they had indured by former oppression.* And a little after, he speaketh more plainly. *By the first Constitution of the 16. Law, they vsed to pay together the charges of one Gally, burdning thereby, very litle (or nothing at all) such as were rich and able, but much oppressing poore Cittizens. But it is ordained by my Lawe, that the quality of euery person is to be reckoned: Whereby it appeared, that such as paide the tenth part for the expences of one Gally, might wholly satisfie the full charges of two. Whereupon ensued, that they woulde no longer be tearmed Trierarchi, but Contributors.* The Oration of this our Author, is euen all one with that in the *Androtione*, where all this action is at large declared. Nor is there any diuersity at al in that which formerly hath bin related, except that the *Pritanij* were woont to receiue

Demosthenes restored this decaying Office.

Demost. in Orat. cont. Aeschin.

Demosthenes his further addition.

The *Pritanij* receyued a Crowne of Gold, for their nauall seruice

to receiue a Crown of Gold, in reward of their vpright behauiour in the nauall businesse; which else by beeing ouermuch neglected, albeit euery such person were very diligent in all other Offices, yet this might haue bin despised, and quite ouerthrowne. The Latines called them *Trierarchi*, according to the Greeke word, as *Cicero* in his third action against *Verres*, deliuereth Testimony thereof, in this manner; *Of which matter thou heardst in the first action*, Charidemus Chio *witnesse, hee being then* Trierarchus, *and* Verres *departing from* Asia, *&c.*

Cic. 3. act. cont. Verres.

10. We read in *Pollucius*, that there were eleuen men called *Nomophylaci*, and *Hiparchi*, to wit; Presidents. *Tenne men* (saith hee) *were seuerally elected by one at a time, out of each Tribe, which number was encreased by the Chancellour, who made the eleuenth man.* Their Office was, to conuince such Theeues as remained in prisons, and other malefactors beside. If they could not winne the truth out of them, they sent them to other Tribunalles, where they were gladde to confesse their offences, and had their punnishments accordingly appointed. Whereon they were tearmed Iudges of punnishment, as at this day in *France* the Prouost Marshalles are called, who somewhat do resemble those men, that amongest the Turkes are named *Vainoda*. They can apprehend all manner of bad persons, and deliuer them into the hands of their neareste Iudges; but may impose no punnishment vppon them. Such were the Wardens or Captaines of the Night, thoroughout all *Gallia*, and in the *Venetian* Prouinces, and (as I haue heard) among al their people. The place where the eleuen sat in iudgment, was called *Nomophilacion*, which place had a Doore behind it, tearmed *Xironion*, out of which Doore, offenders were led vnto their punnishment: euen as in the Field the *Decumana* Gate was vsed, whereby they sent forth seditious Soldiours and captiues to be corrected and chastised.

Of eleuen mē called *Nomophilaci* and *Hiparchi*, as also of their office.

The Prouost Marshalles in France.

The Night Captaines in *Gallia*, and the *Venetian* Prouinces.

The Gate called *Decumana*.

Demosthenes, maketh mention of them, saying; *A man beeing fledde after a breach of prison, hee would goe vnto a certaine Woman, called* Lobia, *where formerly hee hadde beene allowed Entertainment, who hyding him, would tarry the first day, when the neerest person should come to serch for him, and make it openly knowne by Proclamation, that hee sought for a guiltie Offendour.* By this may be discerned, that the Delict being sodainely committed, they vsed to make as sodaine enquirie after the Malefactor to apprehend and take him.

The words of *Demosthenes*.

Hereuppon, *Suidas* doth take good note of these *Nomophilaci*, to bee verie much different from the first of that name; because they compelled the Iudges to liue according to the Written Lawes; and these did but binde, as it were, the common people thereunto. We will alledge one place more of *Demosthenes* in *Timocrates*. *If any man* (saith hee) *were conuicted of iniuring his Father, Mother, or for not hauing ended his charge in warre; or for abyding in any place, prohibited by the laws: the eleuen men hauing caused him to be apprehended, bound him, and committed him to* Elicia (*beeing the name of a place whereof we are to speake no more*) *where he was to be accused by whomesoeuer would, according to the Law.*

Difference by *Suidas* in the *Nomophilaci*.

Demosthen. in Timocrat.

11. Albeit these Presidents might well be ranked among the fiue hundred men; out of which number, they were vsually chosen: yet notwithstanding, because I haue followed the more part of their Magistrates, and they being all very honourable, I am the willinger to make perticular mention of them. Out of fiue hundred men, who were diuided into ten Tribes, fifty men were elected, and out of those fifty, ten men also chosen, among whom perticulerly cōsisted the absolute summity of the Commonweal. But haply some man may demand of me, after what maner he was to be elected, whose Vertues made him most cleare and commendable. I answer, that it was very easily done, as may bee discerned by the Venetians, who do first of all Constitute the Electours, as by lot they are called; and afterward, they put the names of them called, into an *Vrne*, and then take them foorth by publicke suffrages. When the Election is thus made, ten men are then chosen forth of the residue, by Lot, with silent sufferage, and with Beanes. These matters beeing carried in publique apparaunce, no man receyueth the reward of Vertue, till Iudgement dooth passe of him accordingly. Now, out of these tenne men

Often men, called Presidents, chosen out of the 500 men.

Example of the *Venetians*.

Seauen men, choſen out of ten, to be Preſidents.

men thus made choiſe of, ſeauen only may attaine to the Office of Preſidents: and ſo is the lot caſt among theſe tenne men, with ſuch vpright and due obſeruation, that the three remainants, can finde themſelues no way offended. And becauſe hee that ſitteth in the cheefeſt place of Magiſtracy, was vſually called *Preſect* and *Preſident*; al the reſt did participate in honor of the ſame title. They were carefully and eſpecially aduertiſed, that it was not lawfull for any man, to be twice in this Office, in one & the ſame yeare. When he ſat in his ſeate of Magiſtracy, hee had by him the Keyes of the Caſtle, of the Exchequer, and Counſell of the Common-weale. At what time ſoeuer the *Pritanij* called the Senate, they elected out of nine Tribes nine Preſidents: but out of that Tribe called *Pritanenſa*, whereof hee beeing then the chiefe, they vſed not to cal any other.

Nine Preſidents choſen out of nine Tribes, when the *Pritanij* cald the Senat

Among theſe nine, they had power to chooſe the next chiefe ſucceſſour, to whom the truſt of publick benefit ſhold bee committed. In his hearing cauſes, there was diligent care hadde, that nothing ſhould be left behinde, that either might inſtruct the cauſe it ſelfe, or make it more cleare to the Iudge.

Of the *Epiſtati* by *Iſeus* againſt *Elpagoras*.

Harpocration ſpeaketh the verie ſame of the *Epiſtati*, producing the ſaying of *Iſeus* againſt *Elpagoras*. *There were* (ſaith he) *in Athens, two Epiſtati: One in Lottery, elected by the body of the Pritanij, & the other by the Poedri*; of whoſe Office, *Ariſtotle* maketh declaration in his Politiks of the *Athenians*. Now to ſpeak vulgarly, that man was called *Epiſtato*, who was authorized & admitted to any Negotiations, as *Hiperides* hath very wel noted. Conuert wee now our ſpeeches from the *Epiſtati*, to the *Poedri*. The man called *Poedro*, was as head or Duke of the Weale-polliticke. His Dignity was verie ſufficient, and the full order thereof being comprehended by *Demoſthenes*, in an Oration of his againſt *Timocrates*, I thought good to ſet downe the wordes of the Law by him induceth, which beginneth in this manner. *The eleuenth day of the firſt Moneth, after that the Crier or Proclaimer had made it openly knowne, the people went with ſuffrages to approoue the Law. The formoſt part of them that ſhoulde deliuer their liking, were they who had bin preſent, when the ſaide Law had formerly bin allowed by the Counſell, and by the Senate. The ſecond, were ſuch as thoght meet to ſpeake againſt it. Theſe men, according as the Law was balloted, gaue it aſſignment. And if it hapned, that any tooke exceptions againſt this Law, which formerly had paſt approbation; the Pritanij, who then were in Office, were the laſt day of ballottation with the Senate about the matter, and the Poedri alſo might iudge in the ſame caſe. Afterward, they ſat downe according to their dignity; firſt, they that deſerud priority for Religion; ſecondly, they of the* Nomoteti. *Then they conſulted, from whence the Monies ſhould be collected, that was to bee deliuered to the* Nomoteti, *for their better attendance on the Common-weales affayres. Theſe* Nomoteti *were of their Order, that wore ſworne in* Elieia. *Then from* Elieia, *if the* Pritanij *held not the Senat according to the Lawe preſcribed, and if the* Poedrj *gouerned not according to reaſon and equitie: eath one of the* Pritanij *ſhould be punniſhed in a thouſand* Drammaes, *which they conſecrated to the Exchequer of* Pallas; *& the* Poedrj *ſhould giue foure hundered alſo to the ſame Goddeſſe, and the accuſer of thē preferred to the Office of the* Teſmoti. *Then he lookes, if any of the Magiſtracy are indebted to the publick eſtate; and the* Teſmoteti *conuincing them thereof, do forthwith commit them to priſon. If they refuſe to doe it, they are ſubiect to open note of infamie, and excluded out of the company of the* Ariopagiti, *as contemners of the Lawes Gouernement. Before the Senate aſſemble together, to render their ſuffrages, hee that will propound any Law, writes it at the place of the* Eponimj, *to the end, that according to their number, the people may haue time from the* Nomoteti, *to make firſt due examination thereof. And he that deſireth to introduce a new Law; not once onely, but euery day hee brings it to the* Eponimi, *vntill ſuch time as the Senate ſhall be aſſembled. The* Eponimi, *from the whole number of the* Athenians, *doe make election of fiue men, who haue the charge only to defend and maintain the Lawes.* Hitherto wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently of the Lawes. Then followeth the forme of their Oath, diſcourſed by the ſame Author after this manner:

Punniſhment inflicted on the *Pritanij & Poedri*.

The peoples priuiledge for examining the Lawes.

I will deliuer mine opinion, according to the Lawes of the Athenian *people, and the fiue hundred men of the Senate. By any fauour,*

The forme & order of their Oath.

Epiſtato was an Ouer-ſeer or Steward in any buſineſſe.

Of the *Poedro*.

Demoſt. in Orat cont. Timocrat.

nour, or helpe in me, Tyraunts, or the Gouernement of a few, shall neuer be admitted in the Common-wealth. Neuer will I take part with him, that hath corrupted the people of Athens, *or that shall intend it, or practise to compasse it. Neuer will I permit, that any New Tables shall be made, or any diuision of them already in credit; or diuision of the* Atticke *Fieldes, or of the houses. I will neuer reclaime any banished man, or him that is confined. I will graunt, that hee shall bee expulsed the Cittie, who shall denie to vse these Lawes, decreed in the Senat, and confirmed by the people of* Athens. *I will neuer permit nor suffer, that iniurie shall bee doone vnto any man. I will neuer constitute any Magistrate, to the end, that such a one, who hath not rendred an account of his passed Magistracie, may enter vppon some other Magisteriall office, eyther outr men, or of such as by the Beanes of the* Pocdri (*all which were great dignities*) *are not lawfully elected. Neither will I permit, that any man (in one and the same yeare) shall be twice chosen Magistrate, or hold two Magisteriall offices in one year. I will not receiue any Bribes or rewardes, nor suffer that anie other shall do the same. I am thirtie yeares aged. I will heare the accuser and the accused, without affection, and (without difference of person) will pronounce condemnation, knowing (without excuse) that the partie hath so deserued. I will sweare by* Ioue, *by* Neptune, *and by* Ceres, *who shall ruinate both me, my Family, and my Children, if I do not iustly obserue all the fore-recited clauses.* All this *Demosthenes* recordeth. Hauing now spoken sufficiently of the ten men, and their Office, let vs say somwhat of the Sufferages of the *Comitij Subdiali*.

12. *Iliaia* and *Iliasi*, were in *Athens* the greatest Tribunals, as *Harpocration* saieth, and there the publicke Iudges handled the causes both of the one side and other. They consisted of a thousand, or a thousand fiue hundred Cittizens, the very best men in all the Citty. Fiue hundred vsed to be in one place, a thousand in two iudgement places, and 1500. in three. *Iliasesse* was the name of the place, & *Iliasi* was the whole congregation in iudgment. *Lysias* vsed both these vocables to one signification. The interpretation (in the Oration against *Timocrates*) is in this manner: *Iliaia is the place of the great Senate, and so are the multitude of Iudges called, that there do yeeld a reason of their Office.* Others would haue the place to bee called *Dio*, that is; beneath the aire, because the *Grecians* tearmeth the heauens *Dion*. *Pollucius* is of the same opinion, and saith, *Iliaia was an assembly of fiue hundered Iudges; two, if a thousand; three, if a thousand fiue hundred.* They vsed two kinds of Ballots in their voices or suffrages, one whol & sound, the other bored and empty. By these, they absolued and condemned, affirmed and gainsayed. They had a vessel like vnto a Tunnel, whereby their suffrage passed thorow two pipes; one of Wood, & the other of Brasse, with which they approued and reprooued, according as we shall declare more amply, as time & place requireth. The interpretatiō heerof, in the Oration against *Timocrates*, is very diuers, because it is there saide, that insted of stone vessels, they vsed Beanes both white and blacke, for a kind of difference, as if one of the stone-vesselles were empty, and the other full; whereupon, this kind of electing Magistrates was tearmed, *By the Beane*. It is also sayd afterward, that *Pythagoras* commanded abstinence from Pease and Beanes, not in regard that they were Windie, and all things of like Nature; but rather, to signifye thereby, that hee which will liue quietly, without Ambition, and not bee opposed to the Baffulinges of Fortune, shoulde not trouble himselfe with Magistracy, nor seeke after Dignities, which are as slippery, as Beans are Windy,

13 One of the Tribes, were called *Apodectæ*, that is; *Questores*, or treasurers, so many as made vp the number of tenne. These *Questores* were such, as now adayes wee tearme Collectors, or Gatherers of Rents and Customes. The Grecians and the Latines did commonly call them *Eranistes*, as wee vulgarly entitle our Collectours of Subsidies, or such like. The charge of these *Apodectæ* streatched thus farre. Hauing receyued Letters from the State, (as like Election is made amongst the French, when they will Collect anie sums of Money of the Prouinces, for some important businesse of the kings) they bound such as wer indebted to the Common-weal, that they should make paiment according to like part of their

Against Plurality of Offices in one yeare.

The Goddes they swore by and seueritie of the Oath.

Of the *Comitij Subdiali*, an assembly as in Parliament.

Lysias an excellent Orator of Athens. *Demost. in Orat. cont. Timocrat.*

The order of their suffrages.

Demost. in Orat cont. Timocrat.

The opinion of *Pythagoras*.

Of *Questores*, called *Apodectæ*, Collectors or Gatherers of Rents, &c.

Comparison by the French

faculties. All the while as theſe monies were receiuing, the *Antigrapher* was ſtil preſent, to wit; the Comptroller, who (naming the ſummes) did ſet all downe in a Iournall or Day-booke, and at the receipt, wrote downe each mans payment, whereof heereafter we ſhal ſpeak more at large. The taxations which others (in reaſon) were to pay, were gathered by the *Logiſts*, and what remayned behind to the *Queſtores*, came afterward to the *Logiſts*. The account being caſt ouer, and ſom remnants remaining as vnpaide by any man; ſodaine order was taken, that ſo ſoone as hee was able, the remainder ſhould be paid. But, if it ſo chanced (as oftentimes in like caſes it fals out) that any brabling or ſtrife enſued on theſe Collections: the quarreller was forthwith broght before the Magiſtrates, called the nine men, & promiſing there to pay their iudgement, he ſhold be ſworn faithfully to do it. Heerin ſtood the difference of the *Apodectæ*, from other Officers, they onely had power to receiue, but not to compell any man thereto. This name or Title was much commended, as appeareth in the Booke of *Ariſtotles* World. According to theſe, the *Queſtores* of the Exchequer were ordained; the Captaines for the Wars; the Comptrollers for hunting. Then followed, the Receyuers of guifts, and ſuch as were like *Lombardes*, for ſupply of others neceſſities. The *Latines* tearmed them *Suſceptores*, that is; *Receiuers*. The like *Budeus* affirmeth, taking it from the Law-makers. But I imagine, that by *Receiuers*, they meant and vnderſtood, ſuch as entertained Theeues, and bad perſons, who oftentimes were bound to pay (in the Kings name) to the Exchequer, matters of greater moment or ſum, then any other beſide; and yet no way to helpe or relieue the King, nor the publick benefit, but to moue and increaſe terrour in the people, vnder the Kings name.

14. *The Logiſts* (ſaith *Harpocration*) *were ten men, elected out of the Tribes, to whom, all ſuch as had ended their Office of Magiſtracy (within thirty dayes of their authorities expiration) were to render an account of all ſuch occaſions, as they had then adminiſtration of in their charge. The Grecians named them* Logiſti, *and* Logiziſte. *Ariſtotle*, in his *Politicks of the Athenians*, agreeth with the ſame Author, adding: *That they were different from the Eutini, who were to heare other kinds of accountes*. The *Eutini* did ſit with the *Nine men*, or *Nine Princes*, making ſeizure of al ſuch benefits, as the Common-Wealth had bin defrauded of, after the finiſhing of their Magiſtracy. *There were in* Athens (ſaith *Pollucius*) *two Logiſts; one, that delt in the affayres of the Senate; the other, that was out of the Senate: And yet they both were elected by the Senate, to the end, that they ſhould ouer-ſee the whole adminiſtration of the Weale-publicke*. I am perſwaded, that inſted of two, *Pollucius* vnderſtood two ſortes of *Logiſts*; in regard that other Anthors haue Written, that there were many of them. And it is not poſſible, that they ſhould be but two onely, becauſe they were not able to heare ſo many cauſes: we may conceiue then, that he, ſpeaking only of two, inferred thereby the two Preſidents of that power.

This Office is in Fraunce in great reſpect, and belongeth to the buſineſſe of the Exchequer; and that whereof wee ſpeake in this place, is in *Paris* called the Chamber of accounts. Whereuppon, they who hold the chiefeſt dignitie, are tearmed Preſidents; they of the ſecond degree, are called Auditours; and they of the thirde, are ſtiled Clearkes of the Accounts.

Theſe *Logiſts* receiued the Bookes deliuerd them by the *Apodectæ*, or *Queſtores*, which they read in preſence of the Auditours, and of the Arithmeticians. They not only kept account of the Monies, but likewiſe of all other matters, that appertained vnto the Kinges Reuennue, ſetting all downe (according to the yeares multiplication) in ordinary Bookes, where they might bee ſooneſt found, and Faith made of the payment, to auoyd all ſtrife or diſſention, when the Monies publicke came to the receipt, or any other ocaſion whatſoeuer. In *Venice*, there are three men appointed to theſe accounts: and the Turkes likewiſe haue ſuch a Magiſtrate. They haue a *Baratemin*, Prefect or Gouernour of the expences, who (with foure other men) doth heare all the buſineſſe belonging to the Treaſury. It ſhall not varry much from our preſent purpoſe, to relate a little more of the *Logiſts*

Antigraphæus the Controller or keeper of Accounts.

The Collections of the *Logiſts*.

Againſt brablers, and contentious perſons in payments.

Liſt mund. Ari.

The ſubſequent Order of Officers following theſe.

Brokers or receiuers of ill gotten goods.

Of the Logiſts, to wit, Maſters of the accounts and reckonings.

Ariſt. in Polit. Athen.

Nine men termed Princes.

Two kinds of Logiſts in Athens.

An obiection againſt *Pollucius*.

How this Office is reſpected in France.

The Office of Logiſts in Athens.

The order among the Venetians and Turkes.

Eſchin. in Orat. cont. Demoſt. & Steſiphon.

Logiſtes Office, as it is ſet downe in the Oration of *Æſchines* againſt *Demoſthenes* and *Steſiphon*.

The ſacred Senate of the *Ariopagitæ*.

First of all (ſaith hee) *the Law commanded, that the moſt ſacred Senate of the* Ariopagitæ, *ſhould be written by the* Logiſts, *and that they ſhould not be exempted from yeelding vppe their accountes vnto them. And there you deſire* (O Athenians) *according to that written by your command, that the Logiſts ſhould bee Patrones of the venerable Senate.*

Next, your will and pleaſure is, that the fiue hundered men ſhall render them an account of their Magiſtracie: and ſo diſtruſtfull was the State of them, that hadde not rendered an account of their buſineſſe, that ſuddainely it muſt bee done. Nor might any ſuch Offender, depart the Land, vntill the Goodes to him belonging, were ſubiected to their power. Nay more, none might conſecrate any thing whatſoeuer vnto the Goddes, or bee manumiſed. In briefe, they might not haue any right or power of their owne faculties, for want of rendering their accountes, but ſtill ſhould ſtand in further Obligation to the Commonwealth.

But ſome one may Obiect; He that hath ſpent nothing for publique good, nor redeemed any man, was hee likewiſe to render a reaſon for his defalliance? I anſwere, no man could bee exempted, from yeilding vppe an account vnto the Citty, for matters of omiſsion, as well as of commiſsion. A little after he addeth, *Thou oughteſt* (O Demoſthenes) *to haue ſuffered the Common Proclaimer or Crier of the Logiſtes, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, to call for any that could accuſe the partie:* Such are the Words of *Eſchines*: vndoubtedly, if this Law were in force among vs, it would reueale the Thefts of Collectors, the fraud of Magiſtrates, the Deceipts of Rent-Gatherers, the corruption among Iudges, their priuate Fauours, and publicke Oppreſsions; if admittance might bee graunted of all Teſtimonies, punniſhing firſt falſe witneſſes with the loſſe of their heades. How many (thinke you) are by ſuch indirect meanes, euen torne in peeces, ſpoyled, and meerely robbed of their Goodes, that dare not make anie publique ſpeech thereof, but bite in their Oppreſſion with ſorrowfull and greeued harts, that no ſuch place of Iuſtice is permitted nor allowed, where they might freely accuſe ſo many miſchiefes and iniuries?

A further inferēce againſt *Demoſthenes*.

A good wiſh, but neuer to be expected.

15 Thoſe men, whom the *Grecians* tearmed *Antigraphi*, the Latines called *Cuſtodiæ*. Theſe were next in degree to them, of whom wee haue formerly diſcourſed, and Wrote downe the reckonings and Diuiſions in a Iournall; as Men amongeſt vs in publicke mannagements vſe to doo, eſpecially in matters of money.

Cuſtodiæ called by the Grecians *Antigraphi*

Æſchines ſaith; *At the firſt* (O Athenians) *the* Antigrapharians *were elected by ſuffrages, or voyces; and hee, at euerie meeting of the* Pritanij, *ſhoulde declare to the people what accounts were entred.*

Eſchin in Orat. cont. Demoſt.

Suidas ſaith; *That one* Antigrapher *was in the Senate, another in the publick adminiſtration*; which apeareth to be credible, by ſuch vſe of the like, as (now adaies) is made amongſt vs. Becauſe, in euery Court was a Notarie or Regiſter, that Wrote downe all thoſe thinges which the Iudges had pronounced. There was alſo another, who was *Cuſtos* of the Common Expences and Receipts. *But I cannot* (ſaith Suidas) *affirm, that there were three Notaries, as among the* Romaines, *who tearmed them Secretaries, that wrote the actions of the Senat, and preſerued them.*

The words of *Suidas*.

Notaries among the *Romaines* called Secretaries.

The *Grecians*, would haue euerie Tribe to haue one, which ſhould be very likely, for elſe, howe was it poſſible, that ſuch a burthen of the Common-Wealth, ariſing from the peoples often ſeditions, ſhold be comported by three Secretaries onely, conſidering, that the Iudges were ſo many, and ſo many ſeuerall Orders or degrees of them? *Æſchiens* addeth; *That the Notaries vvrote downe their Names in a Iournall, that had not formerly rendered an account* (*vnto the State*) *of the truſt repoſed in them*, which likewiſe is Concordant to our inſtant Obſeruation, in ſuch as holde high and eminent places.

A further addition of *Eſchines*.

16 Many write, that there were ten men, appointed as Tribunes of the common people, or heads of the tribes, who (as *Pollucius* affirmeth) ſucceeded in the place of the *Nacraroni*, and were in euery tribe twelue parts, and were each man called *Nacrarius*, to whome likewiſe theſe *Demarchi* were appointed. The *Nacrarij* were obliged, to yeelde an Account to the Common-weale,

Of the *Quæſtores*, called *Demarchi*, Rulers of the cōmon people.

The Office of the *Nacrarij*.

of their expences in the time of warre, for two Horſſes, and one Shippe. Of theſe *Nacrarij* there were an hundered and twenty, as many *Demarchi*, as many Shippes, and of horſes two hundred and forty, when the warre ſo required, beſide ſuch as wer maintained from the publick Treaſury. They had care for all ſuch things as appertained to the nauy, whereby they were much moleſtuous to poore people, in regard, that they payed ratably for buſineſſe of the Field, for Houſes, for Marchandizes, and for the Arts they profeſſed: and if they denied or refuſed to pay, they might amerce them to the very vttermoſt of the Debt. Now, becauſe the *Demarchi* (with leſſe offence to the people) might make Collection of them, they would Write of the Prouinces, and of the Atticke Fieldes, how many of them were barren, and how many fruitfull; how much each one poſſeſſed, and then gathered, according to the benefit and vſe of his Trade. After they had thus commanded their Monies, the ſecond office of the *Demarchi*, was, to ſet downe in a Iournall, all ſuch yong people, to whom (in regard of their yeares) it was lawful to allow ſucceſſion and Inheritaunce, which did redound to great commodity. If at any time there grew any queſtion about the age of any one (which only fell into the Magiſtrates guift, and to his allowance) preſently they ranne to the Iournall, wherein the birth of euery one was Written, and ſo cleared all doubting. Another benefit likewiſe thereby inſued, to wit; the continuall fit Election of yong men for the wars.

The Collections of the *Demarchi*.

The ſecond Office of the *Demarchi*.

17 There were ten *Ephtini* or *Creoſti*, redeemers of debts, iudiciall Hearers of ſuch cauſes, & Maiſters of compoſitions, to whom, becauſe others wer conſtrained to yeild a reaſon of all ſuch Occurrences, & the parties to ſet down euery thing vnder their owne hands, we cannot more aptly tearme them, then *Quæſtores* of Accounts vnder Hand-writing. Theſe being elected by nine principall men, euen in the greateſt calamity and buſineſſe of the Countrey; they increaſed diuers Cuſtomes, Toll-Gatherings, and Fines to the people, & redeemed many debts; by means wherof, they were called *Creoſti*, not becauſe they ſhould redeeme, but in regard that they had redeemed many. The ſums of Mony numbred by theſe Men, were deliuered in account to the *Logiſts*. They dealt in the affayres of the inferior Magiſtrates, and diſpoſed of all their Receipts, beſide the conſtituted penſions of the publique Chamber. They had the charge of all Ambaſſages, euen to their concluſion. A Notary vſed to attend on them, who ſhould acquaint them with the peoples names, and leauy their Tributes according to their power. And when any diſturbaunce happened among them, for any penalties impoſed; they would lead the Offenders to the Tribunall of the ſuperiour Iudges; and likewiſe ſuch as had not wherwith all to pay, according as *Iſocrates* maketh mention in his *Trapezitition*, towardes the end. The Scriuener or Notary thus attending them, kept account of the Corne, which was contributed by euery one, becauſe it was beſtowed in the publick Granary. They that had the diſtribution of this Corne, were called, *Silometre*; they that kept it in ſtore, *Sitophilaci*, and the place where it was kept, *Barophilachio*. They that had care to ſee it conuayed thoroughout all the Citty, *Sitoni*, or, *Maiſters of the Suſtenance*.

The charge of the *Ephtini* or *Creoſti*.

Iſocrat. in Trapezit.

The name of the Officers for Graine.

Quæſtores or Gouernours called *Ephtini*.

Their electiō was by nine principal men

The Venetians, doo make eſpeciall vſe of ſuch Magiſtrates; for there are ſome, that take the charge of bringing Corne from all partes; and thoſe men, are called moſt commonly by the people, Puruayers, or Prouiders of Graine. They haue power and Authority to ſee it ſafely kept, and to diſtribute it to two Magiſtrates appointed for Meale, who doth cauſe it to be ſold in two places; Namely, at Saint *Markes*, and at the *Rialto*, called the Store-Houſes, at much better rate then the Marchants will affoord. This is thus done, leaſt the Couetouſneſſe of many ſhould prey vppon the poore, and the Common-Wealth, and ſo to murder men by Famiſhment. Which thing, is ſo familiar and frequent in theſe our Dayes, that many times, for the thirſt of Gold, and coueting after a greater price for Corne: we may ſee it rotten and ſpoyld, and ſo much caſt away, or powred downe the Riuer, as might haue fed an hundred thouſand Men. Thus by the endeuor of theſe two men, they

Order obſerued among the Venetians for ſale of their Corne.

Much Corne oftentimes ſpoild by greedineſſe.

they haue ſtill abundance of graine, nor are the *Venetians* careleſſe of theſe Officers, albeit they are hemd in with the Sea: when the *Turkes* are as prouident euery way, although it be falſely giuen vs to vnderſtand, that they are vnskilful in ſuch matters of Magiſtracy. They haue their *Edili*, and Gouernors of Cities, whom they tearme *Sar Farin*, that is; the Cities Ruler: his eſpeciall charge is, that the people haue alwaies aboundance of Barley, and of other Corne, at reaſonable rate. In the Army alſo, the *Arpac Enim* takes care, that there bee good prouiſion of Barley for the Horſes.

Order for graine among the Turkes.

The *Romains* were ſo careful of their Corne affayres, and Husbandrie for Graine; that they brought it from the Riuer *Nilus* at publicke charge, and by that meanes conueyed ſuch abundance of Graine into *Alexandria*, that at length they brought it in like plentie to *Rome*, maintaining ſtill the Riuer at incredible expences. Moreouer, they made a Law, that if any one brake the bankes of *Nilus*, or any other bankes of ſuch riuers as they vſed, he was puniſhed very capitally. The Fields of *Bizantium* in *Affrica*, *Campania*, *Sicilia*, and all other places whatſoeuer, that yeilded any plenty of Corne, was ſo highly by them reſpected, that they honoured all ſuch parts with the name of Prouinces. Returne we now to the *Sitori*, who little differed from thoſe notaries or Scriueners, that I mentioned with the *Sitoni*, who were tearmed *Logographi*, or Writers of the accounts, becauſe they ſerued in place of the *Epigraphei*.

The care of the *Romaines* for corn, conuaying it from farre to *Rome*.

Writers of Pleas, & ſuites in law.

1ª. Hauing ſaide ſome-what of young men in the Office of the *Demarchi*, whoſe names were regiſtred in the Iournall, we will heere proceed therein a little further. Before they could haue any power in Hereditarie occaſions, for the ſpace of two yeares together, they muſt viſite all the neere Neighbouring Regions; as ſeeking to learne the exerciſe of Armes. And then, from the eighteenth yeare of their age (at which time they departed from the *Ephebie*) to the twentith; they were tearmed *Peripoli*, that is, Circuiters, or Wanderers; and *Ephebie* by their age, to wit; youthhood, and *Ephodi*, by the voyages they had gone.

Of the *Liſtarchici*, *Peripoli*, and *Ephebie*, in their ſeuerall degrees.

They were likewiſe called, *Chorias Epiſcopi*, that is; Inquiſitours of the Regions, not becauſe they were in any ſuch Magiſteriall Office, but in regarde that they (ſeeking after ſtrange occurrences) were skilfull in all places and wayes of the Regions.

Chorias Epiſcopi Inquiſitors of the Regions.

Two yeares being paſt, as in reward of their trauaile, they had the Title beſtowed on them of *Liſtarchi*, becauſe the *Grecians* ſaid, *Liſtn ech tu ligin*, left to the inheritance. The power of inheritance being graunted them, they tooke then this forme of Oath: *I will neuer become a ſhame to Armes. I will neuer forſake that Captaine, to vvhome I ſhall bee appointed in Seruice. For the honour of my Countrey, I vvill fight ſingle, or againſt manie. I vvill neuer doe any dammage vnto my Countrey. I vvill ſayle to any Countrey or Region, whereto I ſhall bee appointed. I vvill condiſcend vnto the Equitie of the eternall Iudges. I will bee obedient to the Sacraments alreadie receyued. If any man ſhall diſobey the Lawes, or ſeeke to Deface them, I will hinder him ſo much as lieth in me to do. Alone, or againſt many, I will be a reuenger of wrongs. I will alwaies honour the wiſe Gouernours of my Country.*

The oath taken by the young men.

Six men were thus named, and to them, power was giuen (at all times, when the Great Counſell Aſſembled) to Elect thirty other men, as Co-adiutours, all which; with a Thred, dipt in Vermillion Colour, marked all ſuch as were negligent in hearing the Lawes, or in comming vnto the Senate, and they were then ſeuerely punniſhed. Whereuppon, there grew a Prouerbe on ſuch as were in Office, more for fear of punniſhmenr, then loue to vertue, to wit; *Beware the halter dipt in red.* A generation of ſuch men, is almoſt in euery Citty, who will neuer vndergo any Office, except the lawes do compell them.

Six men, had power to elect thirtie other helpers.

A Prouerbe vſed by the Athenians.

19 There were nine principall Men, renowned in Athens, who could not be elected into that Office, if they had not firſt taken an Oath, that (both by father and Mother) they were Athenians begotten and borne, and well knowne to be ſo, by his Father, Grand-father, and great great Graund-father. They were likewiſe demaunded, if they were *Indigeni*, or had deriued their originall from any other people: as the Venetians do obſerue the like Courſe, to knowe

Nine men, who were called *Archonti*.

In matter of Religion, how they wer questioned and sworne.

the Natiue Children of Noblemen. In matter of Religion, they were questioned, if God *Ioue* were to them penetrale and tutelary, and *Apollo* their first Founder. In the course of their life spent already, they were demanded, if they had bin beneficiall to their Parents; if they had vndertaken Armes for their Countrey, and for the Altar; if they had atchieued honour in their Countrey deseruedly: All which being approoued, they were then admitted, but otherwise they might not. All these Questions were asked them by the *Ariopagiti*; and in the Porch of the Kings Pallace. This Oath being first taken, then this other followed. *That perpetually they should bee obedient to the Lawes: That a man shoulde neuer request any Statue of Golde, for the most beneficiall seruice hee could perfourme to his Countrey or Common-weale. That hee should not pursue the extreamity of Iustice, for any extraordinary benefit to himselfe.*

A second oath taken by the *Archonti*.

Hauing promised by Oath all these things, hee was brought from the Senate, into the *Acropolio*, a strong Tower belonging to the *Athenians*, where hee made freth replication of all the former promises. There is no great dissimilitude heerein, from him that is elected Captaine for the Nauie, belonging to the Senate of *Venice*, who vulgarly is called a Prouider or Purueyer. Heere onely is the difference, that this man is thus appointed, and hath care of all the Nauall Affayres, as also of Corne: And the other, vseth to administer the power of the Lawe. When they are thus brought vnto the strong Forte or Tower, although they be all elected *Archonti*; yet sixe of them are termed *Tesmoteti*: One, *Archon Eponimo*; a second, King; and the thirde, Captaine of the Souldiours *Polimarcho*, of whome, we shall heereafter speake more perticulerly.

Captaine of the Naual armie of Venice

Six *Tesmoteti*, onely named *Archonti*.

Of the *Eponimo*, and his office.

20 The Feasts of *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, and *Diana*, were Celebrated by the *Eponimo*. Hee heard the Differences betweene Wife and Husband, Kindered and Kindered, and appointed punnishment for such, as did iniurie each other by oddes, or excesse of aduantage. He had care of Orphanes, for whom hee made choyse of good and honest persons, to be as their Tutors, and to yeild a reason of the Legittimate, from such as were made heyres by institution. The *Grecians* vsed to tearme such men, *Chiron Epitopi*, that is; Defenders of widdows: but in saying *Traorphanon Epitropus*, it signifieth Tutors of Orphans, after they had regarded such Widdowes, as were left great with Childe at the Death of their Husbands. Their charge was, to bee respectiue of the *Posthumi*, Children borne after their Fathers decease, and that the Widdowes which were so deliuered, should bee cancelled out of the Iournall, and their Child-birth excused.

Chiron Epitopi, and *Traorphanon Epitropus*.

21 *Plinie* interprets him to bee a King, and chiefe Sacrifieer; Whereby we may affirme, that the *Romaines* not only imitated the *Grecians* in their laws; but also deriued their forme of gouernment (in Common-weale affairs) from them. And as this King vsed, as it were, to administer all sacred thinges; so was this name of King the chiefest and most eminent in Authority. The first dignity of his office, was, to haue especiall care, that the Sacrifices should be offered to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, according to accustomed vse, with the *Curatori* of the pastimes. In all their sports and delightes, the Athenians vsed to haue their Auditors, who not only (as I haue formerly noted) were Presidents of those sportes and feasts: but likewise out of their own properties, of meere liberality, and according to their faculties, would shape their expences, onely in regard of that name, to be chiefe in such occasions, & proposed the rewardes, partly of their own bounty, and partly of the publick. Concerning the charge of these Auditors, or *Coragi*, as the *Grecians* stiled thē, and the priuiledges belonging to them. *Demosthenes* discourseth at large in one of his Orations, where, if any bee desirous of more ample satisfaction, he may be fully resolued. For those men apointed the Feasts, in what maner they shold be doone, and on what charges they should consist.

Of the King, who was called *Sacrificulus*

The dignities of the Kinges Office.

Presidents of the Pastimes.

Demost. in Orat Athen. 4.

Three Feasts were obserued among the Athenians, wherein vse was made of Lampes and Fires, (viz:) to *Minerua*, to *Vulcane*, and to *Prometheus*. *Suidas* sayeth, that *Istrus* left in his Writings; *That the* Athenians *at making the Feast of* Vulcan, *did then imagine Lampes to*

The *Athenians* three Feasts.

The Feast of *Vulcan*.

to be very conuenient. In memory of which nouell inuention, they would neuer after ſacrifice their paſtimes to *Vulcan*, without the vſe of many Lamps. Moreouer, becauſe it added a great grace to the moſt prudent inuentreſſe of Arts, *Pallas*, and to *Prometheus*, firſt Fautor and Deuiſer of driuers Artes among Men: Lampes were eſpeciallie commaunded to be vſed in their Feaſts, and that their Succeſſours ſhould follow their ordination. The Sacrifices being ended, they iudged ſuch differences as happened among the Wraſtlers and others Sporters. Afterwards, they brought in their criminall cauſes before the Ariopagiticall Senate, and the Offendour before the Tribunal, laying by his Crowne atchieued in the games, he ſate down with the *Ariopagitæ*, and was the firſt to bee ſentenced, according to the fault committed. Then, they heard the cauſes of Animaters and Imboldners, according as harms had happened on the common wayes; iniuries done to Houſes, and ſuch like tranſgreſſions, and ſentence was deliuered as occaſion required.

The Feaſts of *Pallas* and *Prometheus*.

An offender, though honored, yet firſt ſentenced.

22 The third of theſe Princes, was the *Polimarcho*, which Title was declared by his Office, and whereto hee was by duty obliged. He was Preſident at all thinges ſacred to *Diana*, and *Mars* the God of Warre. Next to this, the *Polimarcho*, had charge of all the Combates fought in Liſts, and for the Countrey. There was then a moſt excellent cuſtome obſerued in *Athens*, that all ſuch as dyed in Warre for their Countries cauſe, their Names being enrouled in a Day-Book or *Iournall*; they were oftentimes celebrated with publique Feaſts, and then their names were openly recited, as alſo their actions performed with glory and perpetuall honour. When young Men fought combats, that manner of fight was tearmed *Epitaphicon*; that is, belonging to a Graue or Sepulcher: whereto thoſe young ſpirits went with enflamed affections, preferring the Weale-publique, before their priuate Welfare.

Of the *Polimarcho*, *Tribune* of the Souldiers, and his Offices.

An excellent cuſtome in *Athens*.

Young mens combats were called *Sepulchralis*.

Moreouer, the *Polimarcho* tooke account of ſuch verſes and Canzones, as were made in commendation of the dead, and the aſſured truth of them: Then did he giue them to young Men, and they ſhould ſing them at their publique paſtimes. They alwaies preſented to the Ariopagiticall Senate, ſuch as in War had gon out of order, or (for feare of perrill) fled away, and there required condemnation againſt them. In breefe, his Office was, to mannage all Military matters, and rurall buſineſſe. Many haue written, that he alſo kept the Keyes of the Citty Gates in the night time, and had eſpeciall care of all the Ports. Now, becauſe he had the full charge of Military occaſions, we will heere giue a little touch of the other Captaines of War.

Honor done to the dead.

Keyes of the Citty Gates kept in the night.

23 Next to the *Polimarcho*, followed two *Hipparchi*, Maiſters of the Horſe, to whom not onely all the Horſe-men were obedient, but the Army vniuerſally: otherwiſe, they would ſeuerely chaſtiſe the vnruly, and ſuch as made ſcorne of their commaund. They were heedefull alſo, that men ſhould keepe their rancke, and no one depart from the Captaine (of whom hee had once made election) without lawfull cauſe, or his eſpeciall licence, on paine of his Head: That order might be obſerued in food and rayment, and not immeaſurably any way exceeded: That no iniuries ſhould be done by them to the people; and other like matters, meete to be prohibited in Souldiers. Theſe men kept in order the *Centurions*, the *Capi-di-dieci*, & the vnder Souldiers. There were beſide in *Athens*, ten *Philarchi*; to wit, *Tribunes*, and Captaines of the Tribes.

Of Militarie officers, called *Hipparchi*, Maiſters of the Horſe.

An order for food and garments among Souldiers.

24 The *Teſmoteti* vſed to elect the Magiſtrates of the Horſe; beſide, their charge was, to ſee that the Iudges ſhold obſerue the conditions ſet downe in writing, and iudge according to the Lawes: As wee, inſtead of theſe men, haue our Atturnies and Aduocates. Out of accuſtomed times, they might cauſe the Senate to aſſemble, and at their pleaſure. How great the authority of theſe men was, & of what charge; the *Romaines* made ſufficient demonſtration, in that (among them) theſe Offices were allowed to the *Dictator*, *Conſull*, *Prætor*; yea, and the moſt important occaſions of the *Tribunes*, as well Military, as concerning the Common people. They were alſo to declare to the people, thoſe matters whereon the Senate had concluded. They were troubleſome to ſuch Magiſtrates, as had

Of the *Teſmoteti*, and their authority in ſeuerall affaires.

The Office of ſuch men among the *Romaines*.

had promulgated Lawes, which had not formerly been consented to by all; and vniuersally, they were Fathers and defenders of all the Lawes. Moreouer, it was their charge, to appoint punishment for false Witnesses, and to condemne the vniust Accuser; and yet to giue place to the Iudges, according to their honour.

Fathers and defenders of the Lawes.

25 Because our perfect intention may be the better vnderstood, I will recite the very words of *Demosthenes*, set downe in this manner. *Diuers are the benefits among you* (ô Athenians) *which no where else are to bee found: among which, verily the most sublime and cleerest, is, the Ariopagiticall Tribunall. Of whose praise, whosoeuer would vndertake to expresse the smallest part, he shall abound and exceede in such Copy of discourse, as nothing can bee more euident: In regard, that both by ancient and Moderne Testimony, it hath beene very plentifully handled; yet notwithstanding, I will not forbeare (for all that) to declare one thing recorded by Antiquity. It was the pleasure of the Gods, that in this place should be established iudgment of murder, and heere it is iudged, as it is framed.* Neptune *made Faith in this case, for his Sonne* Alirrhothius *against* Mars. *Twelue Gods did heere giue sentence, betweene Orestes and the Furies: but these are matters of Antiquity, let vs come to Moderne occasions. Such hath beene the reuerence helde and obserued to this Senate, and such the religious Faith; that no Tyrant in Oligarchy (which is the rule of a few potent persons) nor in* Democracy (*which exceedeth all other kindes of Gouernment*) *euer durst be so bold, as to take iudgement for Murderers from this place, & appoint it any where else. Againe (which is a matter most maruailous) that neuer was there found any guilty person conuicted, or accuser that preuailed not, that deseruedly appealed from their sentence.* These are the wordes of *Demosthenes*; and *Pausanias* confirmeth the very same in his *Atticks*. First of all, on the right hand, was the Kinges Porch, wherein the King yearely vsed to sit in his greatest pompe. *Harpocration* saith, in his first Oration of *Demosthenes*, thus; *There were three Kinges Porches. The first, of Ioue their deliuerer; The second, for the King, and continually vsed; The third, was adorned with variety of Figures.*

Of the Tribunals where causes were sentenced.

Iudgement against Murders, exampled by Antiquity and moderne occasions.

Demosthenes & *Pausanias* of one mind.

Harpocrat. in 1. Orat. de Demost.

Pausanias saith. *The Field of Mars, was so named, because Mars was there condemned, for hauing slaine* Alirrhothius; *and where Orestes was adiudged, for murdering his Mother. But he to escape the punnishment, instituted an Altar to Pallas, which he called the Altar of* Pallas Martia. Afterward he saith; *There are other Tribunals in* Athens, *but not so famous: As the Trigon, so called of the triangular Figure; And the Paranista, so named, because it was in an obscure place of the Citty, and frequented but by few.* But the cheefest of all, and where most plenty of persons might be assembled, was the *Ilieia*. The place where they sentenced Homicides, Poysoners, Parracides, and such like wickednesse, was called *Palladium*. In the *Pritanio*, the discourse on ciuil causes; so saith *Pausanias*. But returning to *Demosthenes*, he saith; *There was another* Palladium, *where all such were sentenced, as had committed Homicide against their will, or in defence of themselues, being inured.* In this place, albeit the Parents and Kindred of the dead pursued the cause; yet notwithstanding, they should haue no censure in the affliction: but the matter being made knowne to the Senate, they sent the party to a place of security, vntill the Parents and Friendes ceased further molestation. *Pollucius* saith; *That Troy being destroyed, the* Palladium *was transferred to* Athens *by the* Greekes. *But the Inhabitants of* Phalera, (*which Port ioyned neere to the* Pirea *of* Athens) *taking them to bee Enemies, threw them into the Sea. Acamath* saith; *That they were* Grecians, *who brought the simulacre of the Palladium, and called it* THE VNKNOVVNE ORACLE; *because they being alike in yeares, familiars and friends, were thus dead, and not knowne.* In which place, in memory of the accident, the Tribunall was made, and the sacred *Palladium*, where sentence was giuen for voluntary Murders, because the *Faleri-ans* killed them, not willingly, but in defence of their Countrey. *Demosthenes* addeth a third Tribunal, which was called *Delphinus*; where Iudgement was giuen on them that denied not the Homicide, but proued that they had done it vpon good occasion. *Pollucius* sheweth, that it was made by *Ægeus*, and thereon named *Apollo Delphinus*, and *Bellona Delphina*. The first Iudgement pro-

The saying of *Pausanias*.

Other Tribunals in *Athens*.

Trigon.
Paranista.

Ilicia.

The *Palladium*

Demost. in 1. Orat. ad Athen.
A second *Palladium.*

The words of *Pollucius* concerning the *Palladium.*

The saying of *Acomath.*

The vnknown Oracle.

A third Tribunall, called *Delphinus.*

Apollo Delphinus.
Bellona Delphina.

pronounced in this place, was on *Theseus*, when he dedicated the spoyles of the Theeues to the Goddes, not denying that he had slaine *Pallantius*; but approouing, that he did it to good intent, becauſe he ſhould not be hurtfull to the State of his Countrey, nor him.

A fourth Tribunall, called *Pritanio*.

The fourth Tribunall, according to *Demoſthenes*, was in the *Pritanio*, where theſe kind of caſes were handled (viz.) If a Man (paſſing along the way) were ſmitten eyther by a ſtone, a ball of Iron throwne at him, or any other ſenceleſſe thing, & the hurt done without knowledge of him that was the caſter: they did then argue coniecturally, by what Art or meanes they might beſt attaine to know the Offendour that acted the harme, or whether the party were the cauſe of his own iniury; either of which beeing made apparant by proofe, condemnation paſſed aunſwerable to the importance of the caſe. In the proceedings of this Tribunall, whereof the K. was the Head, the Councellours and Friends alſo of the King ſate with him there together, who, after inquiſition made of all coniectures, if the Author of the harme could not bee agreed on: they vſed preſently to rent and teare the Proceſſe in peeces, and caſt it into the Fire, or into the Sea, as a ſigne of punniſhment due to it. The fift Tribunall, was in a place, which they called, *The Well pit*, or Grauell pit; where, if a Man (after a Murder againſt his will done, & ſhould commit another willingly) came to his aunſwere; he was conſtrained to yeild a reaſon for the Fact. Then ſtanding on a Ship (as a Man vnworthy, depriued and exiled from his Countrey) not held by any Anker, Cable, Maſt, or Saile, hee was left to the mercy of his Fortune.

The King and his Councell.

A fifth Tribunall, called *The well pit*.

Of *Aſſeſſores*, called *Paredri*.

26 In their moſt ſollemne Iudgements, ſixe *Paredri* vſually were preſent, binarily choſen by each one of the three *Archonti*; whom *Suidas* affirmeth, that they were ſometime foure, according to *Ariſtotle* in his *Politickes*. It was very expedient, that theſe men ſhould be altogether of blameleſſe life, and thereof (before they might come among the other Iudges) they rendred a very ſeuere and ſtrict account, before fiue hundred men *Pritanij*, for the firſt time.

Ariſt. in Polit.

Men yeilde a ſtrict and ſeuere account of their liues.

The ſecond, was to the *Ariopagitæ*, euery man obiecting againſt them, what ſoeuer they could alleadge, and deliuering it in accuſation, to the *Comandadore*. The cauſe of ſo ſenere inquiſition, was, becauſe they were to manage matters of importance, and full of perrill, wherein was great need of extaordinary fidelity: As, in deliuering the Iudges ſentence, whereof, one word left out, changed, tranſported otherwiſe, or added vnto by the Notaries (who wrote very ſwiftly) might ouer-turne, or draw the ſentence into a quite contrary ſenſe, or (at leaſt) make it very farre off from the Iudges meaning. They were therefore ſet as Ouer-ſeers of the Notaries, to obſerue all pointes and virgulers, in tranſcripts deliuered to the Iudges.

The reaſon of ſo ſtrict ſeuerity.

27 The Clearkes vſed to note downe, and ſend for them that were elected by the Colonies, and Inhabitants of the Citty, or of ancient poſſeſſions among the *Athenians*, or newly purchaſed, but not made habitable, and then to deuide the Bounds, Territories of the Countrey, and iuriſdiction of each Citty, according to the lot of euery man, after they were vnable for further ſeruice. And heereon was the word *Clearke* formed; to wit, to diſtribute to them the lot of their allowance. It was obſerued as a cuſtome among them, that ſuch as were deſtitute of Goods and Houſes, (which very quickly was knowne by diligence of the *Ariopagitæ*) and had ſuſtained ſuch loſſe by imployment in the Warres: the Common Purſſe allowed ſo much Mony as the iourney required, and then they were ſent to the remoteſt Citties, naked or needing ſtore of Inhabitants, or elſe to ſome other conuenient parts adioyning, where the Country maintained them all the reſt of their life time.

Of Clearkes, cald Captains ouer the Colonies.

A meere allowance for maimed Souldiers in theſe daies.

28 There were ten Diſpenſers, or Stewardes of the publique Treaſurie, who (in preſence of the Senators) from that Treaſury that was vſually kept in the *Palladium*, tooke ſo much as was neceſſary for publique vſe: eſpecially, for preſeruing the Nauy in good order, and all prouiſion for the Sea; for heereon, (as had beene many times obſerued) depended the ſafety, not onely of *Athens*, but of all *Greece* beſide. Of two Ships, of wonderfull greatneſſe by publique Name, they had moſt eſpeciall and prouident

Guardians of the publique Exchequer or Treaſury, called *Tamiæ*.

uident care: The one of them was called * *Faralos*; and the other *Ammon*. Beside, the fore-named dispensations, they were wont (in returning to the Senate, with publique Supplications) to beare the Golden Image of *Pallas*, the Signals of victory, formerly giuen to their Captaines, and other ornaments of sacred thinges: which I read, was onely done by them, whom the *Grecians* vsed to tearme *Calachierta*, *Ephori Calachierta*, *Ephori Philacas*, and such like. But *Harpocration* affirmeth, that the words are all of equall Dignity, and that the Men were so called, becausse they placed, preserued, carried abroad, and husbanded all such businesse.

The Interpreter of *Demosthenes* Oration against *Timocrates*, saith; that there was a place in the hinder part of the *Cittadell*, which they called *Acropolis*: and of that place they were named *Opistodomo*, and *Tamicon*, becausse all the Money of the Churches was there kept. Yet afterward it happened, that all the vsury Money was found wanting there, by meanes of the said *Guardians*: becausse they that were then *Tamij*, burned the Treasury, to the ende that their Theft might not appeare, nor their slender care bee discerned. *Demosthenes* in his third *Philippicke*, calleth them publique Preseruers, whom we vulgarly vse to tearme Treasurers of spare, or Treasurers onely; hee calleth them beside, *Moristi Tamia*.

29 In speaking of these *Tamij*, it puts me in mind of the *Hellinomij*, whose office was, to preserue and administer such Monies, as were collected from those partes of *Greece*, that were vnder the *Athenian* Empire. The like also might they doe of sacred thinges, and of all taxations and Tributes; they vsed also to gather and summe vp the profits of the Islands. The *Greeke* Authours, in rendring a reason for this Name, doe say; that after the King of *Persia* was vanquished by the *Athenians*, in a Warre vppon the Sea; they, to preserue their Empire the more diligently (becausse suddainely, well neere all the *Grecians* exalted their courages, after such calamity and miserable slaughter as they had long suffered) commaunded; that all in generall should pay Tribute, toward the great charges of that Nauall Warre, whereby the Countries common Enemye was happily foyled. Heereupon, the greater part of the expences was quickly collected, and therfore they were called *Hellinotamij*, as much to say, as Chamberlains of *Grecia*.

33 There were others, tearmed *Hellanodici*, who gathered such Monies, as were giuen in the name of sacred vse, and afterward consigned to the *Choragi*, for the charge of Sacrifices, as also the sports of the Citty. This was collected of the citizens & inhabitants of *Athens*.

31 The *Ginæconomi*, were Men that deliberated on the Ornaments for Gentle-women, and afterward for all other women; to the end, that no one might weare any thing vnbeseeming her degree, but ech one be adorned according to her quality: imposing also a pecuniary penalty, on such as durst doe otherwise, and the infliction was asspeedy, as they were ready to offend the Law by them appointed. There was also a Law for Women, prouided by a Son of the Emperor *Phillips*, by which Law, if any walked dishonestly, they were quicklie fined at a thousand Drammaes: *Pollucius* affirmeth, that afterward they fell to twenty. The Signeury of *Venice*, in some passed yeares, perceiuing the intollerable expences laide out in Ornaments for women, and that thence arose and increased (beyond measure) the danger of their condition: ordained, that no Woman, were she of Noble blood, or a Cittizen, Maide, or Wife, should dare to be seene in publike, with a Garment of Silke; except on the day of mariage, and such as shold go to mariages, or solemne inuitations. For, before this restraint, many, of very meane quality, would equall themselues with a Queen in pomp. They appointed, ouer and beside this good Lawe, that they should weare no Chaines of Golde, adorned with Gems; no Carcanets, or Girdles: and the Magistrates then in office, compelled thē to obseruation hereof, according to the Law in that case prouided. I doe not tell yee, how meete and necessary this Law was, becausse I know, that there are many, who ouer-abounding in a vaine custome, will lay on their backs, and on the Garments of their Wiues & Children; almost their own wealth; yea, of others beside, houses, dignities, or whatsoeuer (in this vaine humour)

* The Shippe that yearely went to *Delos*, to sacrifice to *Apollo*.

Calachierta, *Ephori Calachierta*, *Ephori Philacas*.

Demost. Orat. 3. in Timocrat.

Opistodomo and *Tamicon*.

Demost in Phil. 3.

Hellinotamij, or Chamberlaines.

The King of *Persia* foyled by the *Athenians*.

Hellanodici.

Chorāgi.

Ginæconomi, who were to order the apparrell for Women.

A Law for wo mens walking

The *Venetians* order for womens ornaments.

Meane persons equalled Queenes in pompe.

A common folly in these dayes.

a Man can procure from any place, or otherwiſe vſurpe.

Of Feaſts and meetings.

It was the cuſtome of theſe *Gineconomi*, to haue a care of Feaſts & meetings, if they were aunſwerable to the Lawes therefore appointed; and to note the number of the Gueſts: *Timocles* in his *Philodicaſte*, leaues it ſo written, adding withall. *Open* (ſaith he) *your doores, to the end we may be the better noted of you, & you of vs: then the Gineconomi paſſing along, do obſerue who are the inuited, and how many are in old or nouell faſhions.* Moreouer, he addeth, that *Philochorus*, in the ſeauenth of his *Atticks*, ſaith; *The Gineconomi, with the Ariopagitæ, tooke obſeruation of Mens company in euery houſe; likewiſe at Weddings, and at the Sacrifices; becauſe there they vſed to excede in apparrell, diet and drinking.* *Athenæus* ſaith; *I cannot conſent with Plato, concerning the number of inuited Gueſts; becauſe he will haue no more to be at a Wedding, but ten perſons; fiue men, and as many Women.* But the one wrote of things that happened, and the other but imagined, as in like manner is all his Common-wealth.

Timocles in Philodicaſt.

Philoch. in Attic. ſcpt.

Athenæus cont. Plato.

32 Thoſe men, who by ſome Authors are called *Inotti*; to wit, obſeruers of Wine; *Plato* in his feigned Common-wealth, tearmeth them *Mnamonas*, I thinke, becauſe they recorded the Lawes. For, as the *Gineconomi* (as wee haue already ſaid) compelled the determination for Womens Ornamens, the number of gueſts; and the order of their Viands: ſo theſe other in like manner, impoſed Lawes for Wine, that if any one dranke more then needed, beeing thereof conuicted, he ſhould learne the better at another time to drinke leſſe. But, how many times their Elders vſed to drinke, is not declared, neither doth it much import to ſpeake it: becauſe regard is more to be had of nature, then number. But in this caſe, if any one be deſirous to know the vſe of diuers people; let him read the tenne and eleauen Bookes of *Athenæus* his *Dinoſophiſts*, where almoſt nothing elſe is diſcourſed. Theſe *Inotti* among the *Athenians* (as *Eupolis* the Poet faithfully deliuereth in his *Polixena*) were neuer ſeene in company of the Souldiers, nor they with them. *O Citty, Citty, how delicate wouldſt thou appeare, and how much better for thee, if thou wert ſtill ſo prouident?* So ſpake *Athenæus*. Out of which words *Eupolis* comprehended, that our elders vſed to elect their Souldiers of ſuch ſobriety, and ſo ſlender drinkers, as they needed no Ouer-ſeers for their Wine; how greatly ſoeuer their number encreaſed. The *Grecians* were ſuch ſollemne Drinkers, that there grew a Prouerbe of them, to wit; * *Pergræcari*. Good proofe was hereof among the *Macedons*, *Thracians*, *Dacians*, *Miſians*, and *Dalmatians*; yea, among the *Dutch* and *French*, for their Warres fell out vnluckily, when Wine and Women were ouer-much frequented, but neuer enſued any harme by mediocrity and abſtinence; but returne we again to *Athenæus*. *Theſe Inotti* (ſaith he) *obſerued whatſoeuer was done at banquets, and if they dranke alwaies equally.* He was an inferior Magiſtrate, ſaith *Pliny* the Rhetoritian, of the *Crocanidi* diſcipline. There were three in number, who were cald *Optalmi*; becauſe when they gaue admonition, they did thereby awake the eyes of the minde, which (by too much Wine) were loſt and vtterly dazeled before.

Conuiction of ſuch as drinke more Wine then was neceſſary.

Inotti, ouerſeers of wine.

What election ſhould be made of Souldiers.

*Riotous in drinking, eating, &c.

Athenæus vbi ſup.

Plin. Rhetor.

Optalmi, and their office.

33 In *Athens* there were ten *Curatores*, or Prouiders, belonging to the Pallace, who appointed the prices of all thinges, that they might be brought, not according to the will of the Seller; but aunſwerable to iuſt and honeſt valuation: regarding withall, that in ſtead of good thinges, bad might not bee paſt away. Moreouer, they had charge, that no Cittizen ſhould engroſſe more Wine or Corne, then was conuenient for his vſe. And all ſuch Graine, as exceeded the Citties daily vſe, ſhould be conuayed to meet places, in the name publike, and there ſold for iuſt price, although there were neuer ſo great dearth or ſcarſity.

Curatores or Purueyers of the Pallace, for the ſale of victuals.

34 They had Byſhops alſo, to whom the care of the Prouinces affairs appertained, and beeing appointed as Arbitratours thorough all the Prouinces; they inquired after contentions, publike wrongs, and iniuries to iuriſdictions. If any one went againſt their ordination; they gaue ſentence againſt him, whereto he muſt be as obedient, as if it had beene giuen by the cheefeſt Magiſtrate. They were likewiſe called, *Actatores*, *Guardians*, and *Prefects*, and of the *Greeks*, *Ephori*: which word *Cicero* vſeth in the firſt

Of their Byſhops, who were arbitratours in ſtrifes & contentions

Athenæus in Dinoſo phiſt. Lib. 10. 11.

Eupolis in Polixin.

of

Cicero. in Tusc. Quest. 1.

of his *Tusculane Questions. A certaine Lacedemonian* (saith he) *whose name was not knowne, contemned Death in such manner, that (being condemned by the Ephori) as he was led to death; hee shewed a cheerefull and merry countenance. Whereupon, one of his Enemies said vnto him: Doest thou despise the Law, &c.* The word was also vsed among the *Ciuilians*. *Cicero* in another place, saith; *I am president in a businesse of no great disturbance, because Pompey wils, that I shall be Byshop of all Campania, &c.* For their diligence in more high speculations, Christians haue made the Name Ecclesiasticall, and giuen it to the chiefest members of the Church.

Cicero. in Epist. ad Attic.

CHAP. V.

In which of all the Heauens, God is said to haue his abiding.

The Authors alteration to a contrary argument.

FOr bearing awhile, to wade any further in description of those ancient Commonweales, and that variety of reading may yeild the more delectation; we will alter our present subiect to a higher straine, and speake of matter much more remarkable. Already haue wee (in the beginning of the first Book) discoursed of God, his Creation of the World, and other occasions of like Argument: In this place we intend to speake of the seueral Heauens, and in which of them it is said that God hath his abiding. Before the Incarnation of our Lord Iesus Christ, and till he had taught, by that incomparable prayer, which we call the Lords Prayer, that his Father, and ours likewise, by his ineffable mercy, dwelt in the Heauens, and aboue them all: the Philosophers, as *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Aristotle*, *Democritus*, and others since then, learned Christian Diuines; as *Dionisius Ariopagita*, learned *Thomas Aquinas*, ingenious *Scotus*, & the latest in our time with *Tithelmanus*, haue all giuen vs assurance by their writings, that there are many Heauens, amounting to the number of eleauen. Now, in regard that diuers men, being slenderly acquainted with holy Histories, doe not know in which

God is to be sought in Heauen.

Philosophers and Diuines haue numbred nine Heauens.

of those Heauens God hath constituted his Throne (albeit he is euery where by his presence, Essence, and power) I will briefely speake thereof, to the end, that in their Prayers and Contemplations, they may seek after him with more loue and respect.

The diuision of the Philosophers, concerning the Heauens according to the Planets.

The Philosophers deuided the Celestiall Region, as they did the Elementary, alleadging, that there are eleauen: of which, the first Heauen (beginning at the most inferiour) containeth but one Starre or Planet, which is the Moone, and seemeth very great to vs, because it is the neerest vnto vs. The second, is that called of *Mercury*; The third, of *Venus*; The fourth, of *Soll*, or the *Sunne*, which the experteſt Mathematitians write, to exceede the whole Earth in greatnesse an hundred sixty sixe times. The fift, of *Mars*; The sixt, of *Iupiter*; The seauenth, of *Saturne*. All these seauen Heauens haue each of them but one Starre or Planet (as wee haue saide) bearing the Name of each, and they are called errant or wandering Starres, because they keepe not alwaies one scituation, neyther are equally distant one from another; but one while they draw neere; another while, are farre asunder; sometimes that goes before, which at another time comes after. At his eleuation, it will be neere to another, according as the Spheares turne themselues, violently or slowly.

Errant and wandring Stars or Planets.

The seauen Heauens cannot be seene aboue each other.

That it cannot bee any way likely, that these seauen Heauens (with their Planets) should be seene the one aboue the other, is manifestly to be prooued; because that sometimes the inferiour doe so hinder, that no sight can be had of the Superiour. As may be discerned almost euery yeare, in the Eclipse of the Sunne: for the Sunne Eclipsed by the Moone, looseth a great part of his light, the Moone being then directly opposite. Next to the Heauen of *Saturne*, and much aboue him, there is another, called the Firmament, all filled with Starres, not numberable to Men, and they are tearmed fixed, because they are seene euermore to keepe one order, and are constant in their scituation. That it is so, wee are assured by the Prophet *Dauid*, who saith; *What is he that can number the Stars of Heauen, or can call them by their names?*

The Firmament heauen.

Psalme 147.

Aboue

The Christaline Heauen.

Aboue the Firmament, is the Heauen Christaline, or watry, which learned men are of the minde, that it was created by God aboue the other Heauens; to the end that it might mitigate the great heat, which the other Heauens acquired by their motion, and by the Stars being in them. Of this opinion was *Ptolomy*, *Alphraganus*, and others; yea, holy writ maketh mention thereof, where it is affirmed, that the Creatour said; *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the Waters.* Then afterward followeth. *And the Firmament was in the midst of the Waters which was beneath.* And the Psalmist singeth in another place: *Praise God all ye Heauens, and ye waters that be aboue the Heauens.*

Gene. 1.

Againe, more high then the Christaline or watry Heauen, is another Heauen, called the mouing Heauen, which hath no Stars, no more then the Christaline; but his office is, to turne it selfe (Spherically) from the East to the west, by the South, which he dooth in foure and twenty houres; and by his strength and great velocity, he maketh all the other subiacent Heauens for to turne about.

The mouing Heauen, and the office thereof.

Moreouer, aboue all these fore-named ten Heauens, the recited Philosophers and Diuines, do tell vs, that there is yet another Heauen, exempt from all locall motion, & is before all that which can be called the World: filled with infinite intelligences, and most happy spirits, that were created all in one place, and thereto deputed for the glory of God. This Heauen, incomprehensible in greatnesse, and much more then all the other (as including them all within his center and concauity) is abounding in lights: wherefore the *Grecians* called it *Empyrium*; that is, fiery, or shining in great brightnesse. Not that it burneth like the Fire; but by similitude, because the fire yeildeth a splendour, and so is this Heauen illumined with a most glorious light. This is the Seat of God, as his Pallace, where he is said particularly to dwell; because that there his will is fulfilled, and the obedience of the Angels and blessed Spirits is perfect. Or else, in regard that there more particularly, he worketh, as S. *Augustine* saith in his fifty seauen Epistle to *Dardanum*: where al the blessed Spirits are present, contemplating the face of God, the brightnesse whereof, our eies are not able to endure, no more then the Owle can the glorious Sunne, and there is no true or perfect light indeede, but that which proceedeth from him onely.

The eleuenth Heauen, cald *Cœlum Empyrium.*

Why called *Cœlum Empyrium.*

August. in Epist 57 at Dardanum.

There are some that doubt, what the action of this *Cœlum Empyrium* is, saying; it hath no power ouer the inferior Spheres, or bodies infinite, and that it was not created for the gouernment or disposition of natural things; but only for the Throne of God, and habitation of the Elect: holding it very vnfitting, that so precious a dwelling for GOD, should serue for corruptible Creatures, and for this bodily World. Others maintaine the contrary, that it is eternall, and that, by this Heauen, inferior matters haue the longer continuance, and are the better entertained in their due order.

Diuers opinions of the action of this *Cœlum Empyrium.*

Moreouer, although it should exceede all the other Heauens in height; yet are our Prayers carried thither. For Saint *Paule* saith, *That the briefest Prayer pierceth Heauen.* And the most faithfull Euangelists haue written, that the Apostles and Disciples beheld Iesus Christ visibly ascend vp into Heauen. As much to say, as that hee passed thorow those ten Heauens, and attained vnto the eleauenth, where his Father abideth. Saint *Paule* also saith; *That hee was rapt vp into the third Heauen.* S. *Luke* the Euangelist, and a Phisition, writeth, that blessed *Stephen* saw (a little before his death) al the Heauens opened to his bodily eyes, euen vnto *Cœlum Empyrium*, and it also, where the Diuine Maiesty raigned in Trinity.

1 Cor. 10.

Marke 11.

2 Cor. 9.

Actes 7.

CHAP. VI.

Of the error committed by the ancient Mathematicians and Astrologers, yea, and such as haue continued to this day: in calling the Planets by diabolicall names, and attributing a Diuinity to them.

IN our precedent Chapter, discoursing of the Heauens, with their Starres and Planets; I call to minde, that auncient Mathematicians, and

The Heauens called by the Planets.

other of much latter continuance, imposed deuillish names on them; to wit, the Heauen and Planet of *Saturne*, of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and so of the rest. Euery one knoweth, that Deuils (in elder times) made themselues to bee adored vnder these Names. They committed yet a much greater errour, in giuing the people to vnderstand, that those Stars, Planets, or Celestiall Figures, had such power ouer inferiour Bodies: as that they were the onely cause, of all good or euill happening to vs in this World. For example. To the Planet named *Saturne*, they attributed sterility and mortality. To *Iupiter*, happy times, and the beginning of life. To *Mars*, the cause of all debates, garboiles and Warre. To *Sol*, Riches and Treasures. To *Venus*, loues and marriages. To *Mercury*, eloquence and knowledge. To *Luna*, the Empire and commaund ouer humide matters. And God (in all these thinges) was counted as nothing, but euen as the figure (o) filling vp an empty place.

The Planets said to be Deities by the power each of them had.

An obiection concerning the Moone.

Some Man (perhaps) will say vnto me, that apparantly by the Moone, according to the estate and quadrature of her Body; the Sea hath his fluxe and refluxe. That the braine and Marrowe in the Bones of Creatures (she beeing in her full) is much more repleniſhed, then in her Quadrature or Waine. I aunswere, that the Moone is a Starre or Planet; yea, a body insensible, that is no way animate, neyther hath any power of her selfe, but onely what God hath imposed and permitted.

The Answer.

The Moone hath no more Deitie then the water.

Moreouer, that in her there is no Deity, no more then in the Water, which being very moyst of it selfe, washeth foule Cloathes, nourisheth Fishes, and yeildeth many other great commodities, and yet (for all this) is no Goddesse. But like as if a man should make a good fire in some publike place, in a very cold and frosty time, and many comming thither to warme themselues, feeling their chilnesse well asswaged; should they (for this kindnesse) giue thankes to the fire, or rather to him that made it, or caused it to be made?

All power only dependeth in God.

Euen so it is of the Planets, for they haue no power at all, eyther to make vs Wise, Rich, Poore, Warriours, Vertuous, Vicious, or what else: but all these depend on God onely, who hath made Man in his owne Image, and limitted his good or euill, neyther to star or Planet. Now, by reason of this fond error in Mathematicians, I haue seene many Maidens, of good and honourable descent, who hauing been ouer curiously educated fell the sooner to folly, making ship-wracke of modesty, honesty, and all. I haue noted men likewise of as loose conuersation: yet both these Sexes, to couer their turpitude, haue not shamed to stand in defence of their lewdnesse, protesting it to be vnauoydable, in regard that Mathematicians had giuen them to vnderstand; that they were conceiued, and borne vnder such Planets, as had incited them to such euils, and therefore they could not (albeit they had neuer so much good will thereto) retire from committing such sin, but needs must still persist therein. Are not these faire Fruits of your Iudiciary Astrology? Let me boldly tell ye, that God, being wholly iust, hath (to your shame) prepared a Hell, to chastise such wickednesse in Men, as will haue good and euil to depend on the Planets power.

A most wicked opinion of Mathematicians, which hath been the ruine of many men and Women.

From whence we must fetch our truest predictions.

Deut. 28.

But true Mathematicall Prædictions indeed, are to be deriued from the word of God, according as wee are enstructed in the sacred Scriptures, saying; *Then doth he loue his people, when they haue obserued his Commaundements; yea, then shall they haue aboundance of Fruites, and the seasons shall beare themselues well in their qualities; whereon the health of men consisteth, and they shall liue in peace*, with many other blessings besides. But when men shall go away from his commaundements, all euils shall befall them; and this a most assured prædiction.

Correct. Tacitus. Tranquillus. Lib. 8. Cap. 38.

The Christian Church, not onely (at all times) held Iudicary Astrology in detestation; but euen the *Ethniques* also: For vnder the Empires of *Augustus*, and of *Tyberius*, Mathematicians and Astrologers were banisht out of *Rome*. S. *Clement*, who redigested the constitutions of the Primitiue Church, writes: That they then prohibited and with-stood, that no Enchanter or Astrologer should bee receiued into the Church. In the Councell of *Tolledo*, it is said;

Concil. Tolletum Cap. 4.

said; *That if any Man thinke, that he ought to beleeue Astrology, or Mathematique iudiciarie; let him be accursed*; that is, excommunicated, and deliuered ouer to the Deuils power. Wherein they had great reason, because there is nothing in the World, that sooner induceth people to Idolatry, then Iudiciall Astrology. For it subiecteth both Body and Soule to Nature, which power likewise is giuen to the Planets, and this hath beene the reason of their adoration. And there hath bin found some people, euen in our time, that did, and doe the like.

Astrology the cause of Idolatry.

A Mathematician excommunicated by S. *Augustine.*

Saint *Augustine*, Bysshop of *Hippo* in *Affricke*, who liued in the yeare of Iesus Christ 427. the Emperour *Theodosius* then raigning, excommunicated a Mathematitian, and caused him to be expulsed out of his Diocesse, because he maintained, that a Mans owne proper will made him not a Murderer, but the Planet *Mars*. Also, that GOD made not any Man iust; but *Iupiter* did it: with many other such like opinions. Afterward, this cunning Mathematician (a Christian of a grosse Graine) within some few yeares after, acknowledged his errour that he stood in, saying; that Sathan had thereto seduced him. And beeing better inspired by God, forsaking all his idle opinions: he penitently submitted himselfe, and was receiued againe into the Church. The day of his reception, and in his presence, the said Saint *Augustine* preached a most learned and excellent Sermon, whereto I referre the Reader; it is contained in his Workes on the sixty one Psalme.

The Mathematician recanteth his error, & was receiued againe into the Church.

What Mathematickes are to be allowed, and not the other.

I doe not heereby condemne those Mathematiques, that containe in them Arithmatique, Geomery, Cosmography, & Astronomy; these latter meanes containe their true integrity still, euen as it was in the time of ABRAHAM, before these Diabolicall names were admitted; which one would very little thinke, should win power, not onely ouer Mens bodies, but likewise ouer their Immortall Soules. This latter Astrology, is very profitable for such as sayle on the Seas, and (oftentimes) for them that trauaile by Land thorow desart places: heereby may be knowne the Nature and course of the Windes, for our better aduenturing in full carriere, or calme on the Sea. Also, when is best season to Sow, Plant, Graft, fell Woodes, gather Fruites, discerne the times, and for many other good effects. But that which they tearme Iudiciall Astrology, for the wicked precepts thereto appertaining, hath at all times beene hated by honest people; yea, euen to this day. In so many Counsels as haue beene holden, it hath euermore beene condemned, as the fourse of too many heresies. The like was done in the last at *Trent*, & among the estates at *Blois*; as also not long since, vnder the raigne of *Charles* the ninth.

Good vse made of this Astrology.

The councels condemned Iudiciall Astrology.

That this iudiciary Astrology is altogether a lyer, I will take a little paines to demonstrate; for it affirmeth, that if any one be conceiued or borne, while such a Starre, or such a Planet raigneth: he shall containe the Nature of that Starre or Planet to him attributed. *Esau* and *Iacob* were first conceiued, and then borne vnder one and the same Planet, for they were Twinnes: yet when they were borne, the last held the other by the heele; notwithstanding, they were both of very different Natures. For *Esau* was Martiall minded, hairy, a great Hunter, disobedient both to Father and Mother, cruell, and (in breefe) of very bad disposition. Contrariwise, *Iacob* (no way sterne or hairy) was a louer of peace, continuing in the House, neuer studying how to range thorough Forrests, to seaze on sauage Beasts. He exercised labour, led a pastorall life, was obedient to his Parents, and vertuous: which (in the end) begot him the blessing, and the inheritance of his Father, and the other had the curse. If I were so disposed, I could alleadge plenty of Histories. As of a Lady that was a *Bordeloïs*, that, after fiue and twenty yeares past in marriage, had two Daughters at a Birth. The one, at meet yeares for a Husband (with much dislike of her Parents) became a religious Sister of the order of S. *Clare*. The other kept a shop of sin in the open Brothelry. These two Histories may suffice. If it shall be obiected to me, that Mathematicians and Astrologers foretell of things, that are seene oftentimes to take effect, by their Diaries or Almanackes: I answer, that they in speaking

Probation of the vanity of Iudicial Astrology, by examples.

Of *Iacob* and *Esau*. Gen. 25.

Of a Lady, a *Bordeloïs*, that had two daughters.

The sleights & subtilties of Almanacke-makers.

so much, & in so many seuerall natures, quite contrary one vnto another (as of Heat, Cold, Drought, Raine, Winds, calme times, Dearth, aboundance of all thinges, Mortality, Health, that a great person shall be borne, or else one dye) it were vnpossible, but that some one of these must needes happen; albeit, their Prædictions fall out more by hazzard, then by Art. In like manner, if you will but conferre together the Almanackes of diuers Authours, you shall find no one of them to agree with another: Whereby may be easily conceined, the vncertainty of this Iudiciall Astrology, which ought not henceforth to bee tollerated in any Christian Common-wealth.

The contrariety in Almanacke makers

Moreouer, in imitation of Pope *Syluester*, first of that Name, who gouerned in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 318. the names of Idolles should be changed, and those of false Gods, attributed to Starres or Planets: as he did the dayes of the weeke. For the Sunday, which they called the day of *Soll*, or the Sunne; he would haue it to bee named the Lords day, & a day of rest to Christians. Munday, second day of the weeke, and so called in regard of the Moone, hee caused it to be called the second Holyday. And so consequently by numbers following, vnto Saturday, whereto he left the name, not for Indaising, but because the day was so cald by the mouth of God, and he willed that it should be strictly obserued in the auncient Iewish Law. We may well name the Heauens where the Planets are, without imposing any name of Idols on them: As the first Planet, second, third, and so to the number of seauen, or giue them some other conuenable names; which heereafter, would prooue a defence from falling into the ancient Paganisme, as our Moderne Astrologers would faine induce vs thereto.

The Stars or Planets ought not to be called by the names of Deuils.

How the Heauens may be named not offensiuely.

The Histories of the *Indiaes* newly discouered, & those of the North parts, conquered by the *Moscouite*, do plainely shew vnto vs, that many people doe there (yet to this day) adore the Sunne, the Moone, and other of the Stars; yea, they are so addicted in deuotion to thē, that it is a very difficult thing, to make them leaue this horrible Idolatry. How happy then are they, that haue true knowledge of him, who created al those Heauens, Planets, and Stars, and place their whole hope of saluation in him? As for the Almanacks or Diaries of our Iudiciall Astrologers now adaies, they are not receiueable, But onely in this kinde, to tell vs the mooueable Feastes, and others; as also the Ecclipses and Months.

Idolatry yet committed in the *Indies*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the cause why the great Christian Philosopher, and learned Doctor Origen, did dismember himselfe.

THere are many, not onely of these times, but of those wherein ORIGEN liued, (which was in the yeare of Grace, two hundred twenty fiue, vnder the Emperour *Alexander Seuerus*, *Maximinus*, and *Phillip*) that were hardly conceited, that *Origen*, in the floure of his age, being then about twenty fiue yeares old, should depriue himselfe of *Virga virilis*; not that he had in those parts any disease, which might require such extirpation. This Act was diuersly thought of, by the ancients and Pastours in the Primitiue Church, especially one *Demetrius*, who was then Byshoppe of *Alexandria* (esteemed a most learned and vertuous Man) he blamed him very highly. *For* (quoth he) *there is no expresse commaundement in holy Scripture, to mutelate or make any member imperfect. Albeit, in S.* Matthew *there is a passage, where Iesus Christ himselfe said: That some are chast of themselues, for the Kingdome of Heauen.* All our Orthodoxall Diuines do hold, that this ought to be vnderstood, how we should rent away and separate those euill affections and vices that are bred and borne with vs. So likewise it is to be vnderstood, concerning coueting after earthly goods: for ther is nothing more contrary to the saluation of the Soule, then to busie it selfe in gaining worldly riches and treasures.

The time whē as *Origen* liued *An.* 225.

Demetrius Byshop of *Alexandria*, reproued *Origen* for this deed.

As concerning carnall sinne, I am of the minde, that the young man had not the leysure to thinke thereon. For day and

The great & earnest zeale of the first Christians.

and night hee scarse had time to teach youth, were they Infants, Sons, daughters, Men and Women: not onely in the liberall Arts, wherein he was well skilled, but likewise in holy writ. And in the Primitiue Church, people of al sexes and ages, made no difficulty at all, to be taught in the Schooles of Christian Doctors. Likewise, as I haue read in *Eusebius*, the Eccleſiasticall Historian; he himselfe liued at that time, when *Origen* was so busied night and day, to enstruct euery one that made offer of himselfe; which appeared to bee so labourious a paine, as euery man was much amazed thereat. He liued very austerely, for hee neuer dranke any Wine, neither fed on Flesh; but contented himselfe with a little Bread and few Fruits, as the onely meanes (in his owne opinion) to spoile his stomack. In like maner, he went bare foote, and bare leg'd, and had very hard lodging: during then the course of so strict a life, it can be no way likely, that hee guelded himselfe, as fearing to bee tempted by the flesh. But I hold this cõiecture (with others) that he did it to auoid suspition, and to take away all calumny, that might be iudged of young Schollers loose liuing: For the *Paganes* in those times, perceiuing that the *Christians* (in regard of the rigorous Edicts made against them) met together in the night time, rather then in the day, and in close Caues, to heare such Prayers & Sermons, as their Christian Pastours made vnto them, dreading to bee discouered and grieuously punnished; falsely impoſed on them, that they made no such assemblies, but onely that they might licentiously exercise all kindes of whoredome, and that their Pastors and Doctours, not onely abused the faireſt Women, but euen Boyes also.

Then it is to be presumed, that *Origen* acted not this violence on himselfe, but onely to the end, that the more freely Maids, Women, and Boyes (that came to his Schoole to be enstructed) might be cleare from blame, and himselfe also. Nor could he haue doone this, but by a magnanimity of courage, and great zeale in him, to aduance the Glory of God. In whose imitation, many, touched with the like zeale, did the like. As *Melitus*, a Man of heauenly minde and life; whose Bones remaine in the Citty of *Sardis*, as the fore-named *Eusebius* sets downe in his History, the fifteenth Chapter. From this height of his youth, he aspired to Martidome; and had attained thereto, had it not beene for his desolate Mother (who was before widdowed of his Father, that was a wealthy Cittizen of *Alexandria*) and some of her Children, lately become Christians. For they being faithfully informed of the day, when *Origen* ment in the morning to yeild himselfe to the *Romaine Proconsull*, he that was Deputy, to proscribe and put to death, all such as made profession of Christian Religion: She entering into his Chamber in the night time, when her Son slept very soundly, tooke away all his Garments, which shee hid and lockt vp very carefully, and by no meanes would deliuer them to him the next day, nor diuers daies following. Which hindred him of his Martyrdome, being ashamed to be seene naked. In which time, the *Proconsull* hauing executed his commissions, and the liues of no more Christians remaining in his hands. he went to another Citty, named *Heliopolis*, there to continue the rest of his charge. So it may appeare, that these occasions passed by Gods great prouidence, and *Origen* was then not to suffer death, in regard of the wonderfull benefit, which afterward redounded to all Christendome. For by his knowledge and dexterity in teaching; hee conuerted a great number of people to become Christians. He was likewise Schoole-Maister to many worthy and famous persons, who daily laboured to be worthy of Martyrdome: Namely, a young Lady, called *Potamia*, issued of a very illustrious Family, who endured so much in her Martyrdome; that *Basilides* (beeing her Hang-man or Executioner) inflicted all torment and extreamity of cruelty on her, before hee could cause her to dye: yet after her death, bethinking himselfe of the holy words vttered by her, during her torments, became a Christian. and within few daies after, was himselfe likewise crowned with Martyrdome.

Origen, at the age of forty yeares, learned the Hebrew tongue, to the end, that (by his Commentaries) he might the better interpret the holy scriptures: And such was his ingenuity, that one

Eusebius the Eccleſiasticall Historiographer liued in the daies of *Origen*.

The reason of *Origens* mutilation.

The old Christians fearfull of calumnies.

A second reason for his mutilation.

Euseb in Hist. Eccles. Cap. 15.

A notable stratagem of a louing Mother.

Origen conuerted many to Christianity, by his doctrine and example of good life.

Origen had an extraordinary memory and gift in dictating.

named *Ambroſe*, a Byſhoppe, gaue him ſeauen Secretaries to write vnder him; all which hee wearied, beſide Men and Women, that wrote from his mouth as he gaue inſtructions. It is found in writing, that he compoſed fiue thouſand Bookes: neuertheleſſe, by laps of time, the greater part of them were vtterly loſt, and among them remaining, ſome haue bin approued by Diuines, and the reſt not. He quenched many Heriſies by his great experience; namely, that of *Berillus*, who maintained, that the Son of God was not before the Virgine *Mary*; from which errour hee conuerted him. He reduced to the Chriſtian Faith, the King of *Arabia*, and the *Proconſull* of *Ægypt*: His Learning and admired knowledge, was publiſhed in ſo many places, that *Porphyrius* keeping then a Schoole of Philoſophy in *Scicily*, and eſteemed to be the moſt learned Philoſopher ſince *Ariſtotle*; admiring *Origens* workes, became a Chriſtian. The Mother of the Emperor *Seuerus*, of whom wee ſpake in our precedent Chapter, hauing read ſome of his Workes, was conuerted. She ſent for him to come ſee her at *Rome*, which he did, & remained there for ſome time: where hee was found to bee much more learned, then Fame had ſpoken of him. There is nothing found written of his death; albeit I haue made diligent ſearch in *Euſebius*, from whom I collected this inſtant relation; and that he was liuing at the age of threeſcore years, wherefore it is preſumed that he dyed very old.

Many Hereſies ouerthrowne by the learning of *Origen*.

The King of *Arabia* and *Proconſull* of *Egypt*, conuerted by *Origen*.

The Mother to the Emperor *Seuerus* conuerted.

Now, hauing waded thus far in diſcourſe, concerning the mutilation that *Origen* made of himſelfe: I am the more willing to recite ſome Hiſtories (happening in our time) of other perſons, who on their own priuate motion, and for other endes, haue depriued themſelues of thoſe parts, contrary to the order of nature. About the yeare 1573. there was an aged Countrey-man, of a Village neere *Segur*, a Citty in the higher parts of *Lymoſine*, whoſe name I ſpare to ſpeake of, This man being a Widdower, it was noyſed of him (but falſely) that he had vnlawfull familiarity with his owne Sons Wife. Whereupon, ſome that were his Enemies, or rather more malicious then wiſe, laboured the matter to a Iuſtice: who commaunded further certainty of information, that punniſhment might be inflicted accordingly. The Country man being come to the City, to make his defence againſt this crime impoſed on him, and dyning with his Aduocates Clearke in a common Inne: found there a great company of young people, and other flouters, that in their drinking, ſpared not to deride and ieſt at the poore Countrey-man. After he had endured numberleſſe bitter girds and tauntes, ſuch as exceeded common patience to ſuffer; ariſing from the Table, and pretending to goe warme himſelfe by the Fire; hauing ſharpned his Knife on the Mantle-tree of the Chimney, which was of Free-ſtone, he inſtantly therewith did cut off his ſecret Members. The Hoſt that ſaw it, cryed out, and gaue great aſtoniſhment to all the reſt there preſent: But, the Country man eſcaping thence, fled home to his owne Houſe, which was more then halfe a league from the citty, bleeding extreamely all the way, and would haue no help of any Chirurgion, and yet he became recouered againe. In the doing of this Act, ſurely his intent was, either to auoid following ſuſpition of ſo foule a pollution; or, perhaps, in meere diſpaire, ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſcorned, as it was iuſtified.

A ſtrange boldneſſe in a poore man.

Other perſons of later times, that haue done the like to themſelues.

A memorable Hiſtory of an old man of *Lymoſine*.

Another Hiſtory of a young Noble Gentleman.

A yong man of noble houſe, in the ſame Country, acted the like vpon himſelfe, in affliction of ſpirit; becauſe he could not haue carnall knowledge of a young widdowed Lady, only through his own diſability. For he had long time purſued her, and ſhe was as ready to accept (at three ſeuerall opportunities) as hee to offer. At laſt, taking his leaue of her, with ſome diſgrace, that ſhe ſhould be ſo apt, and he ſo vnable: to be reuenged on his imperfect Plant, ſuddenly he ſlic't it off, and would not admit any cure, but rather deſired to dye, by the expence & effuſion of his own blood. Yet at length he was perſwaded to entertain remedy, becauſe it was told him, that he ſtood in danger of his Soules deſtruction, and dying, he ſhould be allowed no Chriſtian buriall; becauſe it was an action of his owne wilfulneſſe. The wound in ſhort time after beeing cured, and the obloquy thereof remaining in freſh memory: he entred into a religious courſe of life, and continued afterward in good health for many yeares. *Marcus*

Aduertiſements giuen to the Gentleman.

A miserable thing, that traffick should be made of guelded Boies

Marcus Paulus Thenetus, and *Garcias d'Orta*, a Portugall Physitian, do deliuer for a certainty, that in *Bengala* (a Kingdome most potent at this day, seated on the Islands and mouth of the riuer *Ganges*, in the East *Indies*) the Moors inhabiting that place, do trauell vnto other firme lands, and the Neighboring Isles, to buy young Children, whose parents being poore and couetous of mony, do sell their sonnes, else these villaines will robbe and steale them thence, and then quite take away, not only *Virga*, but *Parastatæ* also. Such as escape death after this cutting, they educate them very delicately, and afterward sell them to the *Persians*, and other Mahumetistes, who buy them at a very deare rate, (to wit; three or foure hundred Ducats a piece) to serue as men of their Chambers, in a foule and vnlawfull acquaintance, and also, to haue the charge of their wiues.

A most abhominable sin.

The practise of the Turkes in *Asia* and *Europe*.

The Turkes that dwell in *Europe* and *Asia*, do vse the very same castration on such young Boyes as they can seize on in the Christians Countries, & then make sale of them in maner forenamed. As is made manifest by the Historie of the Lord of *Villamont*, vnder his owne hand in Writing; hee hauing seene the same in the Citty of *Damas* in *Syria*, in the yeare, 1589. hee saith, that a *Bascha* Lieutenant to the King, hauing married his Daughter, and being desirous for to make some honest present to hir before she departed from him, bethought him selfe of a Russian Slaue that he then had, beautifull, comely, and aged about 18. yeares: him did hee purpose to geld (in full manner before recited) and then to preferre him to his daughter, as one fit to attend her in her Chamber. This deliberation comming vnto the Slaues vnderstanding, he concluded to shunne his Maisters intent, because it was a hazard of life, either in Child or man. And therefore, rather then thus to die, he resolued to kill the *Bascha* his Maister; before hee would endure so notorious an Infamy. And indeede, hee executed his determination; for, finding his Maister (the second day after his daughters mariage) somewhat ouer wearied with Dauncing, Iusting, and Curuetting his Horse, and his belly well stuffed with Wine and Delicates, finding him fast sleeping on his bed, without speaking a word to any, he entered his Chamber; and with a most magnanimous Courage, gaue him many Woundes with a Knife in his throat. The *Bascha* awaking, cried to his people for succor: but the Slaue so expediously pursued his purpose, that the *Bascha* was dead, before any of his house could helpe him. Yet when they came, and entered the Chamber, seeing their Lord dead vpon the ground, and hee that did the deede there present, drawing forth their Cimetaries, and ouercome with extremity of fury, they hewed the slaue in more then an hundred pieces.

Hist. Dom. de. Villiamont. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

A Historie of a *Russian* Slaue.

A couragious resolution in a Slaue, for safety of him selfe

My conclusion then is, that all people whatsoeuer, as do vse such a wicked kind of Trafficke, in selling yong Children thus to be abused, are most Barbarous, vnworthy to be called men, and such also as serue their turn in this monstrous sin, because I hold it meere Treason against Nature. As for *Origen*, *Melitus*, and other Religious personnes, in acting such violence vpon themselues; I am of the mind of many Learned Diuines, that howsoeuer they did it on a sanctimonious intention; yet their zeal heerein deserued rather reprehension, then any rightfull commendation.

The Authors Conclusion.

Zeale beyond discretion is no way commendable.

CHAP. VIII.

The checke and reproach, which Cublay, Emperour of the Tartars, gaue to the Iewes, Mahumetists and Pagans, mocking them to be Christians; when they had lost the battaile against him.

I Finde Written in the *Tartarian* histories, that in the yeare, 1286. there raigned a most potent and wise Emperor ouer the *Tartars*, named *Cublay*, he that sent the great Captaine *Baiam*, to Conquer the great Prouince of *Mangi*, where was the admired Countrey of *Cinquennie*, which was raced by him, and all the Inhabitants slaine, for he killed thirty thousand Christians, against all right of warre, whereof I purpose to speake elsewhere. This *Cublay*, was a Pagan in Religion, worshipping the

Cublay a powerfull and prudent Emperor.

The Religion of the Emperor *Cublay*.

the Sunne, Moone, and the Starres, hauing (beside) certaine false Goddes, and (amongest others) one named *Natagi*, whom he beleeued to haue power ouer the fruits of the Earth, presented to him by diuers figures and Images: and this was the Faith and Religion which his predeceſſors had left vnto him. He commanded from the greater *Armenia*, euen to *Calicut*, a Kingdome in the Easterne *Indiaes*; insomuch, as then he might say of himselfe, that he was one of the greateſt Lords of the world. He kept a verie magnificent Court, and (the moſt part of his time) in the goodly Citty of *Cambalue*, where he had a Pallace so great & spacious (standing on a faire riuers side running thorow the city) that he could easily giue entertainment to a thousand men. The City contained in circuite, about eight Leagues, and there was no day in the yeare, but there came thither more then a thousand Waggons laden with costly Cloaths of Silke. He hadde ordinarily twelue thousand Knightes for his Guard, three thousand whereof, guarded him three Dayes, and three Nights together; then three thousand other (in like manner) succeeded them; and so (alternatiuely) the whole yeares space: which manner of Guard, he kept as well in the times of peace, as warre, to declare his greatneſſe, pompe, and magnificence.

His great dominion.

The great Citty of *Cambalue*.

Twelue thousand Knights were his Guard.

I will not speake of the sumptuous and wonderfull furniſhment made for his Table, for it would be too long to rehearse, and almost impoſſible to be beleeued. I will bee silent also, in his Bounty and Liberality, which he dayly gaue away, not at his Subiects expences, but out of his prouident sparinges: without molleſting his Subiects by nouell Subsidies, or any that dwelt within his Lands, of what Religion soeuer they were; as the Turke hath at all times dealt with the *Iewes* and Christians, whom he suffers to liue in his Empire, and to vse their owne Religions, but there wanteth no ſtrict or ſtrange conditions. Such as haue seene him, and afterward set downe his behauiour, do credibly affirme, that he neuer offendeth any man, except it be vnwittingly, and his Lieutenants and Commiſſaries do the very same. He loueth and supporteth his Subiects, to his vttermoſt power, and acknowledgeth any fauors or benefits done vnto him. Both he before, and now this other his Succeſſour, haue had, and instantly hath in diuers of his Lands and Signiories, people of sundry Religions; as Christians, *Neſtorians*, *Armenians*, *Abiſsines*, *Græcians*, *Mahumetiſtes*, *Iewes*, and *Idolaters*: yet haue they liued, and still do to this day, in all freedom of Conſcience, without any further molleſtation, then they that obserue his owne Religion, permitting them also to builde Temples, wherein to exercise such Seruice as is theirs to them moſt frequent.

His sumptuous Diet, Humanity, and Liberality.

He giueth allowance to all manner of Religions in his Kingdoms.

This great Monarch, is not of the minde of the *Mahumetan* Princes, who comming to their State, begin the entrance of their Gouernment, with Parricides, Fratricides, and murther of all them that may aspire to the Royalty. As appeared by *Sultan Selim*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, who after hee had slaine his two elder Brothers, *Achmath*, and *Corcutus*; caused his Father *Baiazeth* also to be poysoned. And some few yeares before his owne death, demaunding of his Sonnes, which was he that hoped to raigne after him, becauſe hee would leaue his empire to him; hee that durſt boldly shewe this willingneſſe to the State, so that it might be with his consent, hee caused him presently to bee strangled. But another of his Sons, named *Sultan Solyman*, who raigned not many yeares since, beeing admoniſhed heereof by his Mother, who was well acquainted with the Empetours cruell Nature: refuſed the dignity wholy, terming himselfe his slaue, and not his son; who liuing after his fathers death, hardly could bee induced to take the charge on him, fearing that his cruell Father might as yet be aliue.

The differēce between *Cublay*, and the *Mahometane* Princes.

The brutish cruelties of *Sultane Selim*.

The cunning of *Solyman*, by his mothers instruction.

Muly Mahamet, King of *Tunis*, slew seauenteene of his Bretheren, when hee came vnto the Crowne; and not long after, ten or twelue of his neareſt Kindred. After his re-seating by the Emperor, for *Barbaroſſa* had quite expulsed him; his owne Son pulled out both his eyes. These matters would be very prolixe in recounting, becauſe there hath not bin any *Mahumetan* Prince created, without some bloodshed of his kinred. What a contrary diſpoſition was in this *Cublay*? for he aduāced his brothers, nephewes,

The bloudy cruelty of *Muly Mahamet* King of *Tunis*.

Cublay aduanced his Brothers, Nephewes, and Kindred, and was no way bloudy.

phewes and alliance in consanguinitie, to the greatest Offices and dignities hee could deuise. For, to som he gaue kingdomes, made others Lieutenantes ouer his greatest and goodliest Prouinces; others chiefe Commaunders of his Armies: briefly, in all the best manner hee could bethink him, did he promote his bloud, yet liued in all equity and content among his people; yea, he was of so extraordinary humanity, as hee was neuer willing to be seene in any battell, (after hee was created Emperour) but one: yet had hee bin in more then 12. before, so highly did he detest the death of men.

The great ingratitude of *Naiam*, Nephew, to the Emperor *Cublay*.

It happened, that a Nephew of his, named *Naiam*, growing ingratefull, and abusing the bounty of his Vnckle (for he was a young man, aged about thirtie yeares, proude, and ambitious) forgetting the Lawes of Nature, being constituted Gouernour of many Prouinces, where he hadde mighty possessions to maintaine a Royall estate, without any subiection to yeild an account of his actions; mooued by boldnesse and presumption, leauied a powerfull Armie, against his Vnckle and soueraigne Lord the Emperor *Cublay*, and brought it into open field. Now, to the end, that he might the better assure himself of victory, and to contend with some equallity of strength, he found the means to draw a Cosin of his to his faction, another Nephew to the said Emperor, who had conceiued a deadly hatred against his Vnckle, in regarde of many reprehensions receiued from him, for diuers insolences committed by him, in the charge of affairs committed to his trust: which made this *Caydne* (for so was he called) the readier to ioyne with his Kinsman, with presence of himselfe in person, & the aid of sixty thousand men. Following thus their desseigns, they complotted togither, to assemble their forces on a certaine plaine, for safer entrance into the Countrey, and speedier inuasion of the Emperour their Vnckle, before hee should aprehend the least surmise thereof. *Naiam* failed not then, with 40000. men, to be ready at the place appointed: but *Caydne*, vsing all diligence hee could deuise to keepe his promise, had not as yet his whol number of men so suddenly furnished.

Preparation for hot warre against the Emperor.

This enterprize was quickly discouered to the Emperor *Cublay*, and with what courage his Nephews (in publick conspiracy) were thus in open armes against him. He being a wise Prince, and a very worthy Souldiour, was not negligent in opposing himself against their purpose: wherefore, he appointed store of men to keepe the wayes, bridges, and passages, to hinder those two Armies from ioyning together, and that his Nephewes might not bee acquainted with his intentions. Afterward, he called his men of Warre to the Field, which hee had secretly drawne from the neerest parts to *Cambalue*, where he euer kept his Court. Yet now he had much ado, so suddenly to procure these Souldiors togither, because he had sent two great Armies into Countries farre off, for the Conquest of some other new Prouinces. This Army thus made ready, as best means would permit, & so short a respit affoorded, went to meet the one Enemy, who was not (as yet) ioyned with *Cadne*, and they were charged so vnprouided, as they had not leisure to raunge their men in battell array; but the one part were slaine, & the rest put to flight. Some were taken prisoners, amongest whom was *Naiam*, who being brought before *Cublay*, they would haue slayne him in his presence; but he commaunded, that he should be wrapped vp in a great cloath of Silke, well bound about with Cords, to the end he might bee smothered therein, which was accordingly executed. But before hee would suffer this to be doone, hee caused the slaughter (then made of his Enemies) to cease, sending them free pardon; & immediatly more then forty Ensigns were brought and laid at his feete; in which Ensignes, were the figures of Crosses, such as we see at this day among vs.

The Emperor vnderstood this conspiracy of his Nephewes, and prepareth to withstand them.

Cublay ouercommeth the Army of *Naiam*, who was taken Prisoner.

Naiam smothered to death in Silke, and his followers pardoned.

Heere is to be vnderstood, that the people thus offending with *Naiam*, wer almost all Christians, according to the *Nestorians*, *Armenians*, or *Abessines*, and he himselfe would haue seemed to bee such; but in very deed, he rather appeared to be of no Religion at al. Heereupon, the Iews, Mahumetists, and Pagans being Conquerours vnder the pay of *Cublay*, began to shout, scoffe, & make a mockery, at some fifteene thousande Christians, disarmed and brought as prisoners

What *Naiams* followers wer.

Christians mocked and scorned.

soners before him, expecting when hee wold command them to be massacred. But quite contrary, beeing then mounted on a braue and gallant young Elephant, on whose backe his seate royall was most sumptuously carried, silence being made, and their mockeries appeased: he commanded them all to troope about him, to hear what further he had to say vnto them, and then, in the open Field, he made this Oration.

The Oration of the Emperour Cublay, to his Prisoners, and all other there present.

Cublay his reuerent opinion of Christ.

Cub'ay attributeth his victory, to his great God the Sun.

THis day I cannot deny, but that the victorie which I haue obtained ouer mine enemies, is by especial grace from my great GOD the Sunne, Moone, and the Starres, abiding in this glorious Vault of Heauen. To whom, I purpose to render thankes to morrow, euen in this open field of battaile, in making Oblation of good and worthy Sacrifices. Wherefore, let the Maisters of the field giue order, that the places be auoided of human bodies heer slaine, as also of the dead Beasts, and decent Altars purposely erected. As for the prisoners, beeing most part of them Christians, whom I behold despoiled of their Armes, shouted at, mocked, despised, and iested at by the Iewes, Mahumetists, and others, vpbraiding them with their God Iesus Christ (who was sometime fastned to a crosse by the said Iewes) for not ayding and helping them to the victory, as wanting such power, because so many of their Ensignes are heere prostrated at my feet: From this present houre forward, I forbid all manner of persons, of what quality or Religion soeuer they be, to vse any more such derision of them, on paine to bee depriued of their armes, and well whipped with Roddes, at two seuerall times, yea, on the very greatest paine beside, that can be imagined. And so much the rather, because their God Iesus Christ is esteemed of vs, to be one of the verie greatest celestiall Deities, ful of al right, Equity, and Iustice. For, hee knowing these Christians to make warre vniustly against vs, being our subiectes, that neuer gaue them occasion, but reuolted of themselues, and adhered with our enemies: therefore hath hee permitted, that I should win the day, albeit I haue heard him to be called the God of battailes. Ouer and beside this, I pardon al them, that haue followed my vnkinde Nephewes *Naiam* and *Caydue*, as being meerely deceiued by them, in making them beleeue, that they were leuied for my seruice; and therfore I receiue them againe into my protection. Giuing further to vnderstand, that all such as haue any prisoners, they are not to offer the the least harme whatsoeuer, but immediately to set them at liberty, deliuering them their armes, and all other Equipages to them belonging, on pain to passe thorow the daunger of the Army, euen he the proudest that shall make deniall. Our charge imposed on the Christians, is, to pray vnto their God for our prosperity, and to do vs nine moneths Seruice, by taking Wages of vs, in our instant Warre against the King of *Nixamora*; who denieth to pay vs our tribute and striues to equall himselfe with our Greatnesse.

Cublay pardoneth the Rebels that took part with his Nephewes.

Cublay enioyned the Christians, to pray to their God for him.

In regard of this Edict, the Christians had gentle vsage, especially, of the Iewes, who persecuted the Christians more (where they got superiority) then any other whatsoeuer. Euery man may iudge by this worthy deede, that *Cublay* was a very generous & vertuous Prince, full of piety, in acknowledging, that his victorious battels, proceeded of God, and not of men. It was neuer heard, that *Alexander* the Great, who wonne no meane store of battailes, with an infinit number of goodly strong Cities; that euer he rendred thankes to God, or (at the least) vnto his own Gods, in whom he pretended to haue some confidence. Oftentimes he consulted with prophane Priests and Oracles, to know if he shold be Monarch of the whole vniuerse, and whether he were the Sonne of *Iupiter*, or no, with diuers other such like ydle vanities. At length, hee would needes make men to adore him; Nay, there are some do write, that he exacted it vpon compulsion, but he liued not long after these ambitious follies had so blinded his

Cublay had some acknowledgement of God.

Preparation for Sacrifices.

Cublay prohibiteth all mockes and scorning of the Christians.

The follies & impieties of *Alexander* the Great.

his vnderſtanding.

The vanities of *Iulius Cæſar*, Emperor of *Rome*.

Iulius Cæſar likewiſe, a famous Captaine, of admirable great ſpirit, & moſt expert in many ſinguler ſciences, yet he tooke this fond conceit of himſelfe (ſeeing he had obtained the Roman Empire by Armes) that he had more in him thē meer humanity, by his actions, perſwading himſelf, that he was iſſued (in race) from the Gods, by meere alliance to *Venus*. Which being perceiued by diuers Princes, and many of the Commonweale alſo, coueting to pleaſe him in his ambitious arrogancy; they Dedicated Temples to him; yea, ſome Sacrificed vnto him. As yet at this day is to be diſcerned at *Sydon*, a City of *Phœnicia*, wher it is inſculpt vppon the gate, *Diuo Iulio Cæſari dicatum*; *Conſecrated to Iulius Cæſar the God*. And on a Collome (which is placed on a little Mountaine, at the very mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, expoſed on all ſides to the violence of the Waues) containing eighteen foot in length, and eight and an halfe in Circumference, on the Baſes of the Piller was Engrauen this Verſe:

Temples dedicated to *Iulius Cæſar*.

A Piller at the entrance of the *Euxine* Sea.

Cæſar tantus erat, qd. nullus maior in orbe: that is, *Cæſar* was ſo great, and of ſuch power, as he might tearme himſelfe the chiefe and moſt excellent of all Men in the world. It is very well knowne, that it was himſelfe that cauſed this Inſcription there to be engrauen. Yet (for all this) it was neuer knowne, that euer he acknowledged his victories for to come from God: for he raigned not long, & leſſe then *Alexander*, becauſe hee was murdred in the Senat houſe.

Cæſar raigned not ſo long as *Alexander*.

Charles, the fift Emperour of that Name, hauing won a great and memorable battaile againſt the Sectaries in *Germany*; and namely, againſt the *Saxons*, the foure and twenty day of Aprill, *Anno Dom.* 1547. would not proudly ſay, as *Iulius Cæſar* did, when hee conquered *Pompey* the Great, and wrote theſe three words to the *Romain* Senate; *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. But *Charles*, full of true pietie, and well knowing, that victories diſcended from on high, ſaid; *Veni, Vidi, & Dominus Deus meus dicit*, to wit; *I came, I ſaw, but it was God my Lord that Conquered*.

The great modeſtie and humanitie of *Charles* the fift Emperor.

The Hiſtory of the Emperor *Cublay*, may make ſom Chriſtian Princes bluſh with ſhame, who hauing warre againſt others of the ſame Law, Faith, and Religion, will not yet (in their victories) pardon their enemies, but put them all to the edge of the Sword. Neither will they acknowledge God to be Authour of their victories, but attribute all vnto their own ſtrength and magnanimitie: wherein this blinded Prince (deprined of the true Knowledge of God, *Cublay* a Pagan, Emperour of the *Tartarians*) made it a great ſcruple to offend.

Chriſtiā Princes noted ſome way blame worthy

CHAP. IX.

From whence the name of Sarazins came at the firſt, and what people they haue continued, euen to this day.

I haue noted a verie great error, committed by *Sabellicus*, *Blondus*, the *Tyrian* Byſhop, *Volaterranus*, and many other graue authors, who (in their workes) haue tearmed the Mahumetiſts or Turkes, to bee Sarazins: for they neuer knew any ſuch name, neither were at any time ſo caled, but only *Mulſulmans*, which is as much to ſay, as a people faithfull in their Law or Religion. Others, who thought their Iudgement to be much more pregnant, dared to ſay, that this name of *Sarrazin*, came of *Sarra*, the wife of *Abraham*, of whoſe race, the great Prophet *Mahomet* (inuenter and deuiſer of their Religion and Lawes; held euen to this day by the Sarazins and Turkes) they affirme to bee diſcended. But this coniecture is not warrantable, becauſe they rather coueted to be called *Agarians*, in regarde of *Agar*, Handmaid to *Sarra*, and Mother of *Iſmael*: Or elſe *Iſmaelites*, in iudging themſelues to be yſſued of the ſayde *Iſmael*, Baſtard ſonne to the fore-named *Abraham*.

A great error in many graue Authors.

What the word *Mulſulmā* ſignifieth.

From whence the *Sarrazins* deriue their diſcent.

But let vs leaue theſe falſe Etimologies, which neither carry, or can yeelde any true likely-hood, and come to the very Original of the name *Sarrazin*. The error grew from hence, that ſome ſhort while before *Mahomet*, or *Muhamet* (as others terme him) aroſe, and began to extend himſelfe as well towardes *Suria*, as *Perſia*: there liued in the rocky *Arabia* and

and *Idumea*, certaine *Arabes*, who made their abode and dwelling (and yet do to this day) vnder little Tentes or enclosures, and had no other trade or maintenance for their liuing, but by Thefts & Robberies, which they daily exercised vpon all passengers, were they Turkes, Christians, Pagans, or whatsoeuer. Of which Robbers and Theeues, the country could neuer be freed, neither yet can be to this day; as such doe faithfully affirm, who haue trauailed on pilgrimage to Mount *Sinai*, at *Ierusalem*. And the Turks themselues do confes, that when deuotion drew them foorth on pilgrimage, to the Citty of *Medinai al Nabi*, that is, the Citty of the Prophet, scituate in *Arabia Fœlix*, where the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* is; and when likewise they do yet passe through the very greatest solitudes and deserts (as many times the Christians doe:) They finde them to be peopled with these kinds of Theeues, as formerly hath been saide, who name themselues *Sarracenis*, not in regard of Religion or bloode; but by an auncient appellation of the sayde people; of whome, *Ptolomy* maketh mention, and saith, that their liuing is in *Idumea*.

Amianus Marcellinus, in the Historie of *Iulian* the Apostate Emperor, makes a Description of them, and saith: Those places (more then two hundred yeares before the Originall of *Mahomet*, or of his Alchoran) were fully furnished with the *Sarrazins*; yea, so was *Assyria* afterward, euen so farre as the *Cataractes* of *Nylus*, or the Kingdome of *Prester Iohn*, where they vsed the same courses, violences, and Thefts, vpon Merchants & Inhabitants of the neighboring Countries, according as the *Arabes* or *Alarbes* do at this day. Whereuppon, because that their chiefest habitation was in the Deserts and Mountaines, which are in *Arabia*, and the adiacent quarters or Countries, as *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Mesapotamia*, *Suria*, and *Egipt*, when the Arabes arose with their new Religion, and had frequented the foresaid Regions: The nearer Countries supposed, that these people were those former *Sarrazins*, by ignorance of their Language, as also by the rashnes of some writers, who liued then in *Suria*, & since that time in *Spain*, pretending to haue good knowledge of those people, and therefore continually then called them *Sarrazins*.

Moreouer, to confirme that vain appellation, those Interpreters in *Spaine*, who (by commandement of S. *Bernard*) were appointed to interpret the Alchoran; in euery place where they founde the vocable, *Mulsulman* (which is as much to say in the *Arabian* tongue, as *Peaceable and faithfull towardes God*) they translated the same *Sarracenis*, or *Sarrazins*. This *Mulsulman* then is the word, whereby all (that beleeue in the Alchoran) will be called: whither they be *Arabes*, *Syrians*, *Persians*, *Tartares*, *Turkes*, or *Moores*. Whosoeuer then, woulde enter into any peaceable and Friendly Conference with them (albeit, none do hate their name more then the Turkes) must call them *Mulsulmans*, as we doe our selues Christians, or faithfull people. So are they all named, by the Author of the *Ismael*, or *Ismaelitish* race, & by their Bastard Prophet. After our maner, & in respect of religion, they terme a man *Mulsulman*, and a woman *Mulsulmina*, or *Mulsulminet*; albeit, some say *Mussim*, by a corrupt pronounciation, as we may conceiue by our selues, who do vse to call those disfigured Wanderers, that walke among vs with deformed faces, and long ill-fauoured lockes, vsing all subtile Thefts, Pilferies, and *Legier du maines* they can deuise; wee Nick-name to be *Sarrazins*, *Egiptians*, or *Gypsies*.

I thus conclude then, that when Historians Write, that the *Sarrazins* inuaded and made vse of *Rhodes*; Next, of *Thrace*, then of *Italy*, *Spaine*, and other Countries: it is to be vnderstood of the Orientall people & *Affricans*, that were of the Mahometane Religion; because they vsed the selfesame Cruelties, thefts and Robberies, as the *Sarrazins* of rocky Arabia did. And to speake truly, all *Europe* would (at this instant) haue bin haunted with those people, if they had not bin formerly expelled and spoyled. It remaineth yet fresh in memory, that the Great Grand-father to *Phillip* King of *Spaine* (not long since deceased) named *Ferdinand*, expulsed them out of the Kingdome of *Granado*, with their King called *Melen*; and he bestowed six whole yeares together in stout warres, onely for foyling them. And then the Dominion, which the Sarrazins and Moores

Sarrazins were a people dwelling in the deserts of *Arabia* and *Idumea*.

The Turkes go on pilgrimage.

Sarracenis, the name they giue themselues

Amian. Marcel. in vita Iul. Apost. lib. 14.

Antiquitie of the Sarrazin people.

The neighboring Countries to *Arabia*

Error in translation of the *Alchoran*.

Mulsulman, a general name for them that belieue in the Alchoran.

Sarrazins will be called *Mulsulmans*.

Our Sarazins or Gipsies.

What people are vnderstood & ment by the Sarrazins.

At what time the Sarrazins were expulsed out of *Spain*, by king *Ferdinand*.

Moores held in *Spaine*, had finall Conclusion. After which time, those faithlesse *Mahumetists*, durst neuer presume any more vpon *Spaine*, where they had held the kingdome of *Granado*, for the space of 800. yeares.

A great slaughter of the *Sarrazins* in *Spaine* by King *Alphonsus*.

Before the sayd *Ferdinand*, King *Alphonsus*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1233. slew in diuers places, aboue 200000. of thē, euen when they helde strong Castles, Forts, and Cities in *Spaine*, all which he forced them to forsake, and since then, they haue bin vtterly ruined. *Henrie* the Emperor made another great massacre of them in *Italy*, in the yeare of Christ, 1010. expelling them wholy out of that Country. Among the *Sarrazins*, there were not onely generous persons, but likewise some men of great learning, as *Auicen*, *Mesuus*, *Isaac*, *Manfor*, *Auerroes*, and many others.

Another massacre of them in Italy, by the Emperor *Henry*.

Now, as al things haue their vicissitude and alteration by courses; so, after that the *Sarrazins* had raigned in *Affrica*, and partly in *Europe*, about the space of 800. yeares, there came a people from diuers parts of *Scythia* (which at this day we call *Turkes*) who in lesse then 200. yeares, ouercame in armes those people called *Sarrazins*, with many other christians beside, not onely in *Asia*, but also in *Europe* and *Affrica*. And albeit, those *Turks* were of the same religion; to wit, Mahumetists: yet did they not abstaine from vexing and troubling them vvith War, euen as they did the Christians: For in the yeare, 1012. they tooke *Ierusalem*, and all *Iudea*: but the *Sarrazins* of *Egipt* recouered them againe, and held them for 300. yeares after. Neuertheless, they were yet againe expulsed thence, in the yeare, 1517. by the *Turks*; the *Sarrazins* loosing then, not only *Palestine*, and the Holy-land; but likewise *Egipt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and the very same Country of *Idumea*; whereas the *Sarrazins* had their Originall; and are there subiect to the *Turks* now at this instant: For *Campson* (their King) lost the day against *Selim*, Emperour of the Turkes, and *Tomombeus* his successour, beeing next chosen their King in his place: but he was taken, and (afterward) most ignominiously strangled in the Graund-*Cayre*, the very principall City of *Egypt*. Where we may behold the end of the *Sarrazins*, not any part of them now remayning, except a few in the place forenamed, who continue in base seruility to the Turkes.

The *Turkes* ouercame the *Sarrazins* in lesse then 200 yeares.

The *Sarrazins* lost *Ierusalem*, and all *Iudea* to the *Turkes*.

Campson King of the *Sarrazins* foiled by *Selim*.

Tomombeus, last King of the *Sarrazins* strangled.

This briefe discourse, may giue vs to vnderstand, that *Sarrazins* were not at all such as are called Mahumetists: but they that hadde their beginning in the Countries of *Idumea*, and the Desert of rocky *Arabia*, with all those that (being ioyned with them) commaunded vnder them in diuers Countries, bringing other Nations likewise in subiection to them by Armes, vntil such time, as they wer exterminated by the people, whose countries they vniustly vsurped by war, & also at length, by the Turks, althogh they be of the same religion. For war is maintayned among them, onely for desire of soueraignty and ambition: which is not so commendable among vs that are Christians, or that we should be sick of such a bad disease.

Sarrazins began onely in *Idumea*, and none now remaining but only there.

CHAP. X.

Of the Title or name of Seruant, slaue, Bond-slaues, and such like. Their Original, and how they were vsed in elder times, and are at this present.

FOrasmuch as in our time, we haue so great speech of the ouer-abounding multitude of captiues or Slaues, which the Turks & Moores lead away out of Christian Countries, wherof the *French* seem to haue no feeling at all, because such a case concernes not them; in regard of their good policy & order, by their most Christian Kings care, & his counsel: yet notwithstanding such occasiō may hereafter happen, that if euer God shold suffer his Mahometan enemy to preuail so far, as he hath done else-where, they would then acknowledge by most wofull experience, what the condition of captiues & Bondslaues is, wherof I purpose to discourse in this Chapter: And to begin at the ancientnesse of slaues or Bondmen, it would be somewhat hard to assure; at what time they first began to be so called and vsed. because we find in the sacred scriptures; that *Abraham* had no other seruants but

Fraunco insensible of such afflictions as Bond-men feele.

Abraham had no Seruants but Slaues male and female.

Slaues, as well male as female, & (withall) had a great number of them. Wherby may bee presumed, that (long time before) there was such a seruile condition: for, acording to the supputation of *Carion*, the *Germaine* Cosmographer, *Abraham* liued in the yeare of the World, 2047. Their Originall then (vndoubtedly) proceeded of wars, wherin the victor vsurped al right of domination ouer the vanquished.

The Originall of Slaues.

The *Romans* called a Slaue or Captiue *Seruum*, as we in our Language entitle a Seruant, because he that was taken in the wars, was kept and guarded. And then, if he was not put to his ransome, (according as hee pleased, into whose power he was faln, or else, if he bought him) he remaind as his slaue or seruant, and he might smite, beate, and kill him. Moreouer, he could not possesse any thing, that was in his Maisters charge & keeping, albeit he wer extracted by race Royall, noble, or ignoble. For the word Slaue, Seruant, or Captiue, it is to bee vnderstood, not onely of such as are taken in Land-battels, or Nauall skirmishes, encounters, surprizal of Cities, Townes, or like places; but likewise, al those that can bee, and are seized on in the enemies Countrey, although they be Infants sucking at the breast, or of greater yeares; Women with Childe, and the fruit in their wombes, alwayes were, and yet are to this day, subiect to seruitude. This is thus doone by the Law of Nations, and al Nations in former times vsed the same, and so is it stil in vse, except it be in case of one and the same Religion.

The Etymologie of Seruant.

The quality and condition of a Slaue.

How the word word Captiue or Slaue is to be vnderstood

Ius Gentium.

One might be made a Slaue (as yet we see in all the East, & in *Affrica*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Poland*, *Moscouia*, *Germany*, and in other Prouinces obserued, except in warring against people of one religion) foure manner of wayes. The first, was by War; the second, when he was the Son of a woman slaue; the third, when any man sold him, to participate in the price of his vendition, which ofttimes is done in a desperate manner, not hauing any meanes of liuing, or when a man will foolishly expose his own freedome to bondage. There are too many at this day so hot of Nature, as, if they could, they would do the like; witnesse such, as leaue themselues neither lands, goods, nor Kindred. The fourth manner, was by crime and offence, when a man had not where-withall to satisfie the party offended; then he was sold, if the crime committed, required such a punishment.

Foure seueral waies wherby a man may becom a slaue

It is a question, but (indeede) mine owne, whether it bee better to make a prisoner (taken in Warre) a slaue, or to kil him, according to the custom of Nations? I answere, that it seemeth more humain and ciuill, to take a prisoner (in war) in condition of a slaue; then to kill him, although it be in a mans power to do it, and without any impunity. For, by the Law of God & Nature, it is forbidden to kil, but not to be made a slaue; because it appeareth that *Moises* permitted it. In like manner, it is the propertie of a Wise or discreet man, to rule and gouerne his slaue or Bondman humainly; albeit it were much better for some, to be slaine outright at the very instant, then to fall into some mens handes, and liue in their subiection. The paines and torments which they suffer, & must do, God best knoweth how long, wee purpose to speake of heereafter. For, heere I would demaund another Question, to wit; whether it be beneficiall to a commonwealth, to haue Slaues, or not?

A question demanded, and discreetly answered.

God and Nature forbiddeth to kill.

Another question.

How dangerous it is to a Commonweal or Kingdom, to haue a great number of slaues, especially, if they can compasse the meanes to league & combine themselues: may be read in the *Romaine* Histories, much more then euer they dreamt of, and to the maine hazard of their whole estate. For they could not be hindred, but that they arose thoroughout all *Italy*, to the number of threescore thousand, and vnder the conduct of one *Spartacus*, they vanquished the *Romans* in three fought battels. It is most certain, that there was then in the field: ten slaues for one free-man. *Silla* made an Edict, that euery slaue that did bring the head of his Maister, should be enfranchised, to wit; of euery such man as had followed the part of *Caius Marius*, against him; which very many did. Now, it is not to be doubted, but that how many slaues soeuer wer in the battaile; as many enemies at home had they in their families. At such time as the persecutions began to grow hot against the Christians in the Primitiue church, there

What danger it is to haue a great multitude of Slaues

Spartacus, a Sword-player in Rome.

Sil'aes Edict for Slaues against their Maisters.

So many slaues, so many enemies.

In the primitiue Church.

there was no Maister that durst become a Christian, except with the hazzard of his life, for hee must either enfranchise his slaues, or else they wold accuse him.

From whence proceeded the first power of the Sarrazins

The power of the Sarrazins in *Arabia*, tooke first Originall, when as a Captain named *Homar*, Lieutenant to *Mahomet*, had promised Liberty to such Slaues as would follow him. Heereon he drew so great a number to him, as (in few years) they made them-selues Lordes of the East. For the word [*Liberte*,] and fame of the Conquestes made by the Slaues, enflamed the mindes of all them in *Europe*, and raysed them vppe in Armes. First of all in *Spaine*, in the yeare, 781. Afterward, in the Kingdome of *France*, in the times of *Charlemaigne*, and *Lewes* the *Pittifull*, as may be gathered by the Edicts then made, against the Conspiracies of Slaues. Then *Lotharius*, the Sonne of *Lewes*, after he hadde lost two Battailes which he waged against his Bretheren, re-called the Slaues to his ayde, and they (soone after) began to pursue their Maisters; in the yeare, eight hundered fifty two: which fierce fire, suddenly kindled in *Germanie*; also, where the Slaues entering into Armes, shooke the estate both of the Cities & Princes; yea, the King of the *Allemaignes* was faine to assemble all his forces, to break the *Gordion* knot of this strange combination.

Al *Europe* wofully tormented by slaues, in many places.

A Roman Senator accused by his Slaue, before cruell *Tiberius*.

I remember the History of a *Roman* Senator, who was in very great perrill of his life, by beeing accused by one of his Slaues, before the Emperour *Tyberius*, to Wit; that the Image of *Tyberius*, which was engrauen on a Ring that the Senatour wore in his finger, had touched the Vrinall as hee was making water; and this was taken for an Offence of High-treason, such was the extream Tiranny and light beleefe of the Emperor *Tyberius*.

The Historie of a slaue *Moore*, in the Isle of *Maiorica*.

In like manner, there haue bin many of later times, that murdered their Maisters, and committed other monstrous villanies, as not long since a slaue Moore did, in the Isle of *Maiorica*. This damned Villaine, hauing beene beaten by his Maister, for some notorious Offence, watching his opportunity for reuenge, first violated the honour of his Mistris, then threw two of hir children forth at the Castle window, wherein he made vse of this aduantage, locking the doors fast against his Master, who stood without, and beheld this wofull spectacle. At last, he made his Maister to cut off his owne Nose, to saue the youngest child that yet remained aliue: For, the slaue had sworn, that if he would cut off his nose, he would not hurt the Infant. No sooner had the Maister acted this cruelty on himselfe, but the perfidious slaue *Moore*, cutting the childes throat, threw it down to the other, & then cast himselfe headlong after, in a villanous brauery. I could aledge infinit other examples, if I were so minded; but in regard of breuity, I wil entreat the Reader to rest satisfied with these.

A multitude of slaues is very dangerous.

Behold then what a danger it is, to be serued with slaues, and how a multitude of them, haue falne out to be the ruine of Countries; & as it is not good to haue many, so is it very behoouefull, to see that no wher they exceed the free. Wherefore it is very conuenient to manumise them, or els to vse them gently, to beget rather loue then hatred of thē, not vrging them to desperat actions vn beseeming their duty; training them vp rather in mechanicall exercises (as was ordayned by *Licurgus* & *Numa Pompilius*) then in any sturdy or robust busines, befitting Armes. And in truth, the greater part of such Bondmen or slaues, wer then enstructed in Mechanick Arts; for some of them were Shoo makers, Taylers, Carpenters, Smiths, Cloathiers, Ship-wrights, Masons, Gold-Smiths, Ioiners, & such like honest trades. They were also imployed by straungers, because they should return the gain which they made by their labor, to their Maisters. And that it should be so, *Cato* the *Censor*, who was so conscientious, and had about him 200. slaues, hee contented him-selfe with the profites that (by them) came to him, and the Reuenues of a small Countrey Farme which he had, and that he sold to them backe againe, at an easie price, when hee beheld them to decline by age, because by their paine and endeuor he at first purchast it.

Licurgus, and *Numa Pompilius*, gaue Orders for slaues

How wise *Cato* the Censor imployed his Slaues.

Crassius, one of the richest *Roman* Citizens that euer was before or after him, had ordinarily fiue hundred very profitable Slaues, of diuers employments, beside such as he kept in his house. They

Example of rich *Crassius* the Romaine Cituzen.

enriched their Maister (within very few yeares) only by their gaines: for great account (in times past) was made of such a setled estate, and it was helde the very best assurance of inheritance, that a man could then leaue to his heires. And in these dayes, such as are vnder the *Turkes* Dominion, do vse the very same kind of benifiting, for he that hath foure or fiue Slaues, strong, healthful, and lusty; attaineth to great riches by them. Beside, many are much better serued by them, then by their mercenary seruants; that leaue them at their owne pleasure, when these other dare not do so.

Vnualewable benefit made by Slaues in the Turks dominions.

The vsage of the *Parthians* to their slaues

The *Parthians* vsed not to intreat their slaues vngently, but accounted of them as their owne Children; yet notwithstanding, they were prohibited from infranchising them. They multiplied in such aboundant manner, as, in all their Army, there was found but foure hundred and fifty free men. *Florus* saith, that the *Romans* did set at liberty eight thousand Slaues, whom they caused to bear Armes, in regard of the great losse they had receiued in the battell at *Cannas*, against *Hannibal*, and they did great seruice to the Commonwealth. Comming now to our instant daies, to speak what maner of vsage they indure; I am silent, and must dumbly let slip the execrable Villanies (without all dread of punishment) inflicted on them, of whatsoeuer sex they be: only I will discourse of other matters belonging to them, and according as my instant subiect grants me leaue.

Florus in Ep. 74

The handling of slaues in diuers partes, and among the Romains.

So soone as such a one was falne into his enimies hand, be it of which side it should so happen; if he might not be rendred back vpon exchange, or put to his ransom, or be bought again as a captiue: then was the prisoners head presently shauen, and after marked with a hot iron on the arme, but more cōmonly in the forhead. If he wer of stature, he was then set to keep horses, work in the fields, Till the grounds; but very badly clothed, euen as the poor toiling slaues are in the gallies. Many times they haue bin imployed in very vnclean Offices, as to empty Priuies, & to hold the vrinall.

The Noble courage of a *Celticke* slaue.

Witnes a *Celt* (that is, one born in *Gaul*) whom his new Maister set to holde the stoole wherein he auoided his Excrements, which made him say; *I will make thee look on me whom thou hast bought, in much better maner.* So getting vp to the house top, threw himselfe downe, and there died, affecting rather any kinde of death, then to do such vilanous seruices. Maisters euermore had the life & death of their slaues in their power, albeit *Tyberius* would not permit it; but rather suffred slaues to bring their Maisters to the iudgement bar, for their hard vsage, & he that killed his slaue, was acounted as a murderer. The like ordained *Nero*, *Adrian*, & others; but it was neuer obserued, or (at least) it lasted but a while.

The life and death of a slaue in his Maisters power.

The Edict of *Tyberius*.

They were beaten (in those times) as oft as their Maisters pleased, & because they would not do it themselues, they had certain houses out of the city, wher men were purposely appointed and waged, to torment and beat thē with hard knotted cords, knagged staues, or certaine Bodkins, wherewith they would pierce into their bodies, euen in such places as wer most sensible; & this must be done as oft as the Maister commanded, standing by, beside good store of other torments. These men had for each slaue they thus tortured, a certain sum of mony, euen as Hangmen haue; and either they did it in their Maisters presence, or some that were (by them) appointed to see it done. Many of them had their lips and Nostrils slit vppe, if they appeared to be short winded, euen as now adayes we deale with Horsses. The Emperour *Adrian*, a very humaine Prince, who gouernd in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 120. returning one day from the fields, chanced to passe by the place where these cruelties were exercised; and buying all them that were thus to be tormented, bestowed their Liberty instantly on them.

Diuers Torments daily deuised for slaues, & cruelly executed on them.

Men had wages to tormēt slaues.

The great humanity of the Emperor *Adrian*.

If it hapned that a Master was slain in his house, about som quarrell, or otherwise, and by whomsoeuer, all his slaues were presently put to death. As it came to passe, by reason of a murder committed on the person of the great Prouost of *Rome*; when question was made, of putting al his slaues to death, according (saith *Tacitus*) to the ancient Custome. The vulgar people, who wer (the more part of them) enfranchised men, began to be moued, because it was wel inough knowne who was the murtherer; and yet notwithstanding, foure hundered innocents

Titus Liui. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

An inhumain custom of the Romaines.

Cornel. Tacit. lib 7. cap. 10.

innocents should therfore suffer death. The matter being debated in the Senat, it was there concluded, that the custom must be kept; and thereuppon, all the Slaues were put to death. I spare to speak of the murder of slaues, who were constrained to kill one another at *Areines*, and then their Bodies were exposed to Beasts: all being done to delight the people, and for a custome in contempt of death.

The murther of slaues at *Areines*.

The Emperor *Adrian*, of whom we haue already spoken, being in som choller, threwe an engrauen Iron at one of his Slaues, which Iron (vnhappily) hee had then in his hand; the slaue (not hearing what his Lord had commaunded him) by misfortune hadde this his eye smitten out. The Emperour calling the Slaue to him, said; He was infinitly sorry for the losse of his eye, and therefore desired him, to ask whatsoeuer he wold in recompence, and it should be granted him. The Slaue made answere, *I can demand nothing of such worth, or thou grant it, that can equall the value of the eie I haue lost.* Other Maisters neuer shewed such humanity in Nature, but rather were of much stearner cruelty: As *Flaminius* the Senatour, who causèd one of his best slaues to bee slaine, without any other cause, but to please his Ingle boy (which he kept for *Sodomy*) who saide, that hee neuer saw a man slaine. At the siedge of *Ierusalem*, in one day, there was slaine twenty thousand Iewish slaues, because a Soldiour had espied Golde in the intrailes of a Iew, who had bin killed before, by the passage of a Sworde quite thorough his body. Hee aduertising his Companions heereof, the Roman Soldiers, they did forthwith cut the throats of all their Slaues that were Iewes, and searched into their Bowelles and Intestines, to see if there they could finde any Gold.

Another act of humanity in the Emperor *Adrian*.

Plutarc. in vit. Flamin.

Ioseph in lib. de Bel. Iudaic.

Augustus Cæsar, banketting one day with *Asinius Pollio*, his very great friend, a yong Slaue that waited on the Table, chaunced to breake a Glasse, whereof *Pollio* hauing notice, commaunded him presently to be cast into a Pond, where he kept certaine *Murenes* (which are Fishes of two or three cubits long, vvith very sharpe Teeth) to bee deuoured by those Fishes. The poore Slaue, threwe himselfe at the feet of *Augustus*, to entreat, not to saue his life, for hee confessed that he had deserued death, in breaking a Glasse that his Maister so esteemed: but only, that he would chaunge the torment to some other. *Augustus* would not so much as moue *Pollio* therin: Whereupon, the Slaue was thrown into the Pond, and miserably torne in pieces, as *Seneca* affirmeth. The *Lacedemonians* beholding their Slaues to multiply in great numbers; made a leauy among them of three thousand men, the very ablest that could be found, and pretending to release their bondage, in one night they were all slaine, without any knowledge what was become of them.

Seneca. Lib. 14 Asinius Pollio, kild his slaue for breaking a Glasse.

The inhumanity of the *Lacedemonians*.

The *Grecians*, *Spaniards*, and *Allemaignes*, vsed the same manner of behauiour to their Slaues, as the *Romans* did. *Iulius Cæsar* declareth, that the *Gaules* would Sacrifice their slaues, and throw a great number of them into the Fire, when the Bodies of their deceased Maisters were to be burnt. The *Allemaignes* exceeding these Cruelties, if it hapned that their slaues, either by sicknes, wearinesse, or famishment, could not follow them in their iournies; they would cut off their Feet, & so leaue them starue to death. We wil heere end this Chapter, least wee should tire the Reader with length, and barbarous Cruelties. Now we will speake of Slaues among the *Turkes*, and what is become of the ancient race of slaues; also, how long it is since the Mahometans and Christians had no Slaues.

Grecians, Spaniards, and Allemaignes.

The *Allemains* cruelty.

CHAP. XI.

Of Slaues made by the Turkes and Mahometanes. Also, how the race of the auncient Christian Slaues became lost.

Mahomet, first Inuenter and Father of the Alchoran religion, to attract people enow to his cursed sect (which he planted by armes) ordained, that not any *Mulsulman*, or such as made profession of Religion, shold be a slaue, though he were taken in war, or otherwise, which hath bin seriously obserued, from the year 742. to this present;

Mahometans nor Christians made no slaues among them.

Preachers in the Christian Church.

sent. Yet this was not kept by the Christians, who hauing Warre one against another, vsed their captiues and slaues, acording as the *Romans* did. But the Pastors in the Christian Church preached so zealously, & so successefuly, that they perswaded them (in example and imitation of the Sarazins and Mahometans) that they would make no slaues on eyther side, being al of one religion. We haue already spoken sufficiently, what fauor the slaues found among the Romaines, let vs now cast an eye, & note how the Turkes do handle vs, if it were our hard fortune to fal (in the like case) among them.

The vsage of christiã slaues in diuers Nations.

It is most certaine, that all Christians who happen to bee slaues to the *Turke*, *Persian*, *Tartare*, *Iew*, *Moore*, or *Arabe*, as wel in the East, as in other places, aswel by right of war, as otherwise; bee they sucking children, Boyes, youths, men, old, or young, women or maids: they take the like authority ouer them, as on their beasts. Nay more, there are some people following the warres, that make no other benefit or traffick, but onely of Christian slaues; for they make triple commodity of their mony, because soldiers hastily sel them at indiffrent rates; then afterward, they make sale of them in Countries and Cities, where they know that they are very highly desired and sought after. A yong man of 18. or 20. yeares of Age, is now adaies sold for 25. Ducats. A young Infant, aged three or foure years, at fiue Ducats, Women and Maids are not sold so cheape. And before they buy them, they are ofttimes seene stark naked, to obserue whether they haue any imperfection on their bodies. Afterward, they look in their mouthes, to see whether they haue good Teeth, & of what age they are. Finally, they are very dilligent and carefull in obseruing their Countenaunces; for, they that make Trafficke of Slaues, are commonly verie skilfull in Physiognomie.

Some follow wars, only to buy christians.

The prizes of Christians sold as slaues.

The labour & dieting of their slaues, & how they goe apparrelled.

For the most part, men are destenied (as it were) to delue in the erth, after such order as they are commanded, and with Instruments acordingly. Daily are they fed with course, and scarse holsom Bred, & but litle therof neither, so much as they think wil content nature, and no other drink haue they then Water. For clothing, they haue commonly Linnen breeches, a Doublet or Iacket of course cloath, of a blew or redde colour; their legs and feete bare; they lie on the hard ground, and somtimes in ditches, dragging a heauy Ladder after each one, lest desperately they shoulde kill their Maisters, or set their houses on fire. They are beaten & tormented at all moments of time, euen when the toy tickles the Masters head, iustly or vniustly, cõmonly with a stiffe rounde Cudgell, sparing no place of the body. Their Heades are shaueu, and all other parts where anie haire groweth, which is obserued euery second month. There are some that allow them to learne occupations, & let them forth at daily hire, to serue as best they can be imployed, either in helping Masons, Carpenters, & such like labors.

How they are dayly imployed and vsed.

As for female slaues, they serue for all businesses that they please to vse them in. Oftentimes (if they like them) they make them their Concubines, & when they grow weary of them, they eyther sell them away to others, or suffer them to attend the houshold affaires, & wait on their Mistresses. Heer is to be noted, that they are not compeld to alter their Religion, except they bee so bold, as to enter into their *Mosquees* or temples, or vse any wordes contemptibly of their *Alchoran*, or wound any of their Mahomentan Religion: then, such an offender must be put to death, or else be forced to become of their Religion. And although they be Circumcised, and *Mulsulmans*, yet are they not therefore released; but perhappes they shall bee the gentlier vsed. For this cause, if Christians, warring against the Turkes, happen in their fights (either by land or Sea) to surprize any of these Christian renegadoes, they vse them vilely, knowing that (except they pleased) they wer not constrained to change their religion. And the better to know such, they serch their secret members; and finding the sign of their abiuration; they are handled like turkish slaues, & the oftner bastonaded. If a Christian or Iew liuing among thẽ, shal haue carnal knowledg of a woman Turk; he must either die, or chaunge his religion. In some places, he is sold in the open Market for the Princes profite, if he haue not bin circumcised. Heere I might tel ye, that some haue hapned on kinde

How they deal with women slaues.

For what causes they force Christian Slaues to alter their religion, or die.

Of Christian Renegadoes.

Punnishment for whordom, in Christians or Iewes.

kind & humain Maisters, who haue vsed the like their own children, & I my selfe haue seene some so fortunate; but it fals out very rarely. *Bellonius* saith, that a Slaue in Turky, might cite his Maister before the Iudge, to tell him for how long time he should serue him, or else, what summe of Money he would accept for his ransome. And the Slaue making a lawfull Act of the Iudges ordination; the Authour affirmeth, that he hath seene some (by this meanes) to gaine their freedome. This is to be vnderstood, among the Burgesses in Cities, or Field-labourers: But such as fall into the handes of Pyrats, or of great & powerfull Lordes, they very hardly attaine to liberty.

A way how Slaues compassed their liberty, before a Iudge.

Furthermore, this is very certaine, that young Male Children, either Sons to their Slaues, or taken in Warre; they cut off both *Virga* and the Testicles, by which kinde of incision, very many dye. But such as haue the fortune to escape; they sell them at an hundred, or two hundred Ducates price. Becausc, when they grow greater, and come to apt yeares; the charge of their Wiues are committed to such Men. For *Turkes* of good and able meanes, doe keepe diuers Wiues: some two, others three, foure, or fiue commonly, according to their degree and condition. But the Prince hath many times in sundry *Sarrailes*, three or foure hundred Women, and giues them in marriage to his Officers, as hee waxeth weary or glutted with them.

The guelding of young children.

Turkes haue many Wiues.

A Slaue that practiseth flight and escape (a thing very hard to bee effected, becausc the Guardes of the Sea-ports, Riuers, and elsc where, are alwaies very watchfull and circumspect:) If hee be found to haue no lawfull passe-porte, then is hee stayed, and brought backe to his Maister, paying the Wine, that is, a certaine summe of Money: but afterward hee is very cruelly handled. A Gentleman of *Gascoigne*, returning out of these countries but a while since, assured me faithfully, that he saw in *Syria* two Spaniard Slaues, empaled or broached on stakes aliue and speaking: becausc, that beeing Slaues, they vsed their endeuour to escape away. Others also (for the same cause) were hanged vp by the feet, and beaten on the belley with many blowes of a Bastonnado. Some yet (more fortunately) haue aduentured, by conference of sixe or seauen Slaues together, that (by diuing into the Sea, or some neere adioyning Riuer) could closely keep themselues hid all the day time, and afterward trauaile (with no mean hast) all the night. Then comming to some great Riuers vppon the Frontiers, haue made meanes to breake downe some branches of Trees, and making thereof a floatage to carry them; bequeathed themselues to the Waters mercy in their passage, some swimming and drawing it one while, till being faint and well-neere spent, the other haue relieued them, and by this meanes some haue been known to saue themselues.

How the flight or escape of a slaue is punished.

Two Slaues spitted on stakes, for offering to escape.

In what manner some slaues haue escaped.

The *Tartars*, after their Slaues haue serued them seauen yeares, they do enfranchise them; prouided, that they depart out of the Countrey. The *Iewes* are prohibited, to detaine any Christian for a Slaue, dwelling on the Confines, or in the Countries subiect to Christian Princes or Common-weales: but such they may take, inhabiting in the *Turkes* Territories; or others of the Mahometane Religion; if they bee none of the Turkes Slaues, and so knowne to be in their Countrey. The *Iewes* yet herein are more wicked then the *Mahometans*, who compell no Man at any time to alter his Religion; yet they doe it. And albeit they haue done so, they remaine (neuertheless) as Slaues with them stil. Our Christians now adaies perceiuing, that (in imitation of the *Iewes*) the *Turkes* and *Mahometans* will not enfranchise their Slaues, although they submit to their Religion: the very same course keepe they, and to speake truth, the most part doe it not, becausc they finde thereby not any iot of better vsage.

How the *Tartars* release their Slaues.

Change of religion admits no enfranchisement in any Country.

Christians imitate the Iewes in their Captiues.

This is the reason, that the *Hungarians*, *Transiluanians*, *Polonians*, *Bohemians*, *Germaines*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Danes*, and other people in these daies, doe not enfranchise their Slaues, for their alteration of Religion. *France* onely carrieth this priuiledge, that any Slaue treading on that ground, is forth-with enfranchised; as it was sentenced by an ancient Arrest of the Court, against an Ambassadour. *Bodine* writes, that he saw at *Tholossa*;

Any Slaue, comming into *France*, is forth-with franchised.

A Shippe of Slaues *Moores* brought to *Burdeaux*.

Tholossa, a *Geneway* Gentle-man, who was there compelled to enfranchise a Slaue, which he had bought in *Spaine*. It happened, not many yeares since, that there arriued at *Burdeaux* (by Sea) a Ship laden with *Moores*-Slaues, of both Sexes, which a Marchant-Stranger had brought thither, in hope there to make good sale of them. Knowledge heereof being brought to the Lordes then in Parliament, they forth-with dismissed them, and gaue them free liberty. So they went to get dwelling, some in one place, some in another, wher they could finde best meanes of entertainement: And this (in mine opinion) proceeded from most equitable conscience.

What became of the Slaues in elder times

Now let vs see what became of the Slaues in former times, that were among our ancient Christians, and how the race of them became lost; in regard that their Children, and all such as descended of them, were alwaies of seruile condition, if they were not enfranchised by good will of their Maisters. It is to be vnderstood, that (by little and little) *Europe* ranked it selfe to the Christian Religion, and that the Byshoppes and Fathers in the Church, ordinarily Preached wholly Charity, perswading them (for saluation of their own soules) not to euill-entreat their Slaues, but rather to giue them liberty & enfranchisement: considering, that all Christians (euen by Baptisme) were freed from seruitude, and were their Brethren in our Lord Iesus Christ. By which, and such like holy remonstrances (continued for some length of time) the people began to lend attention thereto; and (by slow steppes or degrees) as well in respect of brotherly loue, as (peraduenture) feare of reuolt, which the Slaues then might make, as in former times they had done; they granted them freedome, but let vs note how.

All Christians freed from seruitude by Baptisme.

The manner of enfranchising those Slaues, and vpon what conditions to their Patrons.

They vsed in those daies, to let their Slaues haue the tillage & husbandry of their Lands, and they matching in marriage with Women of their owne condition, gaue them speciall charge, to giue their Patrones (yearely) diuers kinds of Graine; as Oates, Wheat, Rie, Mony, and Poultry: beside all which, they were taxable for the foure accustomed times, for their Patrones or Lords prouision then, euen as if they were their Prisoners taken in Warre. If the Patrones chanced to mary their daughters; If they vndertooke any voyage beyond the Seas, against the *Sarrazins*; If they tooke the order of Knighthood, &c. then were these Seruants tyed to sundry kinds of seruices to their Lords. Moreouer, many were charged by their Leases and Couenants, to goe trauaile personally for their Lordes, when they should haue warning thereof, at certain daies limitation. Some found them Wine at their owne expences, and brought it home to their Houses with their Beasts. Some mowed their Meddowes; cleansed the Ditches of their Castles; twisted their spinning; and furnished them with so much Wood, (in part, or wholy) as they should burn for necessary vse. Nor could they alienate the Landes and Inheritances giuen them, but onely by consent of their Patrones: To whom, whatsoeuer they acquired or purchased out of their Iurisdictions, or in the same; wholly returned, in case they had no Children: and both they and their Childrens children, were strictly bound to all these conditions. They ought not to leape, dance, or vse any kind of publique reioycing, during the whole yeare, wherein their Patrone or his Wife deceased. In briefe, there were many seruitudes willingly acepted by thē, some more, some lesse, whereto they stood bound. But the Patron had no power to smite, kill, or molest his Vassaile: for, if he fulfilled not the duties impos'd, then should he bring him to open Iustice.

What was to be done at the Seruants own charges, &c.

Patrones had no authority to beat or kill their seruants

And albeit, one of this seruile conditiō, should depart, and dwell for euer out of his Lords land: yet notwithstanding, both he and his held, and still should hold the same estate of seruitude; if he did not compound by Money, or compasse (by speciall grace of his Lord) that he might be enfranchised. In many places, if the Seruant (in iudgement) did cut his Girdle, he quitted all his goods, as well present, as to come, or pretended euer to haue & possesse in his countrey. If then he went and dwelt in a place free, and not subiect to villanage; he was at liberty, and whatsoeuer he attained vnto afterward; he might dispose of to whom he pleased, not hauing any Children of his owne. Likewise, if

For such as went away from their Lords.

Lawes for some kinde of Seruants.

Concerning one free, or Noble.

a man of free or noble condition, either bought, or happened to haue adiudged him any goods in a Land of ſeruile quality; he was not therby made a Seruant: but if he chanced to dye without Children, the goods which he poſſeſſed in that Land, came to the Lorde and Patrone, but not any goods which he had elſe-where. In ſome places it is obſerued, as an inuiolable Law, that he which remaineth (a yeare and a day) in a Land of ſeruile condition, and keepeth not Fire continually, without going out or extinguiſhing: although he be a Freeman, yet he ſhall there be in the like nature of the other Inhabitants, and hold what he hath by villainage.

Freedome by fire kept a yeare and a day.

The Lord of *Roche-blanch* in *Gaſcoigne*, pretended to haue, not only the right of Mort-maine ouer his Subiects; but alſo that they were bound to til his grounds, manure his Vines, mow his Meddowes, reape and thraſh his Corne, builde his Houſes, pay his ranſome, and ſtood taxable to the four vſuall Ember-weeks in the kingdom for his prouiſion: Likewiſe, that he might bring them backe with Halters about their Necks, if they departed his Countrey without his Licence. This laſt point (how euer the other ſtood in force) was cut off by Act of Parliament at *Tholoſſa*; as being preiudiciall to the right of liberty, and fauoring of ſeruitude; which can take no place in that Kingdome. It ſeemes that the Monkes (who came very neere this kind of condition) did, and do little differ from ſuch enthralled people: for they can haue nothing properly their owne, but are ſubiect to their ſuperiours, and all rigours. But herein they differ from the other, that they haue ſpontaneally made themſelues ſeruants for life time onely, in hope to enioy (after death) eternall liberty. It was prohibited by auncient Lawes, that Abbots, Priours, and Guardians of Conuents, ſhould receiue any into Religion of ſeruile quality, without the Licence of their Patrones.

The Lord of *Roche-blanch*, his pretence.

Monkes are almoſt meere Slaues.

Many Princes long ſince, and in our times alſo, haue enfranchiſed them of their Countries, deliuering them out of villanage and ſeruitude, euen in meer Charity, or with Mony: And yet without any preiudice to the rights of Gentlemen, that held their Lands and Signeuries in ſuch Nature. As for example, *Lewes Hutin*, King of *France*, who freed ſo many as offered themſelues to him, with the price of Money, that ſerued to furniſh his Warres. The like did *Humbert*, Prince of *Daulphinie*, in the yeare 1245. *Henry* the ſecond King of *France*, by his Letters Patents, enfranchiſed them of *Bourbonnois*, in the yeare 1549: impoſing a ſmall taxation on them, annually payable. And in his imitation, *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, in the yeare 1569. did as much, by perſwaſion of his deuout and moſt vertuous Wife and Princeſſe, Siſter to the fore-named King *Henry*.

The enfranchiſements done by charitable Princes.

Lewes Hutin k. of *France* and others.

I do not infer, that all Prouinces were ſubiect to theſe ſeruitudes, yet there haue beene diuers in *France*; as part of *la Marche*, *Champaigne*, *Auuergne*, *Foreſt*, *Bourbonnois*, *Lyonnois*, *Bourgongne*, and others, whereof I may be ignorant. But the lower *Allemaignes* haue thereto bin more ſubiect, then any other that I know, euen as alſo *Allemaigne* it ſelfe. I would therefore aduiſe, that if any one happen (who is of an vnknowne place) to ſeeke coniunction in marriage: they would be careful firſt of his extraction, leaſt it fall out with them, as I haue ſeen in *Paris*, by an Aduocate of *Lyonnois*, a man of great meanes (attained vnto only by his knowledge) who being maried to a woman of an illuſtrious houſe, yet he dying without Children: the Patrone came and required lawfull ſucceſſion, and it was adiudged him by the Court. I could produce diuers Hiſtories to the like effect, but I let them ſleep in ſilence, fearing to be too tedious.

Diuers part in *France* ſubiect to ſuch ſeruitude.

Great danger in marriages, without carefull preuention.

Now a-daies, well neer all Chriſtendome, beginnes afreſh to make vſe of Slaues, except in *France*, and ſome other few places. But ſuch as are deſirous to vnderſtand more of their eſtate: let thē read the Bookes of the *Romaine* Lawes, and there they ſhall finde ſufficient diſcourſe; as alſo plenty of the like matter. And becauſe there is no vſe made of thē in *France*, they are not read of in their Vniuerſities: for the reading of ſuch argument, began to ceaſe a little before *Bartholus* wrote, concerning the Law of right, who liued in the yeare 1350.

The Bookes of the *Romaine* Lawes.

CHAP. XII.

Of the ſubuerſion of the moſt potent Empire of the Chaldæans, and of their admirable Citty of Babylon.

The magnificence and riches of the *Chaldæan* Empire. *Tertul aduer. Iudeos. Metaſthenes in rebus Iudicis. Lib. 4.*

NOthing was more famous in old time, nor more celebrated by all Hiſtoriographers, then the riches and magnificence of the *Chaldæan* Empire; which, beſides the Orientall Countries (from *India* to *Æthiopia*) included, al *Ægypt*, *Affricke*, and *Spaine*. In which reſpect, *Daniell* the Prophet ſaid to *Nabucadnezzer*, who was King thereof: *Tu es Rex Regum, & poteſtas tua in terminos vniuerſæ terræ. Thou art King of Kings, and thy power extendes it ſelfe to the bounds of the whole earth.* Beſides that, the wealth, ſtrength, and beauty of *Babylon* (the Imperiall Seate of the *Chaldæan* Kings) was ſuch; as it giueth ſufficient teſtimony of the Empires great power. For the wals were 50. cubits thick, and 200. cubits high. The Citty was (foure ſquare) 15. miles from one corner to another; and ſixty miles in compaſſe. Inſomuch, that *Ariſtotle* affirmeth, that whē it was taken, thoſe which dwelt in the furtheſt part of the Citty, did not heare of it in three daies. It had an hundred Gates, with the threſholds & poſts of Braſſe; great number of Marble temples, and golden Images: whole ſtreets ſhining and glittring with Gold and precious ſtones. And among other Temples, there was one of *Belus*, four ſquare, containing two Stades euery way, which was a quarter of a mile in length, and a mile in compaſſe. In the middeſt whereof there was a Tower, which (as well in breadth, as in heigth) contained a Stade; that is to ſay, halfe a quarter of a mile: vppon the which were raiſed eight other Towers, one aboue another, with eaſie ſtaires to aſcend vp to the top, where there was a Chappell with a ſumptuous Bed, and a Table of Gold. Finally, ſuch wonderfull things are written by graue Authors, of Arteficiall Mountaines, Orchards, and Gardens (called *Horti penſiles*) hanging Gardens, and ſuch other thinges, that they ſeeme incredible.

Dan. 2.

The Wealth, Beauty, and Strength of the Citty of *Babilon.*

Solinus cap. 60. Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 26. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 3. Strabo. Lib. 16. Hierom. Lib. 5. in Eſay. Cap. 14 Ariſt. Lib. 3. Politic.

Herodot. Lib. 2.

Boſius apud Ioſephum. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 3.

Hereby we may gather, how admirable was the wealth of the Kings of *Babylon*, and how great the power of their Monarchy; whereof the deſtruction was propheſied by *Eſay*, 200. yeares before it hapned, who ſaid in the perſon of God. *Ecce, ego ſuſcitabo ſuper eos Medos, &c. Behold, I will raiſe againſt them the Medians: and Babylon, which is ſo glorious amongſt all other Kingdoms, and ſo notable and famous in the pride of the Chaldæans, ſhall be ouerthrowne.* In like manner, *Ieremy* the Prophet (aboue ſixty yeares before it was taken) ſaid: *Suſcitauit Dominus, &c. The Lord hath raiſed vp the ſpirit of the King of the* Medians *againſt* Babylon, *and his meaning is to deſtroy it.* Alſo *Daniell* the Prophet, interpreting to *Balthazar* King of *Babylon*, the words, *Mæna, Thekel, Phares* (which were written miraculouſly before him, as hee was banqueting with his Nobility) fore-tolde the very day before it was taken, that God had giuen his Kingdome to the *Medes* & *Perſians*. All which was accompliſhed the night following, when *Darius* K. of *Media* and *Perſia* (whom *Xenophon* cald *Ciaxares*) beſiedging *Babylon*, tooke it on a ſudden, with the help of his Nephew *Cyrus* the *Perſian*, in the time of a great Feaſt, when the King, Nobility, & and people (contemning their enemies, in ouer-weening their owne ſtrength) attended only to banquets & ſports, as both *Xenophon* and *Herodotus* do teſtifie. They doe alſo declare the meanes how they tooke it, agreeing to the Prædictions of the Prophets: To wit, by a Stratagem of *Cyrus*, who cauſed certain ditches to be opened, to draw away the riuer *Euphrates* which paſſed through the Town; whereby the Channell was left dry, and the ſouldiers entring ſuddenly, ſurpriſed it without reſiſtance.

The deſtruction of *Babylon* propheſied 200. yeares before it happened.

Eſay. Cap. 13.

Ierem. Cap. 50.

Dan. Cap. 5.

Zenoph Lib. 7. How the propheſie of the deſtruction of *Babylon* was accompliſhed by the teſtimony of prophane Authors. *Zenoph Lib. Ibid Herodot. lib. 2.*

Of this drawing away the Riuer, *Ieremy* propheſied plainly, ſaying; *Deſertum faciam mare eius, & ſiccabo venā eius. I will make her Sea* (that is to ſay, her famous Riuer *Euphrates*) *deſert, and I will dry vp the vaine or Channell thereof.* And againe. *Vada præoccupato ſunt, &c. Her Fords or Waters, are preoccupated or intercepted.* And againe. *Siccitas ſuper aquas eius. Her Waters ſhall become dry.*

Icrem. Cap. 15.

Thus began the execution of Gods wrath vpon *Babylon*, and on the Empire of

of the *Chaldæans*, which was then translated to the *Medians* and *Persians*, according to the Prædictions of the Prophets: which Prædictions (neuertheleſſe) were not fulfilled all at once, but in proceſſe of time. For the Prophets fore-told not onely the ſurprize of the Citty, but alſo the vtter deſolarion thereof, and of the whole Countrey of *Babylon*. *Iercm. Cap. 51.* *Murus ille Babilonis latiſsimus*, (ſaith *Ieremy*) *ſuffoſione ſuffodietur, &c. That exceeding broad wall of Babylon, ſhall bee vndermined, and digged vp, and the high and magnificiall Gates thereof, ſhall be burnt.* And againe in another place, ſpeaking to the *Babylonians*, hee ſaith; *Idem. Cap. 50.* *Confuſa eſt mater veſtra, &c. Your mother* (meaning *Babylon*) *is wholly confounded, and made eeuen with the ground, &c. And all thoſe which ſhall paſſe by it, ſhall be amazed, and ſhall hiſſe at it, in reſpect of the plagues that ſhall fall vpon it.* Alſo *Eſay. Cap. 13.* *Eſay* propheſied, that it ſhould become a Wilderneſſe, ſaying; *Non habitabitur vſq; in finem, nec ponet ibi tentoria Arabs, nec paſtores requieſcent, ſed requieſcent ibi beſtiæ, &c. It ſhall not be inhabited to the end, nor the Arabian* (who driues his cattell from place to place, to ſeek feeding for them) *ſhall not pitch his Tentes there, nor ſo much as Shepheards ſhall remaine there, but it ſhall be a receptacle for wilde beaſts.*

All this (I ſay) was wofully accompliſhed afterward, for *Darius* the Sonne of *Hiſtaſpis* the *Perſian*, tooke *Babylon* againe the ſecond time, about forty years after the firſt ſurpriſe; by occaſion of the *Babylonians* rebellion, and then he raced the ſtrong and ſtately wals thereof. *Herodot. Lib. 3* *Iuſtin. Lib. 1.* And though the Citty was left ſtanding; yet it fell (by little and little) to deſolation. Eſpecially after the building of *Seleucia* by *Seleucus Nicanor*, and of *Cteſiphonte* by the Kinges of the *Parthians*: from which time forward it grew to be diſpeopled. *Plin. cap. 6. Lib. 26.* In ſo much, that in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour, there was nothing left of *Babylon* but a poore Wall, which ſerued in Saint *Ieromes* time (as hee witneſſeth) for an encloſure for all kinds of wild Beaſts, that were reſerued and kept there, for recreation of the Kinges of that Countrey, when they came to hunt in thoſe parts. *Hierom. Lib. 5. in Eſay. Cap. 13 in fine.* And thoſe which haue trauailed lately that way, affirme; that all that part where *Babylon* ſtood, is ſo full of Lyons and ſauage Beaſts, yea, and of murdring Theeues, and Robbers; that paſſengers are faine to haue Guards of Souldiers for their ſafety. Which I alſo note by the way, as an accompliſhment of the Propheſie of *Ieremy*, who ſaid. *Habitabunt ibi dracones, cum fatuis ſicarijs; Dragons or Beaſts of the Deſert, with wicked Murderers, ſhall dwell there.* *Ierem. Cap. 10.*

The great deſolation of that place, where *Babylon* ſtood.

Laſtly, it is certainely reported by others which haue been there, that there is not there-about any Towne or Village (for *Bagadat*, which is now called New *Babylon*, is a daies iourney from the place where the olde ſtood) nor ſo much as a Tree or greene Hearbe in all that Territory: but that all is (as the Prophet *Ieremy* foretold.) *Deſerta & arenes, Deſert and dry.* Which may be wondred at, conſidering the admirable fertility thereof in times paſt, for (as *Plinie* ſaith) it was the moſt fruitfull Country of all the Eaſt. And *Herodotus* affirmeth, that the ground yeilded ordinarily two hundred for one, and ſome yeares three hundred. And he forbeareth (as he ſaith) to recount other particulers thereof, becauſe the ſame would ſeeme incredible, to ſuch as had neuer ſeene it.

Bagadat, now called new *Babilon*, a daies iourney diſtant from where the old ſtood. *Bozius de ruinis gent. & regno.* Not a greene hearb or Tree in the territory of old *Babilon.* *Plin. nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 26.* *Herod. Lib 2.*

The admirable fertility of the Countrey of *Babylon* in times paſt.

But for as much as the Prophets doe all ſpecifie the particular cauſes; that is to ſay, the ſinnes whereby the *Babylonians* and *Chaldæans* incurred the wrath of Almighty God, and deſerued ſo great a pnniſhment: I will lay them downe in the Prophets owne words. *Eſay* ſpeaking of *Babylon* in the perſon of God, ſaid. *Quieſcere faciam ſuperbiam infidelium, & arrogantiam fortium humiliabo. I will make the pride of the miſcreants or Infidels to ceaſe, and I will humiliate the arrogancy of the ſtrong.* And in another place, the ſame Prophet ſpeaking to *Babylon*, of the calamities that ſhould fall vpon her, ſaid: *Vniuerſa venerunt ſuper te, &c. All thy miſeries fell vpon thee, for the multitude of thy Witch-crafts, and for the hardneſſe of the hearts of thy Enchaunters, &c. Stand foorth with the multitude of thy Witchcrafts, wherein thou haſt laboured, euen from thine Infancy, and ſee whether they can profit thee any thing. Thy Aſtrologers, and thoſe which were wont to contemplate the Starres, and to tell thee thinges to come: let them now come forth, and ſaue thee*

Eſay Cap. 13. The particuler cauſes why God deſtroyed *Babylon.*

The pride of the *Babylonians*

Witch-crafts. *Eſay Cap. 47. Ibid.*

Superſtitious Attrology.

thee if they can. Behold, they are all made like straw or stubble, the fire hath burnt thē, euery one hath erred in his way, and none can saue thee.

Ieiem Cap. 51. The crueltie of the *Babylonians* towards the people of God, & their Temple. *Ierem. Cap. 50.*

Also *Ieremy* comforteth the *Iewes* in their captiuity, saying in the person of God: *Reddam Babiloni, &c. I will render to* Babylon. *and to all the people of* Chaldæa, *all the euill and hurt they haue done in Syon.* And againe, *The Foundations of* Babylon *are fallen, the wals are destroyed; for it is the reuenge of our Lord, and the reuenge of his Temple.*

Dan. Cap. 5. Idolatry, and the prophanation of holy vessels.

Lastly, *Daniell* expounding to *Balthasar* (the last King thereof) the inscription written on the Wall, by the hand which appeared as he was banqueting with his Nobility: signified vnto him, that God had giuen his Kingdome to the *Medes* and *Persians*, as well for his pride and Idolatry; as also, because (in that banquet) he *Prophaned the holy vessels of the Temple*, which *Nabucadnezzer* his Grand-father had brought from *Ierusalem*, when he led the *Iewes* into captiuity. So that the mighty and potent sinnes for which God did ouerthrow so great an Empire, were, *Pride, Witchcraft, the superstitious vse of Astrologie, cruelty towards the people of God, destruction of his Temple in Hierusalem, and the prophanation of holy vessels dedicated to Gods seruice.* Whereby we may see, how heinous those sinnes were in the sight of God, and how grieuous the penalty of sinne is. Lastly, how true it is which S. *Ierome* saith, speaking of that mightie Empires subuersion: *All humane power is but dust and ashes, when the wrath of God striketh for sinne.* Thus much concerning the destruction of Babylon, and Translation of the *Chaldæan* Empire to the *Medians*: Next I thinke it most conuenient for me, to relate the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and wofull calamities of the *Iewes* euer since.

Hierom. lib. 5 in Esay. Cap. 14. All humane power but dust & ashes, when God striketh for sinne.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the destruction of Ierusalem, and wofull calamities of the Iewes euer since.

Esay. cap. 10. & 13. Ierem. Cap. 19. I Omit (for breuities sake) the Prophesies of *Esay* and *Ieremy*, and will onelie speake of two other: the one of *Daniel*, and the other of our Sauiour himselfe. *Daniel* writing after the first destruction of *Hierusalem* by *Nabuchadnezzer*, during the Iewes captiuity in Babylon, and hauing prophesied of the re-edifycation of the Temple, saith further in these wordes: *Et post sexaginta duas hebdomadas, occidetur Christus, &c. After threescore and two weekes* (that is to say, 490. yeares, counting the weekes by yeares, and not by daies; to wit, seauen yeares to euery weeke) *Christ, or the Messias shall be killed, and the people which shall not be his people, and the Cittie and Sanctuary shall be destroyed, by a people that shall come with their Captaine, and the end of it shall be destruction, and after the end of the war, shall follow the determined desolation.*

Daniels prophesie of *Ierusalems* destruction. Dan. Cap. 7.

This was the prophesie of *Daniell*, of *Ierusalems* destruction, and the cause thereof, aboue 500. yeares before it happened: which our Sauiour himselfe told more particularly, who (a little before his passion) going downe to *Hierusalem* from the Mount *Oliuet* (whence he had the full view and prospect of the Citty) wept for compassion hee had of the misery that was to fall vpon it, saying; *Veniens dies inte, &c. The daies shall come in thee Hierusalem, that thy Enemies shall enuiron thee round about, and shall straiten thee on euery side, and shal not leaue in thee one stone vpon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.* And again (afterwards) he said to his Disciples *When ye shall see Ierusalem besiedged with an Army: then know, that the desolation thereof is at hand. Then those which are in Iudea, let them fly to the Mountaines, and those that are in the midst of it, let them depart; and those which are in the Countries adioyning, let them not enter into it: For that these are the daies of reuenge, to the end that al those thinges which haue bin written thereof, may be fulfilled. Woe be to Women with child, and to Nurses in those daies; for there shal be great misery vpon the earth, & wrath vpon the people: and they shall fall in the face of the Sword, and shall bee carried captiues into all Nations, and Ierusalem shal be troden vnder the feet of the Gentiles.*

Our Sauiours prophesie of *Ierusalems* destruction. Luke. Cap. 19 Luke. Cap. 21 Math. Cap. 24 Mark. Cap. 13

And afterward againe, when the women of *Ierusalem* bewayled and lamented him, when he went to his Passion, he said to them. *Weepe not for me (ô yee Daughters of Ierusalem) but for your selues and*

Luke. Cap. 23

and your Children. For loe, the daies shall come, when they shall say; Happy are the barren, and the wombs that haue not born children, and the paps that haue not giuen suck. Then they shal begin to say to the mountains, fal vpon vs; and to hils, couer vs, &c. Thus said our Sauior, which I haue set down the more particularly; to the end, we may consider, how the euent corresponded to his Propheſie, by the Testimony of prophane Authors; especially of famous *Iosephus* the *Iew*, who was an eye-witnesse, and partaker of the common calamity of his Country, though (being blinded no lesse then the rest) he had not the grace to acknowledge the true cause thereof.

The siedge of Ierusalem 40. yeares after our Sauiours passion.

Although there passed almost sortie yeares, before the siedge of *Ierusalem* after our Sauiours death: yet Almighty God began much sooner, to execute his iust iudgements vpon the *Iewes*, in most euident and rigorous manner; not only in *Ierusalem* & *Iudea*, but also in al other parts where they dwelled. It seeming conuenient to his Iustice, that as they were assembled in *Ierusalem* at his passion, and all consenting to his condemnation; so they should pay the penaltie thereof in all parts whersoeuer they liued. And therefore, within 7. or 8. years after our Sauiour suffered, there were infinite numbers of them slaughtered in all the Cities of *Syria*, *Egipt*, and other countries, by conspiracies of the people against them. As in *Seleucia* 50000. In *Damascus* 18000. In *Cæsarea* 20000. In *Scithopolis* 13000. In *Ascalon* 2500. In *Alexandria* 50000. Beside 10000. more in other Cities of *Ægipt*; and 5000. in *Ioppa*. Within a few years after, *Claudius* the Emp. banished al the *Iewes* out of *Rome*, by a publike Edict; and out of all the Country of *Iudæa*. Besides, the City of *Hierusalem* was miserably infected with Theeus, Robbers, Murderers, Magitians, false Prophets; and seditious persons; prophaning the very Temple with bloud: insomuch, that 20000. were killed, and the most of them stifled in a tumult in *Hierusalem*, at a Feast of Easter (as we cal their *Pascha*.) Al which *Iosephus* recounteth, as the preamble to their ruine. Besides, their Gouernours did vse such tyranny vpon them, vnder the Emperours *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*: that very many of them were forced to abandon their Countrey, and the rest to rebell. Which brought vpon the the Armies of the *Romaines*; first vnder *Cestius*, Gouernor of *Syria*, who burned, spoyled, and ransacked all *Palestine*, and besiedged Ierusalem it selfe. Afterward; *Vespatian* destroied all the Country, and great numbers of the people with Fire and Sword: whiles also (in the meane time) they were miserably afflicted with Famine and Ciuill Wars, by reason of three potent seuerall factions, which arose amongst them; first, in the Prouinces abroad; and after in the Citty of *Ierusalem*, where the seditious slue great numbers of their Aduersaries, euen in the Temple it selfe, and committed such horrible sacriledges, & other abhominable mischiefes therin, that *Iosephus* saith thereof. *Non recusabo dicere. &c. I wil not forbeare to say that, which sorrow forceth me to vtter. I verily thinke, that if the Romaines had not come when they did, against those most wicked men of my Nation, either the earth wold haue opened & swalowed the Citty, or another Deluge would haue drowned it; or thunder-bolts and fire from Heauen would haue destroyed and consumed it.*

Idem. ibid. lib. 3 Cap. 2. 3. 4.

Idem ibid. Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Ioseph. de bel. Iudaic. Lib. 6. Cap. 16.

Thus saith *Iosephus*, and this was the state of the *Iewes*, when *Vespasian* (being chosen Emperour of the *Romaines*) left the charge and prosecution of the warre against them, to his Sonne *Titus*: who (presently after) planted his siege before the Citty of *Hierusalem*, while the *Iewes* (according to their yearely custome) were assembled there out of all parts, to celebrate their Feast of *Pascha*. Which time was ordained by the special prouidence of God, that the time of their punishment, might answere to the time of their offence (for that they had put our Sauior to death at their *Paschall* Feast.) And partly, to the end, that the reuenge might be the more cõpleat on the whol Nation, by reason of the infinit number of them that were assembled there; for celebration of the Feast; euen from all parts of *Iudea*; and the Countries adioyning. The Towne being besiedged, was (within few daies) enuironed by the *Rõmans*, according to our Sauiors propheſie; not onely with a Trench, but also with a wall; in such sort, that no liuing creature could issue out any way. By means whereof, and of the great multitude of people within the Town, there

Ierusalem besiedged by Gods especial prouidence, at a Feast of Easter.

How our Sauiors propheſie was fulfilled. Luke 19.

The wonderfull punnishments of God vpon the *Iews* many yeares before the siedge of Ierusalem.

Ioseph. lib 1. de bello Iudaico. cap. 21. et in 41. Idem. de bel. Iudai. Lib. 2. cap. 19. 20 et Lib. 7. Cap. 28. Sueton. in Claudio. Anno. 51.

Ioseph. Lib. 10. de Antiq. Cap. 6 & de bel. Iudaic. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. 12, 13. 14. 15. Idem. Lib 20. de Antiquit. cap. 4.

Idem lib 2 de bello Iudaic.

Ioseph.de bel. Iud.lib.6. Cap. 13.et Lib.7.ca. 7.8.

The extream famine in besiedged Ierusalem.

grew (within a while) such extreamity of famine: that they were forced to eat, not onely Horses, Asses, Dogs, Rats, & Mice, & the Leather that couered their Shields and Bucklers; but also the very dung out of the Stables, yea, and a Noble woman was known to eate her own child that suckt vpon her breast; wherin was fulfilled the Propheſie of our Sauiour, when he said: *Beatæ ſteriles, &c. Happy are the barren, and the bellies which haue not brought forth Children, &c.*

Luke.Cap.23

But to proceede, in the meane time, the beſieged were no leſſe infeſted with cruell ſedition, and war amongſt themſelues; then with famine, & the aſſaults of their enemies abroad. Inſomuch, that they filled the Citty and Temple with their own blood, and ſuch as were taken by the *Romans*, were (by the commaund of *Titus*) crucified before the wals of the Citty, to the number of 500. euery day, vntill at length (as *Ieſephus* reporteth) there wanted both Croſſes for the Bodies, and place for the Croſſes: ſo that, their clamorous ſentence of *Crucifige*, (giuen againſt our Sauiour Chriſt) was iuſtly executed vpon themſelues.

The extream miſery of the *Iews* beſieged.

Ioſeph.Lib. 6. cap. 12.

Luke.Cap.13

Alſo, great numbers of them, who (being forced with Famine) ſought to ſaue their liues, by yeilding themſelues to their enemies: were (neuertheleſſe) killed by the *Syrian* and *Arabian* Souldiers, and their Bowels ript vp, in hope to find Gold therein; vpon a report, or at leaſt a conceit, that the *Iews* did ſwallow their Gold, to conuay it out of the Citty by that meanes. And ſuch was the miſery within the City, by Famine, Peſtilence, and cruelty of the factions one againſt another; that (as *Ioſephus* reporteth) all the ſinkes, void places, and retreats; yea, the very ſtreets were full of dead bodies, which were continually caſt out from the Houſes, and trodden vpon like Duſt and Dirt. Wherein the Propheſie of *Eſay* was fulfilled, who ſaid; *Facta ſunt morticinia, &c. Their Carkaſſes became like Dirt or Dung in the midſt of the Streetes.* And although it was ordained at the firſt, that the dead Bodies ſhould bee buried at the Cities publike charge, to remedy the contagion, which daily encreaſed by the Peſtilent ſauour of them: yet the number grew within a while to be ſo great, that there was no place to bury them; inſomuch, that the liuing were forced to caſt the dead ouer the Wals, into the Ditch of the Towne, and in ſo great numbers, that *Titus* the *Romaine* Generall ſeeing it, and noting the filth and corruption that iſſued out of their Woundes and Plague-ſores, moſt loathſome to behold; exclaiming, ſaid: *That it was ſome extraordinary punniſhment of God vppon them for their ſinnes; and not any effect of his ſiedge.*

Ioſe.de bel.Iud. Lib. 6.cap.14.

Finally, after fiue months ſiedge, the Temple and City were burned, and the Wals raced, excepting one little peece thereof, which was left for ſome ſhelter and defence for the Souldiours, who were to remain in thoſe parts: beſides, ſome pieces of three Towers, which *Titus* commaunded ſhould be left, for a Monument and remembrance of his ſiedge. Whereas al the reſt of the Citty was deſtroyed (as *Ioſephus* ſaith) that it ſeemed neuer to haue beene inhabited. Which our Sauiour ſignified, when he ſaid; *Et proſternent, &c. And they ſhall lay thee flat vpon the ground, and one ſtone ſhall not be left vpon another in thee.* To conclude, the number of thoſe which were ſlaine, and dyed during the ſiedge, was (as *Ioſephus* reporteth) a Million and an hundred thouſand, and of the Captains 97000. whereof *Ioſephus* himſelfe was one: And of thoſe, ſome were condemned to the publike works; others (of the ſtronger and handſomer ſort) carried in triumph; and ſuch as were vnder the age of 17. yeares, were ſold for little or nothing. And thoſe which remained in the Countrey, were loaden with ſuch grieuous impoſitions and tributes, that they liued in continuall miſery.

Ieruſalem taken and deſtroyed, after fiue months ſiedge.

Ioſeph. Lib. 7. Cap.10.

Luke 19.

Ioſeph.Lib.7. Cap.17.

The number of Iewes that dyed & were ſlaine, and of the Captiues.

Thus much concerning the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, whereof (I thinke) the like hath not bin read or heard in all Antquity. But what? was the Iuſtice of God ſatisfied, & his wrath towards the *Iewes* appeaſed with this? No, for (as the Prophet *Eſay* ſaid, when he propheſied of the lamentable deſtruction of the City:) *In omnibus his non eſt auerſus furor eius, ſed adhuc manus eius extenta. His wrath was not auerted from them with all this, but his hand is ſtill out-ſtretched to puniſh them.*

The continuance of Gods puniſhments vpon the *Iews*, euer ſince the deſtruction of Ieruſalem.

Eſay. Cap. 5.

This may euidently appeare, by the wonderfull calamities which fell vpon them after, not only in *Iudæa*, but alſo in all

all other places where they were disperſed: As firſt (in the next age) in the time of *Traiane* the Emperour, within leſſe then fifty yeares after the ſubuerſion of *Ieruſalem*; *Infinita eorum millia, &c.* (ſaith *Euſebius*) *Infinite thouſands of them were killed, for their rebellions in Ægypt, Meſopotamia*, and the Iſland of *Cyprus*. For in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where they liued in great multitude, all of them were put to the Sword. In *Macedonia*, they were vtterly extinguiſhed. And in *Cyprus* they were all eyther killed, or baniſhed; and a Law made, that it ſhould be death for any Iew to tarry there, though he were driuen thither by Tempeſt againſt his wil. And a few years after, *Iulius Seuerus* being called out of *Britttany* by the Emperor *Adrian* (to repreſſe a rebellion of the *Iewes*) deſtroyed almoſt al the countrey,

For, as *Dion* writeth, he diſmanteld fifty ſtrong Forts, razed or burnt 965. Townes and Villages, and killed aboue 50000. Iewes in battaile; beſides that, an infinite number of others either died by fire, famine, and peſtilence, or were ſold for Slaues. And ſuch (ſaith S. *Hierom*) as could not be ſold, *Were tranſlated into Ægypt, or elſe periſhed by ſhip-wracke, famine, or by the ſword of the Gentiles*. And the Emperor hauing (lately before) re-edified the Citty of *Ieruſalem*, and called it (after his owne Name) *Ælia Adria*, commaunded by publike Edict, that no Iew ſhould (euer after) enter into the Territory or iuriſdiction thereof, nor ſo neere vnto it, that hee might behold it from any high place. Shortly after *Adrians* time, they were alſo miſerably afflicted by the Emperor *Antonius Pius*, for another rebellion; and after him again, by *Marcus Aurelius*, who being wearied with their continuall tumults (as ſaith *Amianus Marcellinus*) exclaimed againſt them, ſaying; That they were worſe then the *Marcomani, Quadi*, and *Sarmates*, whom he held to be the moſt beaſtly of all barbarous Nations. And again, ſome yeares after they were ſubdued and deſtroied by the Emp. *Seuerus*, who triumphed for his great victory againſt them, and renewed the decrees of *Adrian*, for their excluſion from the ſight of their Country, by means whereof, they were counted no better then Vagabonds.

And therefore *Tertullian* (who wrote in the ſame time) ſaid of them thus. *Diſperſi, palabundi cæli et ſoli ſui extorres, vagantur per orbem ſine homine, ſine Deo rege. They wander about the world, diſperſed, ſcattred, & baniſhed from their native ſoyle and ayre, hauing neither God nor Man for their King: Quibus nec aduenarum iure, terram patriam ſalutare conceditur: Who may not ſo much as (in gueſt-wiſe) ſalute or ſee their owne Countrey.* Thus ſaid *Tertullian*, and ſo odious & hatefull became they afterward to all men; that they were tearmed *Fœtentes Iudæi, Filthy* and ſtinking *Iewes*, as appeareth in *Amianus Marcellinus*, a *Pagane* Hiſtoriographer.

Whereof ſome alſo yeild a particuler reaſon, manifeſting Gods malediction vpon them; to wit, That all *Iewes* haue a filthy and lothſome ſauor continually, euer ſince their diſperſion; and that they perſwade themſelues, that the ſame cannot be cured, but with drinking the bloud of Chriſtians. For which cauſe, they haue killed many children at diuers times, and in diuers * Countries. And particularly in *Trent*, in the yeare of our Lord 1475. at what time they miſerably crucified a young Child of 20. monthes old, called *Simon*: and the *Iewes* being taken for the fact, confeſſed, that one of the cauſes that mooued them thereto, was to drinke his bloud, for remedy of their ſtinking diſeaſe: as writeth *Iohannes Mathias Tiberinus*, a Learned Phiſitian, who liued in *Trent* at the ſame time. But to returne to the former ages, from whence I haue a little digreſſed. After the time of the Emperour *Seuerus*, they rebelled alſo againſt *Conſtantine* the Great; for the which, great numbers of them had their eares cut off, and were (by the Emperors commandement) diſperſt throughout all Countries, with that and other marks of Infamy, for generall ſhame and reproach of al the Nation. And not many yeares after, there were many thouſands of them ſlaine in *Iudea*, without reſpect of young or old: and three or foure of their chiefe Cities, and very many of their Townes, were burnt in the time of *Conſtantius*, Son to *Conſtantine* the Great, for another rebellion.

And heere I cannot but note by the way (for further manifeſtation of Gods wrath towards them) that although the

Anno. 116. & 117.

Euſeb. in Chron. 18. an. Traiani.

Euſeb. lib. 4 cap. 2. et in Chron.

Infinite numbers of Iewes ſlain in diuers parts of the World, in the times of the Emperours *Traiane* and *Adrian*.

Dion in Hadriano.

Hierom. in Zachariam Cap. 21. Anno. 137.

Euſeb. Eccleſt. Hiſt. lib. 4 ca. 6 Iewes forbidden (by Edict) to behold their owne Country a far off.

Iulius Capitolin. in Anton. Anno. 141. The affliction of the Iewes vnder *An. Pius, Mar. Aurel.* and *Seuerus*. *Am. Mar. Lib. 22. Anno. 173.*

Spartian. in Seuero. Baron. Anno. 199.

Tertul. cont. Iudæos Cap. 11. et Apologet. ca. 11.

The *Paynims* called the *Iewes, Fœtentes Iudæi*, ſtinking Iewes. *Am. Marcel. Lib. 22.*

The reaſon of the ſtinke that the *Iews* haue, and the remedy which they haue ſometimes vſed for the ſame.

* See *Mat. Paris* and *I. Capgraue*, of the death of *S. Hugh* a childe, crucified at *Lincolne. Anno. 1255.* and another at *Norwich. An. 1146.*

Surius 24. Martij. Io. Mar. Ep ad Senat. pop. Brixian.

Chryſ. Orat. 2. aduerſ. Iudæos circa. An. 313. The miſery of the Iewes in the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, & *Conſtantius* his Sonne.

Hier. in Chron. Anno. 351. Sozomen. Lib. 4. Cap. 6.

The fauour done to the *Iewes* by *Iulian* the *Apostata*, turned to their confusion.

Emperour *Iulian* the *Apostata*, who succeeded *Constantius*, fauored thē so much for the short time of his raigne (which was but 20. months) that he gaue them leaue, not only to returne to *Ierusalem* to inhabite there; but also to re-edifie their Temple, yet it rather turned to their confusion, then to their contentment and commodity. For first, as concerning the re-edification of their Temple, when they had made collections of great sums of Money (whereto, as well Women as Men most zealously contributed so much, as they were any way able, with intention to make it more beautifull then euer it was:) they lost both their labour & charges, being forced (by three prodigious accidents) to surcease the worke after they had begun it.

The re-edification of the Temple in *Ierusalem* miraculously hindred.

For when all things necessarie for the building were prouided, the foundation laid vpon the ground-workes of the old Temple, the wals rising apace, the *Iewes* triumphing, and insulting against our Sauiour Christ and the Christians (who were much dismaied, in respect of the cleare propheſies of *Daniell*, fore-telling the perpetual desolation of the temple:) It pleased Almighty God, that first an Earth-quake dissolued the Foundation, and ouerthrew the wal that was begun; and then a fire from Heauen consumed as well the Tooles and Instruments of the Work-men, as also the Timber and other matters prepared for the building; yea, and burnt very many of the *Iewes* themselues. Lastly, for their further confusion, and that it might be manifest vnto them, from whence all this proceeded: there appeared a Crosse in the ayre, and the apparrell of all those which were present, was miraculously marked with Crosses, which could neuer after be washed out, nor taken away by any meanes; where-with the *Iewes* were so confounded, that they desisted from their work, and many of them became Christians. This Story is written by *Ruffinus*, *Socrates*, S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and S. *Chrisostome*, who saith; *Huius rei nos omnes testes sumus, nostra enim ætate ante annos viginti hec acciderunt. We are all witnesses of this matter, for it hapned in this our age, litle more then 20. years ago.* Loe then how little the fauour of earthly Kings and Princes auaileth, when the heauenly King disfauoureth and punisheth for sinne. And also how true it is which the royal Prophet saith; *Nisi Dominus ædificauerit domum, &c. Except the Lord builde the house, they labour in vaine who build it.* And now as concerning the aboad of the *Iewes* at *Hierusalem* afterwards, it is euident, that they remained not long there: but that within a while after *Iulians* death (who dyed presentlie after this chanced) they were not onely expelled thence, but also forbidden againe to enter into the Citty. For we read, that within 20. yeares after, in the time of the Emperors *Theodosius* & *Valentinian*, their custome was to purchase licence for Money (yearely) to goe thither, to bewaile the subuersion of their Temple, in the aniuersary day thereof: as witnesseth S. *Ierom*, who liued many years in those parts, and wrote there (at the same time) his learned Commentaries vpon the lesser Prophets. Wherein hee notably describeth the miserable estate, as well of the whole Countrey, as of the *Iewes* themselues, which therefore I thought good to set down in his owne words.

Circa An. 389.

The *Iews* purchased licence for mony, to go to *Ierusalem* to bewaile the subuersion of their Temple, in the time of *Theodosius*.

As for the destruction (saith he) of the strong Cities, which were wont to be in *Iudæa*; I thinke it may better bee iudged by the eye, then by the eare; better by sight, then by report. And I especially, who am now in this Prouince, cannot but see it, and approue those things which haue beene written of it: For we see now scant any little Monument of the old ruines, in some of the greatest Cities which flourished in times past. In *Silo*, where the Tabernacle and Arke of the Testament of our Lord was; the very Foundations of the Altar scant appeare. *Gabaa*, that great Citty of *Saul*, is pulled downe to the very ground. *Rama* and *Bethoron*, and the other famous Cities, built by *Salomon*; are now little villages. And a little after. And at this present day, the perfidious and Traiterous Iewes, are forbidden to enter into *Ierusalem*; except it bee to weepe, and bewaile the subuersion of their Temple, for the which also they are enforced to pay Money. So that, as in times past, they bought the bloud of Christ: so now they are faine to buy their owne teares, and cannot bee suffered so much as to weepe of free cost. You might see, in

Ierom in Sophoniam. Cap. 1. Saint *Ierome* an eye-witnes of the desolation of *Iudæa*, and misery of the Iewes.

As the Iewes bought the bloud of Christ, so they were fain afterward to buy their owne teares,

Anno. 363.

Ruffin. Lib. 1. *Cap.* 37. *Socr. lib.* 3. *cap.* 17. *Greg. Nazian. Orat.* 2. *in Iulianum. Christ. Orat.* 2. *aduer. Iudæos.*

» in the day that *Ieruſalem* was taken and deſtroyed by the *Romaines* (that wofull people) old Women at Deaths doore, and old Men loaden no leſſe with rags, then yeares, came flocking thither, bearing the Teſtimony of Gods wrath in their very Bodies and Habits. And a little after; A wofull multitude of miſerable people (whom yet no Man pittieth) aſſemble themſelues there, to lament the ruine of their Temple. And while they haue yet their Cheekes bedewed with Teares, and their naked Armes ſtretched vppe to Heauen; and their Haire ſpred about their eares: the pittileſſe Souldier asketh them ſome reward, to ſuffer them to weepe a little longer. And can any Man (who ſhall ſee this) doubt, but that this is the day of their tribulation, and the time of their Anguiſh, Calamity, and miſery, whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh? Thus ſaith Saint *Hierom*, of the Infelicity of the Iewes, and their excluſion from *Ieruſalem*, in the time of *Theodoſius*.

Chryſoſt. Orat. 2 cont. Iudæos. Circa An. 397.

Furthermore, Saint *Chryſoſtome* writing ſome yeares after; in the time of the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, affirmed, that the Iews hauing loſt their Liberty and Country; *Were contemptible and ridiculous to all men throughout the World, from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and to the very extreamity and further-moſt boundes of the Earth.* Their miſery alſo (in thoſe times) appeareth by two Lawes of *Honorius* the Emperour; the one againſt them, and the other in fauour of them. By the firſt he ordained, *That no Iewe ſhould haue any kinde of Honour or Office in the Common-wealth, and that ſuch as already had any, ſhould bee depriued thereof.* The other Law made in fauor of them, was; *To repreſſe the fury of the people againſt them in all parts*, becauſe for foure yeares together, before that Law was made; their Sinagogues were burnt, & they themſelues deſpightfully and cruelly handled euery where; which the Emperor reſtrained by a publike Edict, leaſt (otherwiſe) they ſhould be vtterly extinguiſhed.

The miſery of the Iewes in the times of *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*.

Cod. Theod. lib. 24. An. 418.

And who is able to recount all the plagues and calamities, which ſince that time haue fallen vpon thē euery where? And how they haue bin oppreſſed, ſpoiled, baniſhed, and maſſacred, whereſoeuer they haue liued? In *France* 90000. of them were forced to be baptized, or to fly the Countrey, in the yeare of our Lorde 614. In *Spaine*, a conſpiracy of theyrs being detected, in the yeare 694. all their goods were confiſcate, themſelues made Slaues, and their Children (vnder the age of ſeauen yeares) taken from them and Chriſtned. In the yeare 1009. it being diſcouered and publiſhed, that certaine Iewes in *France* had intelligence (by Letters) with the Prince of *Babylon*, and had procured the ſubuerſion of a famous Church in *Ieruſalē*, wher the Sepulcher of our Sauior was ſaid to be; there was ſuch a general hatred conceiued againſt them throughout Chriſtendome, that they were tormented & ſlaine in all places where they dwelled; ſome hanged, ſome burned, others put to the Sword: beſides, very many, that (to auoide torments) killed themſelues. Alſo in the year 1348. infinite numbers of them were maſſacred in *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, vpon a report, that they had poyſoned the Wels in al thoſe Countries, and cauſed a great mortality of people, which dyed at the ſame time. And in the yeare 1492. all Iewes were expelled out of *Spaine*, to the number of 124000. Families, of whom there died 2000. of the plague, as they were remouing, and the like rigour was vſed againſt them in *Portugall* ſome few years after.

Aimonnius & append. ad Greg. Turo. An. 614. Hiſpa. An. 614

Ioan. Vaſei. Chron. Hiſp. An. 694. Gaber. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Barō. An. 1009 Nauc. in Anno. 1348. Pet. Mex. de vit. Imp. in Cato

Alſo in *England*, in the time of K. *Richard* the firſt, great numbers of them that then dwelled in *Lincolne* and *Yorke*, were ſlaine (as well women as men) in a tumult of the people. And vnder King *Iohn*, they were miſerably oppreſſed with taxes and impoſitions, and ſuch of them as wold not pay what was demanded of them; were cruelly tormented, vntill they gaue ſatisfaction. Amongſt others, it is written of one of them, that ſeauen of his teeth were pulled out, one after another, before he would graunt to pay a Taxe of ten thouſand Markes; which he was content at laſt to pay, to ſaue the reſt. Laſtly, vnder King *Edward* the firſt, they were all baniſhed out of England by Act of Parliament.

The miſery of the Iewes in England, while they liued there.

Polid. in Ric. 2. Idem in Ioan.

Math. Paris. Hiſt. in Ioan.

Polid. in Ed. 1.

The calamities of the Iewes in all Chriſtian Countries, ſince the year of our Lord, 1000.

And at this preſent time, experience ſheweth, that whereſoeuer they yet dwell among Chriſtians; they liue in al contempt and ſubiection, being (as it were) ſlaues to them whom they moſt

Iewes at this present euery where contemned and oppressed, as well among *Turks & Moors*, as among Christians.

hate. And so odious is the race & name of them in most Christian Countries, that it is counted Infamy to be descended of them, or to marry with them, although they become Christians. In so much, that in *Spaine* and *Portugall*, where there are great numbers of baptized *Iewes* (whom they call *Christianos nuenos*, *New Christians*) no man is capable (of them) of any Knighthood, or yet (in some places) of any dignity Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, if he be any way descended of them, which is speciallie enquired of, by expresse Commissions sent forth for that purpose. Neither is this their oppression or seruitude onely amongst Christians; but also among *Turkes* & *Moores*, as graue Authours do testifie, and those which trauaile their Countries, do finde by experience.

The blindnes of the Iewes, & their hardnesse of heart, their greatest plague.

Finally, we may adde hereto another plague (surpassing all the rest) which God hath laid vpon them, for the consummation of their infelicity & misery: I meane their blindnesse and hardnesse of hart, which is not only of it selfe *magna damnatio*, *A great damnation* (as S. *Augustine* calleth it; but also doth exclude them from all remedy, so long as it continueth. This the Prophet *Esay* signified when he said. *Excœca cor populi huius, &c. Make blind the harts of this people, & agrauate their eares, and shut vp their eyes, least peraduenture they may see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their harts, and be conuerted, and I moued to heale them.* Also the royal Prophet *Dauid*, to the same purpose. *Obscurentur* (saith he) *oculi eorum, &c. Let their eyes (ô Lord) be obscured, that they may not see, and lay a perpetuall load or burthen vppon their backs.* And the same was also signified, or rather propheſied by *Moyses*, when hee threatned the people of the *Iewes*, saying: *Percuti et te Dominus amentia, &c. The Lord will strike thee with madnesse, blindnesse, and fury of mind, that thou mayst go groping in the mid-day, as the blinde man gropes in the darke, and mayest not direct thy waies, but alwaies sustaine shame and reproach, and bee oppresst with violence, and not haue any man to deliuer thee.*

Aug Psal. 9.

Esay. Cap. 6.

Psalme 68.

Deut. Cap. 9.

Thus said *Moyses*, threatning the children of *Israel* (in case they should forsake the Lord their God) but prophetically describing the inuincible blindnesse and miserable state, wherein the whole Nation of the *Iewes* should liue after our Sauiours passion, vntill the end of the World: at what time the Lord hath promised to haue mercy on them. And therefore the Apostle saide; that the blindnes of the whole nation of the *Iews* ingenerall should continue: *Donec plenitudo gentium intraret: vntill the fulnesse of the Gentiles should enter*; that is to say, *vntill all Nations should be conuerted. Et sic omnis Israel saluus fierit*; *And so all Israell should be saued.* And to the same purpose the Psalmist saith: *Conuertentur ad vesperam: They shall be conuerted towardes the Euening*; that is to say, towards the end of the world.

The Iews shal be conuerted in the end of the World. Rom. Cap. 11.

Psalme 58.

Now then, all this being considered, and in their dispersion throughout all Countries for 1500. yeares space, they haue euer conserued vntill this day their Name and Nation: we cannot but acknowledge with S. *Augustine*, that Almighty God hath (of his prouidence & iust iudgment) signed and marked them like *Caine*, that they may neuer bee extinguished, but remaine alwaies a distinct people from all other, to bear and endure the deserued scourge of his wrath, and to serue not onely for a manifest example of his iustice, but also for an euident testimony against themselues and all Infidels, of the omnipotent Diuinity of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, whom they crucified; and of the verity of our Christian Religion, which they impugne.

Aug in Psa. 58.

Gene. 4. The causes why God hath ordained, that the Iewes shall still remaine a distinct people from all other, notwithstanding their generall dispersion.

This S. *Augustine* well considred, who expounding this Verse of the Psalme; *Ne occideris eos, nequando obliuiscantur populi mei*: saith, that it may well bee vnderstood as the words of our Sauior to his Father, concerning the *Iewes*, as though he should say; *Istos inimicos meos qui me occiderunt, noli tu occidere, maneat Gens Iudæorum. These my Enemies (ô Father) who haue killed me, doe not thou kill, but let the Nation of the Iewes remain.* Whereof also he yeildeth two reasons; the one, that they remaining in continuall affliction, may be a Testimony to the World, as well of their owne sinne and great ingratitude to Almighty God; as also of his Iustice in punishing the same. The other reason is, *Quia necessarij sunt credentibus gentibus: Because they are necessary for the Gentiles which*

Psalme 58.

Aug. in Psal. 58

Augus. Ibid.

which beleeue. And why? *Onely* (saith he) *to the end, that* (as the Psalmist saith: *) Almighty God may shew vnto vs his mercy in our very enemies*, that is to say; That by their obstinacie and reprobation, we may see his mercy towards vs in our vocation. Besides that, *They serue vs also* (saith he in another place) *for Porters, to beare and carrie after vs the Lawe and the Prophets, in testimony of the Doctrine of our Christian Catholick Church.*

August. Lib. 121. cont. Faust.

In which respect, S. *Bernard* saith notably. *Non sunt persequendi Iudæi, nõ sunt trucidandi, nec effugandi, quidem, &c. The Iewes are not to be persecuted, they are not to be killed, no nor to be chased from amongst vs.* And then giuing the reason therof, he saith, *Viui quidem apices nobis sunt, &c. They are liuely Letters, representing vnto vs the passion of our Lorde; for they are dispersed into all Countries, to the end, that vvhile they pay the penalty of their horrible crime, they may be witnesses of our redemption. Besides that* (saith he) *if they vvere quite extinguished, how should the promise of their reduction and conuersion to the latter end of the world be fulfilled?* Thus reasoneth S. *Bernard*, which I haue thoght good to note by the way, to satisfie the scruple of some in these daies, who are scandalized to see the Iewes suffered to liue at *Rome*, and other Christian countries, not considering (as it seemeth) the perticuler prouidence of God therein, who so ordaineth it for their greter punishment, his owne greater glory, and the manifestation of his loue towardes vs, the Confirmation of our Christian Religion; yea, and for the saluation of some of them, whom it pleaseth him to call to the Christian faith. While (nethertheless) their whole Nation ingenerall, beareth the heauy burthen of their owne malediction, which they gaue against themselues, when as they cried, *Sanguis eius super nos, & super filios nostros: His blood light vpon vs, and on our children.*

Bern. ad Epis. cler. et popu. spir. Epist. 322.

The *Iewes* ought not to be expelled from among Christians, and why.

Why the *Iews* are suffred to liue in Christian Cities.

Math. Cap. 27.

Thus much concerning the Iustice of God vppon the people of the Iewes for their sinne; which sin, as it was the greatest that euer was committed: so also it hath had, and still hath, the greatest and most rigorous punishment, that euer was laide vppon any Nation or Country, and is so euident, that it cannot be denied.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of a crafty and subtile Physitian, who attained to bee super-intendent in the affayres of France, *and gouerned or ouerswayed King Lewes the eleauenth, who was accounted the best aduised, and most ingenious Prince in his time.*

IT hath bin said, and the same opinion (for the more part) stil continueth, that *Lewes* eleuenth of that name, and King of France, was the ablest and best aduised Prince, that either was before him, or hath bin since. In regard that at his entrance, he found the whole Kingdom in combustion; his Subiects, cheefest Citties, and Lords of greatest power coniured against him: yet did he so dexteriously pacifie them all, & afterward, set such diuision among them; that he became sole Commander, retyred *Guyenne* to him, which was his Brothers portion, who dyed soon after, not without some suspition of the Kinges acquaintance in the act. Hee found the meanes to accord himselfe with the K. of *England*, hauing preuailed with some of his Counsell, and made a present to him of a great quantity of good wines: albeit the said King had crost the Sea, to ioyne his power with the Duke of *Bourgongn* (a heauy enemy to *Lewes*) and war fiercely on France. Afterward, he dealt so discreetly with the saide Duke, who was then busied in foyling the *Suitzers*, *Lorraines*, and the leagued Countries, that he compassed absolute peace. And becaus the power of the Duke continued very suspitious to the King; closely and vnder-hand, he maintained warre among the Subiects, against their duke: so that in the end, after the losse of some battalles, the Duke was slaine, and the Dutchy of *Bourgongne* seized on, which euer since hath remained to the Kinges of France.

The troubles in *France* at King *Lewes* his entrance.

A briefe summary of the actions of King *Lewes* the 11.

Moreouer, he did so cautelously flye off from familiarity with some persons, whom he knew to be but badly affected towards him; that diuers of them were put

Dangerous confederates auoyded.

put to death, vpon certaine crimes layd to their charge, according as hee dealt with his Conſtable, the Earle of S. *Paul*, and the Duke of *Nemours*. He called not the States vnto any new impoſition of Taxes, according to the ancient cuſtom of the Kingdom. He encreaſed (beyond reaſon) the impoſed Taxes which hee found at his entrance, and diſpoſed of al according to his owne fantaſie, holding it as a certaine rule; *That hee who knew not how to diſſemble, knew not how to raign.* In briefe, from his very Infancy, it was iudged, that he would proue a very dangerous Prince; eſpecially, when not hauing attained to the age of 15. years, he aroſe againſt his father, whereon he was enforced to flye to the D. of *Bourgongne*. Which when his father vnderſtood, he ſent to the ſaide Duke, aduiſing him to foſter vp the Fox, that one day wold eat vp all his Pullen. And to ſpeake truly, ſo long as he liued, hee imitated the behauiour of that ſubtle Beaſt. At length, he was ſmoked, and made to die, as vſually we put to death ſuch old Foxes as wee hit on: after hee had run thorough bad courſes enow, and how it hapened whereof we are now to diſcourſe.

An vnworthy ſaying of a King.

It is to bee obſerued, that this King, becauſe hee was ambitious, deſirous of reuenge, & very ſuſpitious, hauing diſcontented the moſt honorable & cheefeſt perſons in his kingdom; becam very curious in finding meanes of impoſing new Subſidies vpon his people, for exerciſe of his own prodigalities, & compaſſing plots, how he might giue vnto ſuch as deſerued not, but euen on pleaſure, & beyond reaſon. It came to paſſe, that among theſe diuerſities of curioſities, the health of his body begā to alter in a very dangerous manner: for he was not only ſicke in body, but in ſpirit likewiſe. So that it was found moſt true in him, which *Galen* ſaid; *Manners do alway follow the temperature of the body.*

Strange fantaſies and humours in a King.

Galen. Lib. 9.

To proceed then, this King, in regard of the fore-named cauſes, became verie melancholy, that formerly had bin very facetious, affecting ſuch as laboured any way to procure laughter. Hee began to be fearful of death, ſuperſtitiouſly enclined, & meruailous ſuſpitious that ſomthing was intended againſt his State. Heer-upon, refuſing viſitation, he commāded his ſon *Charls* (who after was the 8. K. of that name) to be cloſely ſhut vp, and made ſtrong Iron bars & doores to the houſe where he lodged. Moreouer, he ordained extraordinary Guardes, to watch night and day about his Court, being vnwilling to ſpeake with any one. Hee would weare the richeſt and moſt ſumptuous Garments that hee could deuiſe, albeit hee neuer went out of his Chamber: whereas, when he was yong & healthful in body and mind, he went but meanly aparrelled. Were not theſe apparant ſigns, of a man depriued of his beſt ſenſes, & of that diſeaſe which Phyſitians do terme Melancholly?

Signes of melancholy and alienatiou frō ſound vnderſtanding.

There was a Phyſitian, which had bin entertained by the King, ſome ſhort while before this extremity befell him, named M. *Iaques Cottier*, who had attained to that degree of profeſsion; not ſo much in regard of his knowledge, as by the fauour of the Duke of *Sauoy*, who had bin his meanes of aduancement to the King. This man, perceiuing *Lewes* begin to bee weakely diſpoſed in his vnderſtanding (as hath bin already declared) hauing alſo ſerued in former times with ſome ordinary Phyſitians, finding the King one day alone, and al his vſual Phyſitians abſent from him (happily about their practique affayres) himſelfe ſoly attending, and none elſe neere: he tooke aduantage of this opportunity, in manner following. The King apprehending dayly more and more, a dreadfull perſwaſion of Death, which (indeed) is a matter moſt irkeſome and terrible to Rich and mighty men, eſpecially ſuch a King as this, who was the moſt famous and Potent Chriſtian Prince in his time; began to queſtion with this Phyſitian, as deſirous to know if hee could in this caſe cure him? The Phyſitian aſſured him, that hee could and woulde, prouided that he wold repoſe ſuch confidence in him, and he alone to haue the dealing with him, for better effecting the buſines. Moreouer he alledged, that his other Phyſitians came farre ſhort in knowledge of his naturall diſpoſition, whereof he made ſerious and exact obſeruation; for that from the firſt hour of entertainment into his Maieſties ſeruice, he applied his whol ſtudy & practiſe to vnderſtand his natural inclinatiō, whereof the other had no care at al, but diſpoſed moſt of their ſeruiceable attendance

As many bold and ouerweening Empericks doe in theſe daies.

Death is euer moſt dreadful and terrible to rich and mighty men.

The ſubtilty of a *Sicophant*.

dance, only to enrich and benefit themselues withall, hee entreated the King not to reueale this secret information, proceeding onely from intire dutie and affection. And that he himselfe would still bee diligent about his person, searching and reading the most learned authors in Phisicke, to deriue from them an vndoubted remedy for his Disease. Heereto he added, that the more hee sought into the quality of that passion, the more it appeared doubtful and difficult to be cured, because it had formerly hazarded his life very often, but only was still frustrated by his carefull preuentions. And so much the greater he alledged his daunger, in regard, that his other Physitians had applied such Purgatiues vnto him, with other strong and violent Medicaments; which if hee had not very secretly and (vnknowne to them) corrected, the king had died long ago. In briefe, he then perswaded and ouer-ruled the King, euen as him-selfe pleased, for no man could haue accesse to impeach him; yea, he so farre preuailed by this insinuation, as (from thence forward) especiall charge was giuen, that no man shoulde enter the Kinges Chamber, except *Cottier* gaue his consent thereto, by which meanes, he assured himselfe of sole-gouerning his Royall person.

Lying and deceitfull speeches, to win himselfe the greater credite.

A Flatterer seldome wants his Companion.

Nowe, for a stronger fortification of this credite alteady wonne with the King, hee drew in likewise one Mayster *Oliuer* a Barber, who was a *Dane* by birth, vtterly vnlearned, and yet serued as a Councellor about the King, as diuers others in like manner did, that were as vnworthy as both these men: and whatsoeuer *Cottier* saide, Maister *Oliuer* the *Dane* stoutly confirmed it, as iustifyed by the probable Rules of Art. The ordinary Apothecary belonging vnto the King, was drawne into contempt and disgrace, and so were all his other Physitians, as men not worthy to hold such place; but either vtterly ignorant, or playing vppon too much aduantage: These courses were heedfully obserued by two other Physitians; the one named *M. Draconis de Beaucaire*, Professor and Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of *Montpelier*; the other, was a *Scot* by birth, and had (not long before) bin taken in the battaile at *Nancy*, where the Duke of *Bourgongne* was slain, and then was this man entertained into the Kings seruice, by the fame and good report spred euery where of him, for Learning, Honesty, and Merit, to be about a King. It will well appeare by this Historie, how easily Princes are induced to beleeue false reports, and to reiect men of merit for base intruders.

Cottier keepeth all other Phisitions and Apothecaries from the king.

The King falleth into a violent melancholly.

The insolent boldnesse of *Cottier* to the King.

A wonderfull perswasion in a King.

The Kings complaint to the Marshall, of M. *Iaques Cottier*.

The King grew into such extreamity of Melancholy, that as in those times yong Lyons being brought him out of *Affrica* (by his owne expresse charge) to play and disporte withall; he would not indure to haue a sight of them. And one day (aboue the rest) his passion was so violent, that the humour tooke him, to dismisse an attending seruaunt of his Chamber, because hee had warmed his Ptisane before he dranke it, and saide in Choller; that not onely he did it to bereaue his life, but all his houshold Officers were likewise consenting vnto it. Whereupon, M. *Iaques Cottier*, beeing then present, said vnto him; I know very well Sir, that you comprehend mee in this suspition among the rest: but be you well assured, that after I am departed from you, you cannot liue the space of eight daies, and make account to find it most true. The King was so terrifyed with these words, that from thence forward, he not onely wholly committed his person to *Cottiers* disposition; but likewise all his Kingdome, and whatsoeuer else thereto belonged, so that his Physitian (as then) commanded alone: He refused also to see his Queene, Children, and deerest Friends, because hee was possessed, that they Conspired against his life, and desired nothing more then his Death: in which vaine surmise, hee was not a little soothed by his Physitian.

It hapned afterward, that *Messire Giral de Viennes* of *Bourgongn*, beeing Marshall *de Rieux*, came to see the King, and could gain no entrance into his Chamber, but by permission of *Cottier*: which hauing yet at length obtained, the King (Child like) complaind to the said Marshal, of the great rigour vsed towardes him by M. *Iaques*, as well in restraint of his drinke, as meat; and that hee would not permit him any recreation. Moreouer he told him, that the Virgin *Marie* had appeared to him diuers times, and

S. Claud

S. Claud likewise, with diuers other such like fantastick conceits.

Cottier gets pardon for two murders committed by one man.

Vpon a day, a *Champenois* Gentlemã, named *Cortenay* (who had committed two seuerall murders) cam to the Court to get his pardon, which he obtained at the request of *Cottier* the Kings Physitian. But when it cam to the Lord Chancellor, that this grace should be confirmed by the great Seale, hee made refusall thereof, as being granted against all right and equity. Intelligence heereof being brought to the King, he presently called for his Seales, and gaue the Custody of them to *Cottier* the Physitian, sending the Lord Chancellor home to his owne house, with disgraces enow, and reprochful speeches. Thus was the King wholly gouerned, and his Kingdomes affayres, by Maister *Oliuer* the *Dane*, a Barber, who represented the Constable; *Cottier* a Physitian, Lorde Chancellor; and a mender of stockings, who was made Admirall.

A strange forgetfulnesse in a King.

An infamous gouernment.

It happened afterward, that for the space of some ten or twelue dayes, this new made Chancellor receiued no Monies at all, by meanes of the Seales hee had in charge; whereof he complained to the King, alledging, that the extreamity of his disease, wold not admit the least absence from his royall person, to attend the benefit due to his new office, and whereas now hee gained nothing; if he had opportunity to apply his own practise, his commodity wold be equal with the best, only by his visitations & consultations amongst sickely persons, whereof hee had no such cause to complain, till this restraint of attending the King only; and whereof hee entreated him to take notice, as also of his great deseruings.

Cottier his complaint to the King, concerning his new Office.

An vnbeseeming prodigality in a K.

The King, who was intirely perswaded, that his life depended onely vppon the Physitians care & cunning; fearing also, least his former Allegations might cause him to forsake him, commanded the Treasurer of his Exchequer, to deliuer him foure & fifty thousand Crowns to content him; and more hee should haue had, if more had then remained in the Coffers. Moreouer, hee caused the King to make his Nephew Byshop of *Amiens*, and to bestow on his other Kindred and Allies, such gifts and great estates as himselfe pleased. For indeed, such was the Kinges infirmity both in bodie and minde, as *Cottier* might doe what hee listed, and none durst contradict him.

As for Maister *Oliuer* the Barber, the King sent him into *Flanders*, with large Commissions, and a powerfull Armie against the Daughter vnto the Duke of *Bourgongne*, but being able to performe there no matter of moment, hee returned backe againe to the King, who reioyced not a little to haue him neare about him. At length, the Kinges bodie became so dried vp, wasted, and consumed, that he appeared rather to be an Anatomy, then a man, only thorough the ignorance of this Physitian, as was well obserued by men of greater experience. For, a Melancholy body ought to be humected, and moderately heated, as well with Aliments as Medicaments. And albeit he continually desired to drinke Wine, and feed on a boyled Capon, which were very conuenient for his health: yet would *Cottier* by no meanes permit it, but made vse of a more hurtfull and dangerous diet.

M. *Oliuer* the Barber sent into Flanders.

The Kinges extremitie was caused by his Physitians ignorance.

Now, as thus his bodye wasted in apparant view, so his Spirites became depraued, and strangely altered. For, he tooke a sudden conceit, that his bodye stunke extreamly, and that hee felt nothing but very vnsauoury smels; which indeed he did not, but in meere opinion onely. And though all the standers by; yea, the Physitian himselfe affirmed the contrary, yet could he not (by any meanes) be disswaded from this strong conceit, but daily desired a remedy for this supposed disease. Insomuch, as they were compelled to burn very odoriferous perfumes, and to giue him cordiall Powders of violent sauor: but his chiefest delight was in receyuing perfumes, which both bred and brought him vnto daily sownings & Conuulsions; whereby appeared, that these thinges happened by Diuine permission, rather then any indiscretion in them that applyed them.

A strange perswasion in Melancholy.

Sweet cordial powders and strong perfumes applied vpon no iust occasion.

These alterations were obserued and known to many, and among others, the Lord *De l'Auardin*, who (at what perill soeuer it cost him) would needs see the King, and said to *Cottier* the Physitian, that the King ought to bee put in mind of his Confessour or Ghostly Father,

An excellent inuention of the Lord *de l'Auardin*, to speake with the King.

ther, and very requisite was it, that hee should receiue the blessed Sacrament, because it could not be otherwise, but his ending was very neere. The Physitian replied, that this matter was as wel knowne to him, as to any other; and that no meane danger depended on very speech thereof, because for the space of halfe a yeare before, his Maiesty had bin continually fearefull of death; and now, if any man should but name death in his hearing, meer terror of the word would bereaue him of life. Notwithstanding all which speeches, the Lorde *De l'Auardin* (hauing got entrance into the Chamber) said alowd to the King; That if he would be quit of this sickness, he must daily prepare himselfe to Confession, and receiue the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist: in regard, that his Father, being aged aboue an hundered yeares, and very sickely, recouered his health by that meanes onely. The King being indiffrently perswaded, gaue his consent: prouided, that it might be doone by a Religious man, named *F. Phillip*, well entred into yeares, of good life, and had the fame to be verie Learned, beeing a Monke in the Abbey of S. *Martine*; which reuerend man, hauing admission to the King, aduised him in the course of confession, to craue pardon of God for so many murders, *Bontefeux* and rauages, as in his former daies hee had committed, perswading him, that (to his vttermost power) he should make recompence and satisfaction. Among other matters, he alledged, that the people of the *Franche Comtè*, who much complained, that albeit they wer (almost all of them) brought vnder his obedience; yet notwithstanding, his men of war stil committed the most detestable insolences on them, that could be deuised. He told him also, that if God had spoken it (with his own mouth) to his good seruant *Dauid*, that hee would neuer dwell in a goodly Temple, which he purposed to build, because he had bin too prodigall in the expence of Mens blood by his wars, and ouer exceeded in his hostile actions; euen so it was to be feared, that he wold withdraw his grace from the blessed Sacrament, instantly to be administred, and he might hazard the receipt of his owne damnation, except he caused his Watriours to cease from their cruelties. He further aduised him, to reduce the taxations of the kingdom to such estate as hee found them at his entrance; for his people were ouer-extreamely impouerished, and the greater part of them dyed by meere indigence.

The King made answere, that howsoeuer he repented the rauagements & spoyls by him performed in the County of *Bourgongne*; hee was very hartily sorry, that all the Lands belonging vnto the late Duke of *Bourgongne*, was not brought into the same condition. As for the Subsidies and Taxations by him imposed vppon his people; so soone as he recouered helth, he would discharge them, and no other answere could bee had frō him. Notwithstanding al which obstinacy, the Religious father performed his duty, deliuered him the blessed Sacrament, and left him to the further disposition of God. Soone after, they offered him meat to eat, which he could not receiue, because he said, that he felt a foule stinking sauour ascending out of his body vp into his braine: wherefore, he cōmanded plenty of perfumes about him, whereof it seemed he could neuer receiue sufficient, but euen in that manner surrendred vp his soule. So, shortly after, it grew to be a Prouerb in *France*, *That the King was smoakt to death like an old Fox*. Yet notwithstanding all these fantastick humors, he bethoght himselfe (some few yeares before) of his buriall, & gaue order to be interred in a Church (which was founded by himselfe) called, *Nostre Dame a Clery*, where he appointed diuers Cannons to pray for him.

Hauing thus discourst the death of King *Lewes*, we may not forget Maister *Oliuer* the Dane, Barber; terming himselfe a Counsellor vnto King *Lewes* the eleauenth, no, nor *M. Iaques Cottier* the Physitian, and Chancellour: It hath been a long and common receiued saying; *That of a good Life, ensueth a good Death, and of a bad life, as badde a Conclusion*, which will bee found most true, in the end of our fore-named M. *Oliuer*: For, you must first vnderstand, that king *Lewes* the eleuenth, extraordinarily doting in affection vnto this Barber: bestowed on him the Captaine-shippe of *Chasteau de Loches*, which was, and yet is,

A cunning shift in *Cottier*, but not preuayling.

The king yeildeth to haue a Confessour come to him.

Pious aduertisements in a Confessor to a King.

The Kinges answer to his Confessor.

The Confessor departeth from the King

The maner of the kings death.

Of *M. Oliuer*, the Dane, Barber, and *M. Iaques Cottier* Phisitian.

The Kinges great bountie to the Barber

is to this present a most goodly estate; also, the gouernment of *S. Quintins* in *Picardy*; and from a meane Gentleman of his Chamber, aduanced him to many worthy Seigneuries. Insomuch, that being possessed of such large liuings & reuennues, and his courses not to bee controlled, hee plunged himselfe in all kinds of Voluptuousnesse, and euen as boldly after the Kinges death, as in his life time.

A History of a yong Gentleman of France.

It fortuned, that a young Gentleman had committed some offence, of what moment I do not well remember, but the Prouost of the Kings houshold had him in charge as a prisoner. The Wife to this yong Gentleman wel knowing, that if her Husbands case came to strict examination of Law, it would endaunger his life, laboured with earnest sollicitings from one to another, whom she supposed to hold best credit and fauour with King *Charles*, eight of that Name, and Sonne vnto the King deceased. At length she remembred the *Dane*, whom she thought to hold like esteem as when King *Lewes* liued (becaus hee was still much followed, richly accoutred, and entred the Kinges Chamber when himselfe pleased) to him wholly she addressed her suite, entreating him to bee the meanes of her Husbands deliueraunce. This *Oliuer*, perceyuing the sollicitresse to be faire, young, and of comely personage, promised to free her Husbande from prison; prouided, that hee might haue familiar knowledge of her, as Louers in secret Dalliaunce vse to doe; whereto the poore Gentlewoman (seeing no other meanes of mercy) after infinit and potent Denials, was wonne to condiscend.

The dishoneſt requeſt of *M. Oliuer* the barber.

Hereupon, to keepe promise with the Gentlewoman, *M. Oliuer* went vnto the Prouost, and entreated him to stand in the Gentlemans iustification: which by no meanes he would do. Then hee desired him to winke at his breach or escape out of prison: but much lesse wold he listen to any such perswasion, albeit he promised to stand betweene him and all perill. At length, *M. Oliuer* seeing himselfe so neglected, and his suit denied, reproached the Prouost with great ingratitude, becaus he had placed him in that Office, and won him many guifts and graces from the deceased King; beside, when the King was once so incensed against him, as it stood vpon his no meane detriment, he appeased the matter, and wrought his peace. These, and other such like vrgent speeches, preuailed at length so with the *Prouost*, that he returned this answer. If *M. Oliuer* could aduise the meanes whereby the Gentleman might euade, and he sustain no peril when his prisoner should be cald for, he would gladly yeild thereto: whereto *M. Oliuer* thus replyed. The safest and surest meanes for his riddance, & to auoid al further dangerous questioning on his own behalfe, is to strangle the prisoner in the Gaole, and then hurle his bodye into the Riuer. In this manner (quoth he) the party offended shall bee both auenged and satisfied, the Wife to the dead man not iniuried, becaus hir husband stood not (as yet) in law condemned, and matters thus passing, al parties would be pleased.

M. Oliuers perswasions to the Prouost.

The Prouosts answer to *M. Oliuer*.

A Diuelliſh meanes for a prisoners deliuerance.

The case thus fully concluded on betweene them, the *Dane* inuites the Gentlewoman that very instant Night to his lodging, to satisfie his lewde and libidinous Lust; which she (poor soul) accordingly did, being by him most assuredly perswaded, that the next Morning shee should see her husband at Liberty. But she (alas) was too much deceyued; for, while *M. Oliuer* entertained her in his bed, the Varlet of his Chamber, named *Daniell*, and another, called *Oyac*, a mender of Stockings by his first profession (whom I do imagine to be the very same man, that *Sessell* sayd to bee Admiral to King *Lewes*) went & strangled the woful Gentleman in the *Prouosts* Prison, and afterwards threw him into the Riuer of *Seine*, as if hee had wilfully leapt out of his Lodging Window, and coueted rather to be drowned, then to answere his accusation. The body floating vpon the water, as hauing no Capacity of sinking, by reason that life was first depriued, was by Sailers & Watermen haled vp on Lande, to lye there on the banke al the day insuing, where it was soone visited by multitudes of people, and easily knowne of euery beholder. The Gentlewomā arising from the Barbar in the morning early, fearfull to be noted, and no way doubting of hir Husbands freedome so dearely bought with her dishonor, heard as she passed along,

The cruel and bloody treacherie of the *Dane*.

The Gentleman murdred in prison, and cast into the Riuer.

along, that ſuch an impriſoned Gentleman was dead, and lay vpon the banke of the Riuer. With heauy heart ſhe hying thither, too ſoon found the truth of thoſe heauie and ſorrowfull tydinges, throwing her ſelfe downe vpon the dead bodie, made moſt lamentable and pittifull complaints, curſing (in aboundance of teares, and wringing her handes) the *Dane* that had ſo falſely deceiued her, and robbed her of her cheefeſt Honour, vnder promiſe of her Husbandes moſt ſafe deliuerance.

The great ſorrow of the wronged Gentlewoman on hir Husbands dead body.

The Lamentations of this faire weeping Gentlewoman, procured ſuch compaſsion in the by-ſtanders, that Iuſtice was ſoone acquainted with ſo foule an offence; and M. *Oliuer* beeing immediately apprehended, and confronted with the wofull Gentlewoman face to face, vvas forthwith (notwithſtanding all his ſtoute denialles) condemned to the Racke and Tortures. Being vnable to endure the torment, he confeſſed the fact, relying ſo much vppon the Kinges fauour, and his owne proude Authority, that they durſt not ſentence him with death. But heerein the Deceiuer found himſelfe Deceyued; for, being generally hated, becauſe he hadde ſo highly abuſed the deceaſed Kinges truſt repoſed in him, and the whole State, beſide the addition of this monſtrous inhumanitie, he was adiudged to bee hanged, and ſtrangled to Death. In which ſentence, his man *Daniell* bare him companie, beſide large amends out of his Liuings, to the wo-hearted Widdow. As for *Oyac* the Hoſe-mender, he was not hanged, becauſe it was ſufficiently approoued, that he was not preſent in the priſon; when *Daniell* alone ſtrangled the Gentleman, but onely holpe afterward to throwe the dead bodie into the Riuer; wherefore he had his eares cut off, and then was baniſhed out of the Kingdome.

M Oliuer the Barber apprehended, and condemned to tortures.

M. Oliuer, and his companiō *Daniel* hanged

The ſentence of *Oyac* the Hoſe-mender

Now, concerning Maiſter *Iaques Cottier* the Phyſitian, who was retired home vnto his owne Houſe, enriched with fiue and twentie thouſand Florins of Reuennewes which he had gotten, partly by Offenders Confiſcations, whereof the dead King had made him poſſeſſour; as alſo, by the large ſummes of Money ſo lately giuen him out of the Exchequer. It was iuſtified by re-edition of the Treaſurers accounts of the ſaide Exchequer, that he had receiued in readie moneyes, aboue foureſcore and eighteene thouſand Crownes, beſides other great guiftes by ſeuerall parcelles. Hereupon, he was purſued to make reſtitution; becauſe thoſe gifts were immenſe, and exceeding reaſon.

Of M. *Iaques Cottier* the Phyſitian, his wealth and reuennues.

At length, the King being much hindered in his intended Voyage for *Naples*, onely thorough great want of money, Maiſter *Iaques Cottier*, voluntarily gaue his Maieſty (vnder the faigned Title of borrowing) the ſumme of fiftie thouſande Crownes, and ſo all further enquirie after his Wealth and poſſeſsions ceaſed.

M. *Iaques Cottier* gaue the King 50000. Crownes.

This Hiſtorie may inſtruct ſuch men as are high in the fauour of Kinges and Princes, and taſte of their bountie in verie gracious manner, when Lordes and others of farre more merrit, paſſe vnregarded; not to abuſe their Royall Liberalities, or become thereby more proud and vicious. But rather, to obſerue a mediocrity in all their outwarde actions, knowing and conſidering the inſtabilitie that waiteth on this worldes beſt occaſions.

The vſe to be made of this Hiſtory.

CHAP. XV.

That Princes, and other perſons of great degree, who ſtand in feare of impoyſoning, ought not giue ouer-much confidence to Eſſayes or Taſts made of their meats and drinkes, neither to the wearing of precious ſtones, or Annelets.

IHolde it not amiſſe, to diſcourſe ſomwhat concerning thoſe Ceremonies, vſed in the Eſſayes & Taſtings before Princes, and other eminent perſons both in Church and Commonweale; who do carrie a degree of reſpect aboue other men; and yet notwithſtanding all thoſe deuiſes, are not a iotte the more aſſured thereby: For example ſake, the Maiſter Cooke, who more Ciuilly is tearmed, the Eſquire of the Kit-

Example of the Maiſter Cooke in his ſeruice to the Table.

Kitchin, hauing readily prepared al those Dishes on his Kitchen Table, that are to bee presented before the Prince; with a Morsell of Bread, he passes ouer all those Dishes, dipping it also into the Broaths, Sawces, and all other Viands to bee fed on; then eateth he the said piece of bread, to the end, that all suspition of poyson may be auoided. Againe, those seuerall seruices are set on the Princes Table (and before him) he that placeth or ordereth those dishes, performeth as much as the Maister Cooke formerly did. Whereby it is presumed, that the Prince may feede with the safer security. But I am not of the minde, that these essayes or tasts haue any certaine assurance, because those essayers or Tasters doo receiue so small a triall, that albeit the meats should be impoysoned, yet it cannot hurt them; or (at the most) so little, as with very slender remedy, they may be deliuered from any danger.

A worldly way to make Princes wise.

The Authors reason for his doubt.

Moreouer, he that had so diuelish an intent, as to commit an acte so detestable, that partie could not be easily poysoned, by meanes of farced Flesh or Fish, which most commonly is the seruice to great mens Tables. There is much matter (in this case) of important admonishment, to wit; that such treacherous Tasters or Essayers, may formerly haue receiued some precious Antidote, to preuent the poysons perill vnto himselfe; or filled his stomacke with fat and Oyly Meates; or drinke some quantity of Milke; or fed on very fat Tripes; or Lettice well prepared with Oyle, without Salt or Vineger. Nay, it may bee, that hauing receiued some pretty quantitie of poyson, and kept it by such meanes in his stomacke, hee will cast it vp againe, wirhout any hurt or daunger, and there is nothing more certaine then this. I say beside, that Cup-tasters and Butlers may do the like, in tasting their wines, or other drinkes.

A Taster cannot bee easily poysoned.

Preseruatiues against poison such as haue bin tried.

Heere some one may obiect vnto me, that there is great apparance of truceth in my Wordes, and that manie Monarchs and Kings, notwithstanding their Essayers, Tasters, and other vigilant care to preuent such Villainy, haue been impoysoned, and dyed cruelly; as *Alexander* the Great, *Drusus*, *Claudius Cæsar*, *Charls* fift of that Name, King of *Fraunce*, *Iohn* King of *England*, and diuers other. Also, that these Essayes, Tastinges, and other such like Ceremonies, are nothing else but markes of Soueraignty and principality; and such vesselles of Golde and Siluer may bee made, at such time as the mettals are melted, that may haue such Antidotes mingled therewith, quite contrary to all poysons whatsoeuer. Moreouer, hauing vessels in this order prepared, they will preserue whosoeuer shal be impoysoned, if they feede on their viands out of them only, and receiue their drink out of none other; Nay, I my selfe beheld a Physitian, mounted vp to such a degree of folly, as hee would needes vrge an absolute perswasion of all these things, to *Catharine de Medicis*, late Queene of *France*, albeit they are most absurd, and voide of all reason; for Golde-Smithes themselues do maintaine the impossibility of them. I referre the iudgement heerof, to such as are best experienced in naturall things, because nothing whatsoeuer can be mingled among Gold and Siluer, but mettals only.

Many Monarks & Kings haue bin poysoned, notwithstanding all care for preuention.

Diuers strage and impossible obiections

Nothing but mettals can bee mingled with Gold or Siluer.

I haue heard some to discourse of preseruatiues against poysons, in the presence of King *Charles* the ninth, and Queene *Catharine* his Mother; and they haue iustified very constantly, to defend any Man or woman from impoysoning; by wearing a Ring on his or her Finger, that should haue a Toad-stone placed so in it, as it might touch the flesh of the Finger; and such was the excellent Vertue thereof, as the party should feele it to burne his Flesh, if any poyson were presented to him.

A Ring with a Toad-stone in it.

Others haue affirmed, that there are certaine Carracters to be worne, hanging about ones necke, or engrauen in a ring, whose naturall property, expelleth al maner of poysons. They alledged *Albertus Magnus*, that hee saith in his Treatise of Images, that if any man caused to be engrauen in some precious stone, the Image of the Hearbe called Draggon-Wort, with all his Spots, Markes, and Starres, and doe but carry the stone about him, it is most singular against all Venoms. *Pedro de Albano*, was also produced, to set downe in his Writings that hee found in a certaine Booke, whereof in elder times, the Kings of *Persia* made especiall account, that whosoeuer procured to be engrauen in a Hematist, a man kneeling, circkled rounde about with a Ser-

Carracters worne about the necke, or in a Ring.

The Hearbe Dragon-wort

The Stone called a Hematist.

Serpent, holding the head thereof in his right hand, and the taile in his left; then setting that Stone in a Ring of fine Gold, and wearing it dayly; it would preserue and keepe him from all manner of poysons.

In my poore opinion, if this Image should haue so rare a Vertue, as no where else was euer heard of, it were verie requisite, that the engrauing must be done vnder the Constellation of some Planet, whose influence should infuse the propriety in the Sculpture. It was further added in the discourse, that the Agate or Iacinth, Orientall Saphire, Emeraulde, and the Stone which is called *Draconitis*, because it is saide to be found within the Head of a Draggon, and many other Stones beside, haue the selfe-same qualities.

False properties attributed to diuers precious stones.

As for my selfe, to deliuer readily my iudgement in this case, I thinke there is no great assuraunce to bee reposed in such carriages, because I neuer beheld so much as one experiment, whereto anie Faith or Credit might be giuen. And yet very neere all these fore-named thinges, haue beene experimented on diuers persons, condemned to death for diuers offences, on whom no effect at all could be wrought. And yet it may bee, that by subtilizing (very cunningly) an Emerald, Iacinth, Agate, or Saphire, and putting it into a Cup of Wine, or Cordiall water, the party offended with some poison may finde ease and helpe, because such stones do naturally strengthen the heart. But that wearing or carriage of them only, can quaile the malignity of any poison, I will neuer beleeue (as some verie fondly do, vntill I may my selfe beholde some great and notable experiment thereof.

Experience giueth the best assurance in such doubtfull matters.

Precious stones naturaly do comfort the heart.

Not long after our fore-named discourse, there came vnto the said Kinges Court, an impudent bold-facst Fellow, a *Champenois*, aged about thirtie yeares, (whom I spare to name, because hee was extract of Vertuous Lignage, both by Father and Mother, to whom the louers of Learning are not a litle obliged, though he degenerated too far.) This man gaue solemne assurance, that hee had (about some yeare since past) trauailed thorowe diuers famous Cities of *Germany*, and frequented companies of diuers opinions, especially in Religion, among whom

A Historie of a bold and impudent lyer.

he heard it credibly reported, that they of the pretended reformed Religion in *France*, sought means to poison the king, his Brethren, & their Mother the Queen. Whereupon, he shaped his course out of *Germany*, into *Italy*, and thence into *Spaine*, only to find such occasions as best might assure and preserue their liues. At last, comming to *Lisbone*, the Metropolitane Cittie in the Kingdome of *Portugal*, with verie great Labour, and at a deare Value, he bought a Stone, called *Pazar*, or *Bazar*, which had beene found in the breast or stomacke of a sauage Beast, like to one of the wilde Goats liuing in diuers places of *India*: adding withall, that hee had made diuers experiments of the like Stone, as well on Beasts, as Moores, and others of the Mahometan religion. Then with plentie of Oathes, hee assured their Royall Maiesties, that the partie whome hee bought it of, was a Captaine belonging vnto the Spanish Seas; and shewing the Stone, it was presently deliuered to the Physitians belonging to the King and Queene, for their aduise and counsel in the matter: shee being a very Wise Princesse, and well enstructed, hardlie could shee be drawne to doe any thing rashly.

A stone found in the breast of a Wild Beast, called a *Bazar* or *Pazar*.

Counsell was giuen to the Queene, to make triall of the Stones Vertue, vpon crimminall prisoners, such as had deserued Death, and extraordinary punnishment. Whereupon, the Prouost belonging vnto the Household, was sent for; and beeing questioned, whether he had anie Offender in his prisons worthy of death, he answered; that he had a bold Theef, condemned for robbing the Kinges Receyuers of monies, and remained at his Maiestie mercie. Also he hadde another, a Cooke by his profession, who had robbed his Maister of great store of plate, & both these, without order to the contrarie, were to suffer death the next Morning.

Aduise giuen for trial of the stones vertue.

It was concluded, that poison should be giuen to both these condemned men, as much to the one, as to the other; and the *Pazar* or *Bazar* stone, being beaten to powder, a quantity thereof should be giuen to the one prisoner, and none at al to the other, to make a perfect proofe of the Stones Vertue; which stone, I my selfe handled, and was as bigge as a common Almond. But hee that recined the pow-

Experiment made on two condemned persons.

No Vertue found to be in the Pazar, or Bazar ſtone,

der of the ſaide ſtone, according to the proportion appointed by the *Champenois*, notwithſtanding hee was holpen thereby, as much as could bee poſſibly deuiſed, yet he died as well as the other priſoner, both of them enduring much more heauy, great, and grieuous Torments, then they ſhould haue done by the punniſhments prepared for them. Which when the king & the Queen his Mother perceiued, they threw the reſt of the Stone into the fire, and ſharpely rebuked the *Champenois* for his impudent lying. By this meanes, the impoſture was fruſtrated of his intent, which was, to obtaine the guift of a thouſand Crownes, beſide the firſt Abby or Priory that fell vacant, or already was falne. The man was not long ſince known to be liuing in very miſerable condition, lame in his limbes, aged aboue threeſcore, and generally ſcorned of euerie one that knew or heard of his apparant folly.

The reaſon of the impoſtures lye.

Aduertiſemẽt to Princes, & other great perſons.

By this diſcourſe, Princes and others of high quality may learne, not to bee ouer-confident in ſuch men, as giue thẽ aduiſe and meanes to preſerue themſelues from poyſons; wherof no ſound experience hath beene made, but bequeaths them ſtill to dayly dangers. For which reaſon, wee will declare in our ſucceeding Chapter, how, and in what manner they may be preſerued and defended againſt poyſons. Alſo, why poiſons are vſed to Princes, and men of high Authority, to bereaue them of their Liues, rather then by Armes or Weapons.

CHAP. XVI.

Why the liues of Princes are more attempted by poyſons, then by Armes. And by what meanes they may preſerue & helpe themſelues, if they doubt or finde themſelues to be impoyſoned.

ORdinarily, ſuch as pretend the death of Princes, Princeſſes, & of other illuſtrious perſons by poyſons, they do it in that kind, becauſe openly murdering a Prince, expoſeth the parties life to ineuitable death; and neuer hath any one bin ſeene (or at the leaſt very rarely) to eſcape, becauſe he muſt needes be ſurprized by the Archers or Guardes, that continually attendeth the perſon Royall. Wherefore, ſuch as dare contriue ſo wicked an action, are commonly men of higheſt rank or note, and (oftentimes) of their owne blood, either aſpyring to their eſtate & dignities, or in reuenge of ſome receyued iniury; wherein no reaſon being able to rule them, fury and violent rage tranſportes them vnto this deteſtable meanes.

The Reaſons alledged why the attempt is by poyſon.

Now, to auoid and preuent all occaſions of ſuch dreadfull attemptes, a Prince ought not to vſurp on any eſtate appertaining to another. For this is an eſpeciall reaſon, to leade both himſelfe and his to daily danger. Hee ought alſo religiouſly to keepe himſelfe in the ſtate of grace, by frequent and deuout Prayers vnto Almighty God; to Loue his Subiects; to doo nothing againſt the Lawes of Nature, and to be Nobly Liberall to ſuch as are about him, & haue the hourely care of his perſon. Moreouer, they that attend on the health of any Prince or Princeſſe, as Phyſitians and their Adiuncts; they ought to vſe their ſtomacks to Gargariſmes and Caſtings, at leaſt once euery month, in the Morning. For, ouer and beſide that it much auayleth againſt poyſons, which at their firſt Working will thereby bee expelled preſently, ſo is it one of the moſt ſoueraigne remedies and ſecurities that can be deuiſed. To purge the ſtomacke, is likewiſe aduantageable againſt the Stone, Dropſie, Goute, &c. And two or three dayes he muſt vſe to take Treacle, or *Mithridatum*, faſting. Some do highly commend the Confection of Iacinth; and by frequent vſe of theſe things, very rarely ſhall the bodie be preſerued them poyſon.

How beſt to auoide all dangerous attempts againſt a Princes life.

Purging the ſtomack is very much auailing.

But if it happen, that a Prince haue vndoubtedly receyued poyſon, ſuddenly let him bee made to vomit by voluntary Drinkes, if Nature bee not eaſily therto inclined; or let him drink a good quantity of Lukewarme milke, and if Butter bee well mingled there among the cure is much the ſooner compaſſed. After very ſtrong vomitting, & ſo much as he is able to indure, with the receit of ſome

When poiſon is aſſuredly receiued, what are the beſt remedies

For dreſsing meats.

A ſtrange Hiſtory.

What Sauces are to bee ſhunned by colour.

ſome Gliſters: he muſt vſe onely Treacle, Mithridate, or the Confection of Iacinth, wherein there muſt bee no tardy delay.

Moreouer, thoſe Kitchen Veſſelles for Cookery, wherein his Meates and Broaths are to be dreſt, ought daily and hourely to be kept couered, to preuent the fall of any Venomous Creatures thereinto, as Stellions, Phalanges, Lizards, Scorpions, Serpents, & Spiders, who ordinarily make their aboad about Chimnies. *Nicholas* hath ſet downe in his Writings, that all the Monkes in a Conuent at *Florence*, dyed, by hauing eaten Pottage and Meate ſodden in a Pot, whereinto (from the toppe of the Chimney by chaunce) a dead Spyder fell.

Beſides, no Sauces are to bee preſented to Princes, eſpecialy if they be thick, or in colour Greene, Red, or White; becauſe very daungerous Poyſons may be commixed in thoſe Colours, they being alſo much like to them. Theſe things diligently obſerued, it ſhall be a very difficult matter, to bereaue any Princes life by Poyſon. Now let vs ſee in our enſuing Chapter, if poyſons may be giuen any other way, then in meates or drinkes.

CHAP. XVII.

That a man may bee impoyſoned by Pomanders of ſweete ſmell, Fumes of Torches, Tapers, Candels; by Letters, Garments, and other ſuch like things.

IN our former Chapters, we haue diſcourſed how poyſon may be adminiſtred in Meats and Drinkes, to the preiudice of life. Now we are to ſuruay, whether the like Treacherie may be accompliſhed by ſweet ſmelling Pomanders, Fume, or ſmoake of Torches, Candles; or by reading Letters, wearing Gloues, Shirts, and other Garments.

Many haue held Opinion, that the kiſſing of Princes Garmentes, before they be put vpon their perſons, and generally all things preſented vnto them, as Letters, Hand-kerchiefes, or whatſoeuer elſe, is done to no other end, but onely for Ceremony, Reſpect, and Honour, in duty and reuerence to their Greatneſſe and Excellency. But, I am able to affirme the contrary, becauſe it was at firſt inuented, and done, expreſly to aſſure them from being Impoyſoned, by ſuch things as ſhould be preſented vnto them. And whoſoeuer will read the Greeke Authours, ſhall finde that Wickedneſſe to be moſt auncient; eſpecially we finde, that the *Caribes* (inhabiting the New World) haue long vſed it.

Why al things deliuered to Princes, are firſt kiſſed.

Strange manner of Impoyſonings.

And to approoue my words, I will alledge ſome examples well knowne to our ſelues and that ſuch things are to be done, it hath bin, and yet may be noted, that whoſoeuer ſleepeth or ſitteth any long while vnder the ſhadow of a Walnut Tree in Summer, ſhall foorthwith be offended with a grieuous Head-ach. And ſuch as take the Coole Ayre vnder the Yew Tree, will be in dreadfull peril. I my ſelfe haue obſerued diuers inconueniences happening thereby, not only to Men and Women, but to Beaſts likewiſe. Do we not (almoſt) daily behold, that the ſmoake of a Tallow Candle, the light being ſuddainly extinct, is very dangerous to Women with child, cauſing the Head-ach in extremeſt maner, and brought one (whom I very well know) to the falling ſickneſſe?

Experience of diuers kinds of dangers by ſitting vnder Trees.

A Friend of mine, commonly called the *Fat man*, a *Piccarde* by Nation, and Chirurgion to the late *Lewes* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, who hauing handled and carried about him a ſweet Pomander, for the ſpace of fiue or ſix Houres; which Pomander, an *Italian* Perfumer preſented to the ſaid Prince, & preſently was deliuered to the ſayd Chirurgions keeping; who ſoone after, fell into Sownings, Caſtings, Torments in the Braine, Conuulſions, and afterwards, into moſt grieuous and miſerable languiſhing. Yet two Moneths after, by the diligent care and aſſiſtance of a *Piemontois* Phyſitian, who belongeth to my Lord the Conſtable at this inſtant, and then called *Marſhall d'Anville*, hee was recouered. Alſo, the Seruaunt to the Apothecarie, called *Gomer*, dwelling in *Paris*, deſpiſing the Friendly

Of an impoyſoned Pomander, preſented to the Prince of *Conde*.

An Apothecaries Seruant poiſond by the ſame Pomander.

aduiſe giuen him by the ſaide Chirurgion, for carrying the ſame Pommander in his Pocket, the ſpace of halfe a Day, dyed within leſſe then eight dayes after.

The vapor of a Char-coale fire venimous except iron be put into it.

At *Lymoges*, in the beginning of the Leagues turbulent emotion, *Monſieur de Vantadour* being com to *Lymoges*, to take order (as ſworn Lieutenant to the king) that the Towne might bee maintayned for his Maieſties ſeruice, and hauing (by example of Iuſtice) giuen terror to ſom Offenders; a Soldiour of ſom account, ſhutting himſelfe into a Cabinet, leaſt otherwiſe hee ſhould bee diſcouered; by the vapor of a very ſmall Char-cole fire, died in leſſe then twelue houres, and could by no meanes be recouered. The fume and ſmoake of impoyſoned Torches and Candles, are not they much more able to procure the death of anie perſon?

A man poyſoned by ſmelling to a Gilly ſloure.

It is not long ſince, a *Lombard* gaue an impoyſoned Gilly-floure, vnto one whoſe death he deſired, albeit hee diſſembled his inward treachery verie cunningly, and (in outward ſhew) with extraordinary friendſhip; but by ſmelling to the ſaid Floure, the party ſuddenly fell downe dead. The ſmell or ſauour of a Sea-Hare, is ſo pernitious, as not only it troubleth the ſence, ſight, and procureth caſting: but likewiſe, if a man continue in the ſame, ſent but for ſome few houres, it cauſeth death without any recouery, as I my ſelfe haue ſeene by experience.

Smell of the Sea-Hare very dangerous.

These few written and recorded hiſtories, of taking away life by impoyſoned Odours and Vapours, may ſerue as ſufficient for our inſtruction; let vs com now to thoſe other kindes, which (by touching onely) do as much, or rather farre worſe. About ſome two yeares ſince, I beheld the death of a yong man, aged ſcarſely twenty yeares, who ſuffered the application of a great Emplayſter (made of the flies called *Cantharides*) to his cheek, whereon he had a great red blemiſh, which hee brought with him into the world at his birth, and appeared to him as no meane deformity; extreamity of paine would not permit him to indure the plaiſter hardly foure houres, but he was dead before the next Morning. And yet, as euery one well knoweth, the *Cantharides* are one of the weakeſt Venoms.

A man Impoiſoned by an implaiſter of *Cantharides*.

I alſo, ſawe the death of a Gardiner, who, by pruning and clenſing his trees, the Egges of Catterpillers happened to fall on his face, and venomed it beyond recouery. Now, albeit this may ſeeme ſomwhat rare, that a mans death ſhould be cauſed by ſo ſmall a matter: yet it is moſt certaine, that both theſe Hiſtories, and ſuch as follow after, doo euidently declare, that by nothing but the very touch onely of ſome impoyſoned thing, death enſueth without any Remedy.

Egges of Catterpillers very dangerous.

Galen declareth, that a man in the City of *Bythinia*, ſcituate in the kingdom of *Thrace*, cauſed the death of diuers men by an Hearb, compaſſing the means that it might but ſticke vppon their skinne only. And that the firſt knowledge or experience which he had thereof, was, by buying the Liuer of an Hogge in the Market, and returning from the City to his Country houſe, he had occaſion by the way to do the Office of nature, laying the Liuer (in meane while) on the ground, on diuers hearbes. As he tooke vp the Liuer again, he perceiued blood to yſſue foorth in great aboundance; whereby he iudged, that it proceeded from ſome Vertue in one of the hearbs, that ſtil cleaued faſt to the Liuer: he further conceiued, that if the ſame Hearbe were applyed to men or Beaſts; their death wold eaſily be thereby procured, which he acordingly performd on ſuch as himſelfe pleaſed. But his wicked and bloody practiſe being known, at length he was apprehended and broght before the Miniſter of Iuſtice, where, without ſufferance of many torments, he confeſſed the whol matter, and what plenty of that herb grew in that place only, which he ſware he neuer had reuealed to any perſon. When the Magiſtrate had heard his whole Confeſſion, he condemned him to Death, and preſently cauſed his eyes to be blindfolded: to the end, that as he was led on the way vnto the place whereas his Execution was appointed, he ſhould not teach or inſtruct any other, in ſo horrid and damnable a practiſe.

A ſtrange Hiſtory alledged by *Galen* of poyſoning by the touch of an Hearbe.

A great diſcretion in the Magiſtrate to auoid further danger.

Many men and women haue greatly indaungered their bodies, by Itches, Scabs, and ſuch like filthineſſe, onely by lying in vncleane ſheets, or wearing the Gar-

Danger by sleeping in vncleane linnen, or wearing garments

Garments of corrupted persons. The *Neapolitane* disease is very easily so taken in *Italy*, but rarely in *France*. Good Histories doe assure vs, that *Hercules* died with extreame torments, being impoysoned by a shirt which his wife had sent him.

Monsieur de Montagnac, Lord of *Trenchillion*, who accompanied *Messire Francois de Noailles*, Bishop of *Dax*, Ambassadour into the East, deliuered vnto mee for an vndoubted truth, that a Turke in the Citty of *Patara* in *Lycia*, caused the death of a *Wallachian*, in this manner. The Turke very desirous of the *Wallachians* death, which yet he dissembled artificially, sought all vnsuspected meanes how to compasse it: & his reason was, because the *Wallachian* would not take his oath, that the *Turke* (being a *Patarian* Souldiour) was one of the first that mounted on the breach of a smal town, (but very strong) which the *Turkes* had besiedged and taken in *Hungarie*. For, such as can approue in *Turky*, that they haue performed any Generous Act; are recompenced with diuers Ducates, ouer and aboue their ordinary pay, and are likewise aduanced to the first vacant degrees. The *Turke* at last presented the *Wallachian* with a faire paire of red Buskins, which he accepting as a Signall of kindnesse, did presently put them on his Legges; or had not worn them aboue two houres, but a great heate and rednesse appeared on his Legges, which he himselfe (as yet) perceiued not. Hauing put off his Buskins, the rednesse conuerted into pushes, blaines, and blisters, which quickly running ouer his whole body, he dyed within twelue houres, exclaiming on the *Patarian*, who was fled away.

A Turke poysoned a *Wallachian* by a pair of Buskins.

As concerning a common report, that the Saddles of Horses may be impoysoned, the Raines of their Bridles, the stirrops, and Scabberds and Sheathes of Swordes, thereby to impoyson such as sit, handle, or weare them: the *Turkes* that inhabite the higher *Misia*, are saide to be skilfull Maisters in such exercises; yet I make some difficulty of giuing credit hereto, because I neuer beheld any such accident to happen. Neuertheless, many men of sound credit, who haue trauailed the East, and the adioyning parts; do faithfully maintaine the truth thereof. But if there be nothing more certaine, then that a body may be impoysoned, euen to death, by a paire of Gloues, if but drawne vppon the hands, and by a Handkerchiefe, if the face be wiped therewith; Then let mee tell you for a truth, that a great Lady of *France* (some few yeares past) had both these wicked presents, onely for the couetousnesse of the great wealth she enioyed, and the strange manner of her death was bemoaned by many.

Of impoysoning Saddles, Reines of Bridles, Stirrops, and sheathes of Swords, &c

Danger by Gloues and Handkerchiefes.

Seeing then, that the death of Princes and great persons may thus be compassed: I would aduise them that hold so high dignities, and liue among bad people, who make no conscience of vsing all kinds of wickednesse; to carry Powders about them, and other compositions, such as skilfull Phisitions can well enstruct them in, which may defend the Braine, the Lungs, and Heart, preseruing both them and the other inward parts of the body, with receiuing often Treacle, Methridate, and such like vertuous things. As for Saddles, Reines of Bridles, and Scabberds of Weapons: danger in them may be auoyded, by seeing them well cleansed, chafed, and rubbed, with faire Linnen Cloathes before a mans face. And for Handkerchiefes, Gloues, and Letters; they ought to be well heated by good fires, and carried abroad into the ayre, before they be read or vsed, as the like is to be done in things of like qualitie.

Necessary aduise to preuent such perils, and by what meanes.

CHAP. XVIII.

That all Venims or Poysons, haue not the power to kill the heart; but that diuers of them (by a certaine hidden or manifest property) doe rather worke against one certaine part of the body; then against another.

All poysons do not cõtain alike power in working.

DIuers doe hold opinion, that all Venimes or Poysons, do containe operation alike, and all of them tend to no other end, but to kill the hart, which is the onely fountaine of life. But this coniecture hath deceiued

deceiued many, for the greater part of Poysons, haue an obscure or apparant property, to viciate or destroy rather one part then another. Because there are some that will infect the braine; others the mouth; others the Lights or Lungs; others the Liuer; others, the Melt, or Spleene; others, the Reines; others the Bladder; and others, the seuerall ioynts of the Body, &c. Concerning the meanest or most common kinds, whereof others haue saide somewhat before my self, I would discourse a little; and so much the rather, because what is handled in this Chapter, I wold iustifie for truth; and therefore we will beginne with a venomous simple, that woundeth and offendeth the Braine very greatly.

A familiar proposition.

The danger of Hemlocke, or Homlocke.

Hemlock, or Homlock, called in Latine *Cicuta*, an Hearb vulgarly knowne, by an apparant property, doth more offend the Braine, then any other part of the Body: insomuch, that they who haue tasted thereof, haue felt an instant wheeling giddinesse, or torment in the head, and sometimes meerely haue run mad. I haue seene two men, who thinking they did eate Persley, were deceiued with Hemlock (for these two Plants haue a very neere resemblance) the one dyed soone after; and the other (while he liued) could neuer recouer his health, and this hath been noted in many more. The *Athenians* vsed to giue the Iuyce of Hemlock, to such honorable persons in their citty, as were condemned to death by sentence of the Iudge. In *Tuscanie* groweth a great quantity thereof, and if their Asses happen to feede thereon, they fall downe in such a profound sleepe, as they seeme rather to be dead then astonied. Many poore Countrey people were hereby much abused informer times, who little dreampt on any such strange alteration, or the cause thereof: for verily, imagining their Asses to be starke dead, and hauing more then halfe fleyed their skins, the beasts recouered, to the great amazement of their Maisters, but much delight of the Beholders. Hereby may be easily obserued, that Hemlock is altogether contrary to the Braine.

How the *Athenians* vsed the iuyce of Hemlock.

The people of *Tuscany* much abused by Hemlocke.

There is another Simple, cald Crowfoote; in French *Batrachion*, or *Passefloure*; in Greek and in Latine *Apium risus*, which if it be put into the mouth, it with-draweth the Iawes in such maner, as if it procured continuall laughter, & in laughing manner it causeth death. That which groweth in *Sardignia*, is not altogether so violent: yet, if it be applyed to the Flesh, as sometimes it is to the Arteries of the Armes against a Feauer Quartaine, it cauterizeth and burneth the Flesh.

Crow-foot causeth men to dye laughing.

The scent or smell of the Sea-Hare, and his Flesh dryed in Powder and taken, it greatly iniureth the voyce, and woundeth the Lights in such manner, that such as haue receiued thereof but three times, and in very small quantity, haue bin brought to an exulceration of the Lungs, and incurable consumption of the body. This was verified on a Chanter or Quirister, in the Chappell of King *Charles* the ninth, in the yeare 1566. by another man of the same quality, who beeing desirous to preferre a Kinsman of his into the other Mans place, he being in gracious respect with the King, gaue him some of this Powder, wheron grew an Vlcer in his lungs, his voyce vtterly spoyled, and he (in short while after) dyed. Here you are to vnderstand, that Chaunters vse somtimes to bacchanalize among themselues; especially, when they receiue any extraordinary benefits or rewardes of Princes, or other great Lords in the Courts, for Mornings or Euenings salutations with their Musique and voyces: then, for preseruation of their voyces, they mingle diuers wholesome spices, compounded with Sugar among their Wines, to send them downe with the greater delectation. By which vnsuspected meanes, the Chaunter could the more easily poyson his Enemy; whereof at last he dyed, hauing voyded (by extreamity of a Cough) a mighty Impostumation, which this dangerous Powder had bred within him. Neuertheless, the Fact was disclosed, and the Prouost of the Houshold directing his Processe against the Chaunter, he was (by sentence of the Iudge) hanged and strangled, and his body after burned.

The powder of the Sea-Hare, consumeth the Lights and Lungs: witnessed by story of a Singing man, or Quirister.

Good fellowship among Chanters, as well as others

A iust and deserued punishment.

The Poyson that is prepared of the Caterpillers, or litle red hairy Wormes bred in the tops of Pine-trees, and of the venomous blacke Fly, called a *Long-leg*, or *Wag-legge*; so frets and vlcerates the

A poyson that hurts the stomacke.

vlcerates the ſtomacke and bowels (but no other part of the body beſide:) that whoſoeuer receiueth it, will dye thereof in very ſhort while remedileſſe.

Of poyſons that deſtroy the Liuer.

Concerning thoſe Venoms that deſtroy the Liuer, there are ſome ſtore of them; onely it ſhall content me to aduertiſe the Reader, and remember him of the Hiſtory alleadged in the precedent Chapter, of the Countrey-man of *Bithynia*, and how by the meanes of one onely Hearbe, which ſpoyled the Liuer he then carryed, he wrought the death of many people. And ſome of the Simpliſts of theſe our inſtant times, haue found out that daungerous Hearb; and yet, imitating the wiſedome of their learned Maiſter *Galen*, they dare not make it openly knowne. They can likewiſe (for the ſame purpoſe) make Poyſons of Minerals, and of diuers other Creatures in theſe daies, which neuer were knowne to our Elders; and they will take away life in very ſhort time.

The cunning of Simpliſts in theſe daies.

For the reins, Bladder, and genitiue parts

Againſt the Reines, Bladder, and genitiue parts, I need ſpeake of none but the *Cantharides*, whereof if any quantity be taken, or more then the skilfull Phiſition ſhall preſcribe by writing, without queſtion death enſueth. As I my ſelfe ſaw happen to a young Gentlewoman, waiting in the Chamber of a Lady in *Guyenne*, to whom a wanton young Gallant (being amorous of her beauty and perfections) found meanes to make her receiue the weight of three drams of the Powder of *Cantharides*, mingled among certaine greene Hearbes, made Sallet-wiſe; onely to induce her to his voluptuous deſires: and this he did by the Councell of a poore, needy, and wicked Apothecary, who (for three Crownes) ſold him the ſaid Powder of *Cantharides*. The Gentlewoman, within three houres after, fell into ſtrange alterations: as a moſt violent heat, and exulceration of the Reines and Bladder, being deſirous euery moment to auoid Vrine, with extreame ſtingings and prickings, whereof in the end ſhe dyed. And her body being opened after her death; the Reines, Matrixe, and Bladder, were found very blacke, dryed, and excoriated. Not onely the *Cantharides* being drunk, or otherwiſe inwardly receiued, are moſt pernitious, but likewiſe if they be outwardly applyed, as I my ſelf can witneſſe, by that which happned to a Curtizane at *Paris*. She being offended becauſe ſhe was of a browne complexion, went to a certaine *Mountebancke*, to buy ſome meanes of fayrer beauty. He applyed a Cataplaſme or emplayſter, both to her Face and Neck, which was well compounded with the *Cantharides*, and this ſhe muſt weare for the ſpace of twelue houres; but within three daies after ſhe died. There was likewiſe then preſent with me, one named *Monſieur Greaume*, a learned Phiſitian, who cauſing her body to be opened, her Reaines, Matrixe, and Bladder (but no part elſe) were found to be Gangrened, and moſt filthily ſmelling.

A Hiſtory of a deceiued Gentlewomā.

Hurt by ignorant Apothecaries.

Another Hiſtory of a Curtizane.

There are alſo diuers kinds of Pulſe or Graine (which I will forbeare to ſpeake of) whereof if any frequent vſe be made; ſuch debility will be found in the ioynts of the body, as in the Legs, Feete, Flanckes, Armes, and ſuch like Members, that hardly can any eaſe bee had for the paine. A Learned Phiſitian ſhewed me a Simple, with credible aſſurance, that if the weight of a Crowne were taken thereof; it would take away the benefit of ſight within foure houres after. He ſhewed me alſo the root of another Simple, the powder wherof procured deafeneſſe.

Danger by diuers kindes of Pulſe.

Simples that take away both ſight and hearing.

Wherefore it is not to bee doubted, but as there are Medicaments, which both purge and comfort certaine parts of a mans body: euen ſo there are diuers Venoms and Poyſons, which aſſayle and moleſt one part more then another, as I thinke I haue ſufficiently ſhewne. Witneſſe *Agaricke*, that purgeth the braine particularly, and Muske likewiſe, which (in a ſmall quantity) glads and comforts it: *Aloes* and *Myrabolans*, doe purge the ſtomack; *Cinamon* and *Spickenard* do make it well againe. *Succory* and *Rheubarbe* wil purge the Liuer; *Ceterach* and *Capprier* the Melt or Spleene; *Terebinthina* and cold Seeds, the Reines and Bladder: for al which, there are as many, or more kind of cōforts. In like manner, there are Hearbs, Plants, Minerals, Animals, that both offend and help diuers parts of the body. Hauing (in mine opinion) diſcourſed ſufficiently on this Argument, I thinke it not amiſſe (in our enſuing Chapter) to remoone their error, who do conceit, that Impoyſoners can

Diuers hurts, and as many helps witneſſed by examples.

Hearbes, Plants, and Minerals, both hurtfull and helpfull.

can worke so cunningly, on such bodies as they are willing to destroy: to make them languish, & liue so many months, weeks, daies, houres, or yeares, as they please to limit or appoint.

CHAP. XIX.

To know if an Impoisoner can so artificially accommodate his poysons, that he may limit the houre, day, weeke, month, and yeare, in which time his intention shall cause the person to languish, & afterward die, by him poysoned.

The opinion of *Theophrastus*

Theophrastus is of the mind, that a man may so prepare *Aconitum*, or other poisons in such manner, as he may thereby cause another body to languish or die, according as himselfe pleaseth. He saith beside, that such as keepe poyson within them for any long time, shall dye with much paine, for it followeth on necessity, that the body will become dry and crumpled: whereas contrariwise, they that containe them but a short while, doe dye much more easily.

The opinion of Phisitions, concerning the times of operation in poysons.

The vniuersality of Physitians haue concluded, that albeit some poysons are found to be more quicke and suddaine then others are or can be: yet notwithstanding, the one or others power, it is impossible to iudge assuredlie on what day shall be the period of their operation, in procuring the death of any one, as some haue supposed. For if we admit, that poysons are more sudden in some bodies, then in others: it proceedeth not from the naturall propriety of those poysons; but is caused by the greater or lesser resistance in nature, in the persons that bee impoysoned.

One poyson giuen to diuers, for tryall thereof.

Hereupon it hath bin noted by experience, that in giuing one and the same poysons, and in iust equality of weight, to diuers condemned persons: one hath dyed within an houre, another in lesse then a quarter; and a third hath continued for foure and twenty houres; yea, in some man, nothing at all hath appeared, such hath beene the strength of Nature. This may be daily discerned in Laxatiue Medicines, for deliuering one and the same Medicine, (and in like quantity) to diuers diseased persons: in some it is found to be of facile motion; in others, of very tardy operation. To some, the Medicine dooth a little seruice; to others, a great deale; and to others nothing at all. It will purge some without griefe or pain; in others, the same Medicine will cause a thousand languishes: and yet notwithstand, all this proceedeth but from the diuersitie of temperature in Men, which cannot be so exactly noted, as to determine certainely, at what time naturall heat shall withstand or resist the poyson.

A similitude drawne from Medicines purgatiue, & comfortatiue.

A notable example well worth the obseruation.

But let vs put the case, that there were an Impoysoner so subtile and ingenious, as (by experience and science) he could easily vnderstand the carriage of the vitall faculties in diuers and sundry persons, and that he could coniecture, how long he should liue to whom hee gaue the poyson: yet notwithstanding all this, it is impossible for him to know resoluedly, which, shall bee the death-day of the party impoysoned by him. For it is not possible, that any Phisition or Philosopher (except it bee diuinely reuealed to him) should calculate so farre as the vtmost point, how much ther is in euery perticular body, both of Radicall humour, and of naturall heate: considering, that the principall qualities of our Bodies, do not alwaies continue in one condition. And hence it proceedth, that wee finde our selues to be more strong, or else more feeble, at one time then another: whereto wee may likewise adde, that internall causes doe alter and change our temperatures ordinarilie. Counter-poysons also, being giuing to such as are impoysoned, although they cannot surmount the malignity of the poyson; yet notwithstanding, they wil prolong the pacients life. And therefore I hold it as a very great folly in any one to thinke, that hee can weigh and iudge of our inward faculties, euen as iustly as if he weighed Saffron.

Our bodies are not at all times in one estate.

Counterpoysons, if not help, yet they will prolong life.

It ought also further to be noted, that although the resistance happeneth, (for the most part) according as the Nature of the party Impoysoned is

is weake or strong: yet neuertheleſſe, it proceedeth likewiſe hence, that ſome men haue their arteries (through which ſome poyſons paſſe, to penetrate ſo far as the heart) much greater and groſſer then other men haue. For when a Poyſon findeth the Conduits large & wide, not only doth it paſſe the more ſuddenly, but likewiſe it goes on and enters euen to the heart, by meanes of the ayre continually entring, that peerceth thorough the ſlabels of the heart, or other pats, where the poyſon (by his hidden or manifeſt quality) ſeeketh to hurt. Which neuer happeneth in ſuch perſons, as haue a coole heart, and their vitall Spirits ſtrengthleſſe; becauſe their Arteries are very narrow.

why Hemlock is deadly to men, & good for Starlings.

Hereupon enſueth the ſaying of *Galen*, that Hemlocke is mortall to men, and nutratiue to Stares or Starlings: for thoſe Birds haue their Arteries ſo ſtrait, that it is not poſſible for the venome in the Hemlocke, to penetrate ſo farre as the hart. And to approue my wordes, I will relate an Hiſtory, of one named *Seigneur Valentine*, who was held to bee the naturall Sonne of Pope *Alexander* the ſixt: & the ſame is alledged by *Matheolus*, who heard it reported credibly, by diuers men in his time. This Man, being deſirous to poyſon certain Cardinals at a banquet; without thinking thereon, poyſoned himſelfe alſo, with his Father, & diuers other frends: ſome wherof dyed within few daies after; others, ſome months after; others, ſome yeares; and yet himſelfe eſcaped, by the help of certaine Antidotes which he tooke, and other remedies. He experimented the ſame poyſon, by giuing it to diuers Mules and Mulets, which he could eaſily kill, according to the working of their naturall heat. The reaſons then before alleadged, and this Hiſtory may ſerue to perſwade the Reader, ꝑ the vulgar opinion is not auaileable; holding obſtinately, that the Impoyſoner can certainly determine the houre of a mans death, which is apparantly falſe.

Dioſco. lib. 5. cap. 1. A Hiſtory of a notorious impoyſoner.

A poyſon inuented by the of *Cumana* in *India*.

Thoſe people in the Prouince of *Cumana*, ſcituate in the Weſt *Indiaes*, doe make a poyſon which killeth the heart ſuddainely, eyther by the ſmell thereof, or touch: it is compounded of the blood of diuers Serpents; Gum made of a certaine Hearb, and a ſtrange kinde of Apples, all commixed together, with the Heads of ſome Ants, that are full of venome. In compoſition of this vile Drugge, they ſhut vp an old Woman in a Chamber, giuing her all the ſeuerall ſubſtances, and ſuch Wood as muſt boyle all the Simples together. This decoction continueth two or three daies and nights on the Fire, before it can bee brought to perfection: and the old womaa dyeth with the ſtincke and venomous fume iſſuing from the ſeething. If ſhe dye, they then highly praiſe and commend the poyſon; but if ſhe ſcape without death, then they caſt it away, and puniſh the woman very grieuouſly. This poyſon is ſaid to be the very ſame, which is vſed by the *Caribes*, and againſt which, the *Spaniards* could neuer finde any remedy; being wounded by the impoyſoned Arrowes and Darts, ſhot and caſt at them by thoſe *Caribes*.

Proofe made of the poiſons power.

Poyſon vſed by the *Caribes*.

I could haue proceeded further in this diſcourſe of poyſons, to the pleaſing, or rather diſlike of the Reader, becauſe the ſubiect is ſome-what odious: but the cauſe procuring me to what hath beene deliuered, was, to aduiſe ſuch as are conſtituted (in theſe our daies) in places of eminency and dignity, to haue an eſpeciall regard of themſelues, becauſe ambition both hath beene, and yet is ſo great in ſome perſons; as very fewe Princes haue not beene endangered by poyſon. And if that way hath not preuailed, to make their liues ſubiect to their mallice; then Piſtols haue beene imployed, and impoyſoned Kniues: As on the moſt Chriſtian King *Henry* the third, who was ſlaine in that manner at Saint *Cleu*. Then on King *Henry* the fourth, whoſe memory will endure to the Worlds end, for a famous King and peereleſſe Souldier: and who bare the markes of ſuch villainous attempts all his life time, euen in his royall face, and could not preuent his death thereby.

The Authors reaſon, for diſcourſingon poyſons.

Kings ſlaine with impoyſoned Kniues.

I am alſo to be excuſed, in not ſetting downe the names of many poyſons, & paſſing vnder ſilence the power of ſuch as are very dangerous; becauſe I held it no part of my duty, in regard that *Galen* himſelfe refuſed to name them: *Nicander*, and (after him) *Dioſcorides*, haue ſet downe the names of many poyſons in their workes, and deliuered certaine ſignes, whereby to know what poyſons

Galen, *Nicander*, and *Dioſcorides*.

are

are to be dealt withall, and remedies also incident to them. But let me tell ye, that those perrilous matters whereof they haue made so publique euidence, are so grosse, and of such easinesse to be defended, as (in very truth) they doe not deserue to be set downe in writing. For such as are made vse of in these our times, they haue much more pernitious effects, and sooner can ridde the world of many persons, then any of the other (by vse then made of them) had power to do.

Our nouell poysons more dangerous then them of old.

CHAP. XX.

What manner of people they were, that had the Title of Gymnosophistes.

FOr better vnderstanding, what is meant by the word *Gymnosophistæ*, to such as are little experienced in the Grecke tongue, I direct mine intent, giuing them to know, that the Word is composed of two vocables; to wit, *Gymnos*, which is as much to say, as *Naked*; and *Sophistæ*, that is, *Wise*; euen as if you would say *Naked-wise*, for (in very truth) they went continually naked. *Pliny* and *Cicero* haue discoursed of them, and (after them) Saint *Augustine*. These Philosophers dwelt about Mount *Caucasus*, neere vnto the Riuer *Ganges*; where they went naked, as yet (to this day) the most part of the Inhabitants of that Countrey doe. They vsed to make Vowes, to liue in Deserts, some in Forrests: not during life, but for a certaine number of yeares, walking in contemplation of Celestiall thinges, and of Morall Philosophy. They would neuer enter into any Townes or Cittics, neither married, but liued austerely, alwaies looking stedfastly on the Sunne, euen in the greatest heate of the day; standing vsually vppon one foot, in the very hottest and scorching sand or dust. Beeing wearied with long standing in that manner, they would stand as long vpon the other, and sildome stand on both feet together; this they wold likewise do in the extremest cold of winter.

Gymnosophistæ, Nakedly wise. Pliny. Cicero. S. August.

Mount *Caucasus* neere *Ganges*.

Vowes of the *Gymnosophists*.

Their Life, Custome, and Behauiour.

They fed on nothing but Fruits and roots, which alwaies (in meere charity) was brought to them: for rather then to aske or require food, they would famish themselues to death. They vsed to lye in the coole shade vnder Trees, or else in the vast, wide, open fielde. Persons of great honour, and multitudes of other people beside, vsed to goe see them, and brought their Children with them, to be enstructed by them; because it was reputed in euery opinion, that they were men of great sanctity, and excelled all other in knowledge. In breefe, all their Doctrine was to know God, shunne Vices, and (aboue all other) ambition. They invred their bodies to endure all kinds of afflictions, were it to bee burned aliue: for many of them would cast themselues into a fire, if they had attained vnto the age of fifty years, or there about. There was no small number of them, but very many, and they accepted into their society children descended of the best houses. Whereof *Cicero* being certified, he maruailed not a little, that among so barbarous a Nation, and where they made no vse of letters: there should bee found so many Learned Philosophers, chast, sober; adorned with many vertues, and accustomed to suffer all iniuries, as well of the Ayre, as in other extemall matters.

Their manner of feeding and lodging.

Children brought to be instructed by them.

Their Doctrine and sufferance.

Cicero his reason of amazement at the *Gymnosophists*.

Strabo writeth, that there were two kindes of *Gymnosophistes*; one of them dwelling in Deserts and Forrests, cloathing themselues with leaues and barks of trees, liuing bashfully and soberly, neuer dinking any Wine; and these Men were tearmed *Hermanes*. The other sort frequented Kings Courts, Citties, and assemblies of people, and they were called *Brachmanes*: who held opinion, that the day of death, was the birth-day of vertuous Soules; which opinion appeared to be truly Christian.

Strabo affirms two sortes of *Gymnosophists*.

Hermanes.

Brachmanes.

Alexander the great, hauing trauailed farre in the *Indiaes*, heard report of these *Gymnosophistes*, and caused some of them to be brought before him: of whom he was sharpely reproued, because hee beeing but a Mortall Man, hauing but one mouth to feede, and one Kingdome, more then sufficient for his Gouerning; that yet he tooke such paines, and oftentimes fell into great dangers, to raunge, trouble, and conquer all the East

Alexander the great, reproued by the *Gymnosophists*.

East and the *Indiaes*, which neuer any way had offended him: He seeing himselfe so toucht to the quicke by these naked Philosophers, for his limitlesse ambition; refused to passe on any further, but returned backe to *Babylon*, to liue thence forward quiet and peaceably, purposing neuer after to trouble any person.

Alexander taxed, represseth his ambition.

Aristobulus, who accompanied *Alexander* in all his voyages and Conquests, writeth, that two of those *Gymnosophistes* followed him, in his returning from the *Indiaes* to *Babilon*, both of them being continually naked, without any Garment on them. He that seemed the eldest or more auncient of them, would lye groueling on his face vppon the ground, euen in the powerfullest warmth of the Sunne, or heat of Summer, much molested with Waspes and other stinging Flyes; yet would he not stirre, or once make offer to driue them away. He that was the younger man, he would stand continually vppon one foote, holding a Log of Wood in one of his handes, containing the length of three cubits; and ordinarily would hee stand in this manner, as well before *Alexander*, as out of his company. Some while after, the elder man left this austerity, and began to liue more delicately; for which, being reprehended, hee answered: That he had liued (in his former manner) the space of sixe and thirty yeares, according to the vow he had made to God, to hold that rule of *Gymnosophistæ* for such length of time: which being now expired, he might returne to liue in the same sort as other Men did. The younger man being named *Calanus*, hauing followed the Court and and Army of *Alexander*, so farre as *Persia*, he made a goodly fire in an open assembly, and hauing annointed al his body ouer with Lard or Grease, he threw himselfe into the midst of the Fire, with a smiling, iocond, and cheerefull countenance, according to the custome of the *Brachmanes*; and so burned himselfe into Ashes.

Two *Gymnosophists* followed *Alexander* to *Babylon*.

One of the *Gymnosophists* reproued, & his answere.

The *Gymnosophist* burneth himselfe.

The Mountaines called *Caucasus*, where these *Gymnosophists* doe inhabite, are not they which touch *Scythia* in *Asia*; but those that confine on the mouths of the great *Indian* riuer *Ganges*, where the Inhabitants are blacke, going all naked, except some small couerture for their parts of shame: they are great Idolaters, euen to this day; of friendlie conuersation, not nice or daintie, and they are often deceiued by Marchants-Strangers. None of those other *Gymnosophistes* are found in these partes, but there are certaine Priests and Women, who do (very nere) hold the same manner of behauiour, as the ancient *Brachmans* did, for they burne themselues when they become aged. If any man among them happen to dye otherwise, all his Wiues (for there they haue many) doe contend among themselues, which of them loued him best, and the case must be pleaded (for tryall) before a Iudge, Each of them is an Atturney in her owne cause, and she that is found to be of greatest affection, and hath done most accepted seruices to the dead in his life time; shee onely hath the renowne in Iudgement, and she shall haue the honor to be burned aliue, with the dead body of her Husband.

The abyding of the *Gymnosophists*.

Priestes and Women that dye in fires.

The proofe of womens loue to their Husbands.

As for my selfe, I alwaies conceiued, that those *Gymnosophists* were religious persons, who believed the immortality of the Soule, and sequestred themselues from mens societies, because they would not be touched with worldly desires; thinking to do all things acceptable to God, and enstruct others how to liue vertuously. And in so much, as they willingly threw themselues into deaths power, before nature had runne her full course; it seemed to mee that they did it, to auoyd further offending God by their sinnes. There are found some Men among vs, euen in these daies, that sequester themselues from sight of other Men, exhorting vs to all charity & vertue, to haue daily remembrance of death, and to prepare all our thoughts to God: they are said also, to liue as (if not more) chastly and austerely, as the other did: but as I am not able to speak this of mine owne absolute knowledge, so will I not condemne any one thereto enclined, that doth it not on a superstitious kind of zeale, or to be held of greater sanctity then others, therefore I refer iudgement herein, to him to whom it iustly belongeth.

The Authors opinion of the *Gymnosophists*.

Some religious persons resembling the *Gymnosophistes*.

CHAP. XXI.

¶ *Against the opinion of such men, as doe thinke, that the Septentrionall Countries, which bee vnder the North Climate, are vnfruitfull and inhabitable.*

THere were many of our fore-Fathers, who helde opinion, that vnder *Zona Torrida*, no Man can haue any dwelling, in regard of the extreame heate there continuing: but they were therein much deceiued, for it hath beene found by Nauigations of the *Spaniards*, *Portuagals*, and others, within some hundreds of passed yeares, that very many ciuill people doe inhabite there, and great store of Victuals for nourishment, dooth also there abound.

Zona Torrida.

Habitable land vnder *Torride Zone.*

Contrariwise, some likewise haue thought, that the two *Zones* which bee imagined to holde the two extremities of the Worlde, are (by their violent colds) not habitable; because they are farre remote from the Zodiaque and Eclipticke, which is another imagined Line, and through which the Sunne maketh his course. Heerein also they haue beene greatly beguiled; for vnder the two *Zones*, the Land is couered with Men, Beastes, Hearbs and Trees: the inclemency of the Ayre, or of the cold Heauens doth there no hurt at all. Nothing but the Earth it selfe, which is found in some partes barren and vnfruitfull, makes them not to bee inhabited by men: as in the Desert and Sandy *Arabia*, whence yet you may passe into diuers Countries, carrying Victualles with ye. So is it likewise to be imagined of many other Desets, which are in many other parts of the World.

The Zodiaque and Ecliptick line.

The Earth it selfe vnfruitfull.

Lands vnder the North populous and fertile.

I haue alleadged these fore-named matters, because many yet doe holde, that the Septentrionall Countries are infertile; as *Moscouia*, *Tartaria*, *Scithia*, *Getia*, *Prutania*, *Denmarcke*, *Suetia*, *Norway*, *Finland*, and others; whereof it would aske some time to make recitall, which are all Neighbours, or vnder the North; in regard, there it is cold the greater part of the yeare, and at all times subiect to Snowes and sharpe Frostes; as also Fogges and Mistes are there very frequent, and the Ayre commonly cloudy. Wherein they are also much deceiued, for in all those Prouinces, there are neyther Fieldes, Vallies, Mountaines, Hillockes, nor the Banckes of Riuers, but you shall see them couered with goodly Hearbes, Grasse, and Plants, faire spreading, and in fruitefull manner, as also plentie of Men and Beasts. Now, because coldnesse is vnprofitable to Generation; therefore many haue held these Countries to be very desert and empty of all thinges.

Countries vnder the north.

Signes of fertility and plenty.

First of all, there is great plenty of Horses, fat, high-fed, and very good, so that when they goe in any expedition, their Troopes doe ordinarily consist of threescore or fourescore thousand horses. The Men also are very nimble and ready, so that if they had the vse of Armes among them; as of the Harquebush, Petronils, and other Artillerie, accordingly as wee haue: they would quickely ouer-runne *Europe*, or the *Persian*. That it can be no otherwise, we haue had good experience in our times, when they haue giuen assistance to the Turkes, in much greater number then I haue spoken off. Of Oxen, Kine, Sheep, Goats, Swine, and other Beasts for Housholde seruice, the Countries are (well-neere) ouer-burthened, and wonderfully well fed: abounding also in White-meates, which are their verie chiefest sustenance. So that, if those Countries were so barren, as most Historiographers, and some Cosmographers (that neuer dreampt on these things) haue written: wold beasts there multiply in such plenty, and thriue in such extraordinary manner?

Great abundance of men and beasts.

Lacke of knowledge in Artillery.

The error of Historians & Cosmographers.

As for the Women, they are so fruitfull, as commonly they bring two children at a burden, oftentimes three, and foure at sometimes; whereof let no doubt or scruple be made. For I haue seene many, and frequented long with people of those partes (both of Honour and Learning) who haue confirmed the truth heereof vnto mee. All the Men of Warre heretofore, of the *Gothes*,

The fruitfulnesse of the Women.

The North hath yeilded very potent Armies.

Gothes, *Vandales*, *Scythians*, *Hunnes*, *Normanes*, and others; beeing in number aboue foure or fiue hundred thousand Men, and the Army of *Tamberlain* (who liued in the yeare 1390.) that consisted ordinarily of a Milllon of Men; were of no other people or Countries, but such as inhabited vnder the North. They are Men of Spirit, Learned, and preserue Annales among them, euen as we doe in our Nations: Some of them are Christians, after the *Græcians* manner; others, Mahumatists, and others Idolators.

The plenty of Furres which those Countries yeild.

These people were Furres, euen from sole of the foote (as wee vse to say) to the Crowne of the head: And whence can such prouision of Furres be made, but by the fœcundity of their Landes? For they doe not onely cloath themselues, but they likewise furnish *Fraunce*, *England*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, *Flanders*, *Greece*, and other Prouinces; yea, with the very richest and fayrest: as Ermines, Sables, Martines, White Wolues, Foxes, and diuers others.

Great store of Venison.

Shall I speake of the great plentie of Venison, and exceeding in fatnesse, daily taken by them? As Harts, Hinds, Kiddes, Wilde-Boares, Hares, &c. very easilie and familiarly hunted among them. Likewise, Fowles of all kinds, as well haunting the Mountaines, as liuing on Plaines, and in Waters. All which Viandes are at such cheape rate, as, for halfe an ounce of Siluer, which valueth twentie French *Solz*, or two Shillings of our English Money, a man may haue a Redde Deere, or a Wilde Boare; and a Hare for the fift part of a dramme of Siluer, hardly valuing a Pennie. I set not down the Names of their Monies, because the *Scythians*, of whom I speake more then others, and dwell direct vnder the North, haue no vse at all of Money: but both buy and sell all thinges for the weight of Gold or Siluer, Duckes, Mallards, Plouers, wilde-Geese, Cranes, Ringdoues, Pewets, Partridges, Quailes, Blacke-Birds, &c. in a manner for nothing, they are so easily taken, by reason of their great aboundance. The people lead a Pastorall kinde of life, and haue no other dwelling then vnder Tentes, and in the open Fieldes, without any repining thereat, and yet they sleepe there verie sounudly. This Countrey whereof I speake, containeth more then sixe hundred Leagues, which *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and *Pomponius Mela*, doe hold to be almost desert, and from an hundred Miles, to another hundred, hardly is any Towne or Village to be seene.

The *Scythians* haue no vse of Money.

The cheapenesse of victuals.

Store of wilde Fowles.

Their maner of life and dwelling.

Pliny, *Ptolomy*, *Pomponius Mela*.

The North-Sea greatly abounding in Fish.

Their Seas are fertile, and abounding in Fishes of all kindes, for there they are greater, and much better nourished, then in any other Seas; witnesse the Whales, Coddes, Lings, &c. that doe come all (well-neere) from these Regions. And if any Whales be taken in the Spanish Seas, as I haue seene some, but very sildome: they are much lesse then the other, nothing so fat, nor in such store and plenty. Let vs proceede yet a little further. If these Countries were so vnfruitfull and inhabitable, as they are said to be; would Bees and Hony be in such aboundance there as they are? For there is scarcelie any Tree, where those little Labourers doe not builde their Hiues: especiallie if they can meete with any hollow Tree; wherein I haue heard it credibly reported, that Men haue diuers times sunke vp to the shoulders in Hony. Whence comes such store of Waxe, as the *Germaines* send into *Fraunce*, and other places of Christendome, but onely out of those Countries? For although there be some store in *France*, yet is there not any such plenty or encrease, as would furnish *Paris* for one month onely. In breefe, their Trees are full of Honny, Waxe, and Fruites: beside, I haue been certainely assured, that the leaues in their least Groues and Thickets, haue well neer equalled your common Colewortes. The whole Land is euen couered (as it were) with extraordinary odoriferous Hearbs; especially young Mariorame, which is held there to bee so precious, as if we can get thereof; wee compound it with the Powder of Violets, and vse it as a restoratiue.

Great aboundance of wax, Hony and Fruits.

Hearbes of sweet sauour.

The opinion of the Naturalists, concerning generation and production.

Now, according to the opinion of all the very greatest Naturalists, coldnes is not aduantageable to generation and production, eyther in Beastes or Plantes; because we perceiue, that (in Winter) Beasts haue no familiarity together, and all Plants become as if they

were dead, or despoyled of their goodly leaues: which needs must be the reason of no such fœcundity in these cold and freezing Countries; and yet there may be in those Climates, some humor intermingled with the earth (beyond the ordinary nature of other partes) which is the only Argument of such fertilitie. For the Butter-flyes, Bees, and other common Flies, doe not feare any cold there; but are much greater and grosser then they be heere. Oftentimes, the very least or cold Frostes heere with vs, quite kils our Bees and Flyes; but the very greatest coldes there, and (as one saith) when mighty yſickles couer al the Rocks; yet euen then doe they produce generation. Men are far more healthful there then we be heere; they feed more then we do, & digest their meat better, because (indeede) they are much more laborious. I haue obserued in *Auuergne*, that on the highest Mountaines there, (which are those called *Mont D'or*, and *Domme*) where the Snowes neuer stirre for nine months together: that yet neuertheless, they are very fertile, & yeild the greater quantity of grasse & hearbs; of better tast, and bigger and faiter, then the plaines do with all their temperate ayres. Beastes likewise doe much better fatten there, then commonly we see in other places.

A reason of fertility in the North Countries.

Mont D'or and *Domme* in *Auuergne*.

Heere it may be obiected to me, that the reason why Cosmographers and Geographers haue set down no Towns or Villages, on the plaines of those Countries; as namely, in *Scythia* and *Tartaria*; was, because there are either very few, or none at all. And so much the rather, in regard that the people dwelling vnder Tents, are still vnsetled and ambulatory; as seeking after new pasturages, when they haue made their feeding (any time) in one place. The people make no auouchable testimony hereof, but rather, that the reason why they dwell in Tentes, and in the open fields; is, because they will not be shut vp within Wals; to the end, that they may the sooner approch their enemies, when they Warre vpon them; as also for their apter courses, out-rodes, and surprisals, for they are of very Warlike disposition. For other occasions, they haue all thinges sufficiently for sustentation of Mens liues, without neede of any thing brought from other places: except it be wines and Spiceries, which (of necessity) must needs there be verie scarse, and they haue little neede of.

Few Townes or Villages in those Countries.

The reason why these people liue in Tents, & not in Townes.

I conclude then, that when any man shall fall in contemplation of the countries fruitfulnesse vnder the North, and also of their Seas; hee must not thinke, that coldnesse is the cause thereof, for it bringeth rather discommodity, then any good benefite. But let him propound to himselfe, as I haue formerlie saide; that the reason proceedeth of some good and fat humiditie, remayning in the Groundes of those Countries, and whereof we haue none such heere.

The Authors Conclusion.

CHAP. XXII.

A Paradoxe, approouing, that the meanest and simplest place of Birth or descent, maketh a Man to be truely most Noble.

THat Nobleneſſe of Bodie and Heart (which our Elders euermore obserued for the minde) being both combined together, are the very fayrest partes to be wished in any Man; I make no more doubt thereof, then I do of truth it selfe. For, let there bee neuer so great a number of them, whom we tearme Gentle-men, Lords, mightie *Magnificoes*, or others whatsoeuer; yet, except they bee enriched with these vertues ioyntly: I reckon them not within the compasse of true Nobilitie. And I dare oppose my selfe directlie against any Man, who (in the peeuishnesse of his owne Spirit) shall aduenture to maintaine, that descent from a great House, without other Title then the bare name onely; is sufficient to make eyther a Nobleman, or Gentleman.

Nobility of body and mind.

The compasse of true Nobility.

Admit the case, that (as some hold) Vertue auayleth but little, which (neuertheless) they shall finde to bee most false: yet the Vnnoble-borne person hath this aduantage, and the obscurity of the place (whence he is deriued) giueth him this power and Prerogatiue: to

Vertue of litle or no account, yet free for all to vse.

to take delight (without any preiudice) in all those kindes of sportfull pleasures grounded on Vertue, which can bee in present vse. As, to vndertake strange enterprises, though appearing difficult and full of daunger; which hee may safely doe, without any to reproue him therefore, or cast a blush in his countenance: succeeding as well, as if he could say to himselfe, heere wanteth nothing now, but Nobility by Race, & Antiquity of Kinred.

The benefit of poore, yet honest birth.

I dare say beside, that a poore Man honestly borne, and of good Spirit, standes free from the rough seueritie of troublesome Tutors, froward indiscreete Pedants, reckonieg himselfe in the number of them, who are truelie borne free and at liberty, and voyde of those distastes, which obscureth the splendor of famous Lignages. Hee findes not himselfe subiect to such diuersitie of fashions in Garments, which wee behold to alter and change day by day; oftentimes making both minde and body aunswerable to those fantasticke and idle-headed Habites.

Fantasticall garmets, that make as foolish minds.

Nor is hee bound (for preseruing the honour of his House) to keepe a great Traine, or a surfeiting Table. Hee holds it no disgrace or shame, to walke on foote in his Countrey, without his quarrelling Rapyer, or other Weapons. If Fortune smile not, but ouertaketh him with worldly and ordinary mishaps: he rather accounteth it credit for him, to vndergoe another mans honest seruice, then fall into misery, or hazzard his future hopes, with any blemish and staine of Obloquy. All which thinges they dare not doe, that eyther remember in themselues, or any other of their Race, the eminent place of their Birth and Off-spring: but, ouerweening themselues destyned to the same Fortunes; doe (oftentimes) endure and fal into the greater mischiefes, because the smoake of their famous Houses, laies diuers charges on them, inferiour to their Nobility and excellence, and beeing slipt or falne in their first aduenture, they can neuer afterward (without great difficulty) rise againe.

Seruice to good men is no disgrace.

Great minds are the cause of their owne grosse ruine.

The Man not Noble borne, is verie wary, before he fall into worse then his Originall Fortune, and makes his Industry his best pillers and vnder-proppes: by which commendable meanes, making Vertue his course, and pursuing the golden degrees of Wisedome, his name attaineth to be more illustrated & famous, then it can easily bee obscured by any sinister accident. Then, addicting himselfe to Letters, and the liberall Sciences, or else to follow Military Discipline; he bestowes therein such labour and diligence, that by meere right and Iustice of Merit: first hee beares away the special benefit thereof; next, the luster and splendour of it waites on him continually; and the fame (due to so high deseruing) cannot bee taken from him, by any Commaunder, Lorde, or Maister, to whom (for bare Name of Gentry) it may be thought more fitly to appertaine.

Industry the step to greatest fortunes.

Learning, the liberall sciences and Millitary discipline

Example of Warlike actions hath beene noted, in *Bayarde*, *Manleurier*, *Malherbe*, and other valiant French Captaines; as also in *Castruccio Carcagne*, *Picine*, *Carmaygnolo*, and *Ioannine* in *Italy*; all which men (though descended of meane and humble Parentage) ther renowne did sufficiently manifest, that in them remained the onelie Vertue of high attemptes. The like may be saide concerning Learning, and the Sciences, if wee remember *Henrie* the eight, King of England, who is said to Write diuers worthy Bookes in Latine: which (neuertheless) were reported to be done by Sir *Thomas Moore*, who was his Lord Chancellour, a man that liued in great reputation, for singuler Wisedome and Authority; yet descended but from meane place and Parentage, and (in regard of Blood, or House) might bee tearmed Vn-noble: Learning neuer seeketh after eminent places, or mightie and Magnificent Houses, where sloth and negligence is much better friended, then all industrious dilligence or labour in actions of Vertue can attaine vnto. In approbation of this *Maxime*, we can produce; that Nobility of House maketh not the Philosopher, Poet, or Oratour; but studious paines and trauaile bestowed in either of them; these are the thinges that makes a Man both Noble, and immortall to posterity.

Example of diuers French and Italian Captaines.

Sir *Tho. Moore* of England.

Learning coueteth no pride or pomp

Socrates was Sonne to a Caruer or Worker in Marble: yet see what an excel-

Noble parentage maketh not a Philosopher, Poet, or Oratour:

Socrates Son to a Caruer in stone:

excellent polliſher of the minde, he became a beater downe of bad and broken conditions, more hard then euer was the Iaſper or Adamant. The auncient Tragicke Poet *Euripides*, came of very poore and abiect Parents. *Euripides* poorly borne.

Demoſthenes, the honour of Greeke eloquence, was not onely of meane place, but beſide, of vncertain Parentage. *Demoſthenes* of vncertaine Parents.

Virgill, the famous Latine Poet, was begotten by a poore *Mantuan* labourer. And *Horace*, the incomparable *Lyrick*, was Sonne to a Trumpeter in the Warres. *Virgill* a Labourers Son. *Horace* a trumpeters Sonne.

For Men Moderne, find but one onely that wrote in Philoſophy, Poeſie, Rhetoricke, or any other Science, who could renowne himſelfe (at any time) by the Anceſtors of his Houſe. Ye may very well note to the contrary, if (out of a Noble or magnificent Houſe) ye finde but one that giues himſelfe to ſtudy, he is commonly tearmed a laſciuious wanton Pamphleter, a cunning Satyriſt, a Rayler, or Brabler; and I pray ye, how is his houſe ennobled by him, when Vertue thus forſakes him, and lends him not her aſſiſtance. Of Moderne Men, who become wanton Writers, &c.

If we ſhall neede to paſſe any further in this diſcourſe, I dare vndertake to ſhew ye, that true Gentility (indeede) came at firſt from Men of meane condition, and many of them are yet (to this day) renowned by good Hiſtorians. Nay, more, that great Princes and Lordes haue receiued their Originall from poore Cottages, and ſimple Houſes. For example, *Tarquinius Priſcus*, was Sonne to a Marchant of a ſtraunge Countrey. *Seruius Tullius*, was begotten on a Woman Slaue. *Septimius Seuerus*, came of very baſe degree. *Agathocles*, King of *Scicilie*, tooke it for no ſhame, to garniſh his Pallace and richeſt Cup-boordes with earthen Veſſels, in memory that hee was but a Potters Sonne. True Gentility came from men of mean quality. *Tarquinius Priſcus.* *Seruius Tullius.* *Septimius Seuerus.* *Agathocles* K. of *Scicilie.*

Ælius Pertinax, was (at firſt) but a ſimple Seller of Wood. And *Venadius Baſſus* came of maruellous poore Parents. If it bee ſo then, that among ſuch great perſonages, the more part are found to bee deriued from poore and meane places: What reaſon haue ſo many men now-adaies, to ſearch out ſuch expreſſe inuented lyes, by counterfeit and Heteroclite Titles, to tearme themſelues Noble and Gentle; meerely to purchaſe credit by ſuppoſed Preheminence of great Linage? And then, what a turmoyle and trouble doth it procure, when a ſilly Antiquary or Chronicler (or ſome other idle writer) eyther through want of diſcretion, or otherwiſe, ſets not downe in his poore Pamphlet, all the Titles and qualities of ſuch an vp-ſtart Gallant? *Aelius Pertinax* *Venadius Baſſus.* Inuented Titles to make men Noble or Gentle.

It would cauſe an eſpeciall content in minde to mee, if (by my paines) I could procure a ceſſation of this ouer-vaine and fooliſh humour, this heate of deſire to be tearmed Noble or Gentle: were it but in ſuch onely, as neuer knew what Armes meant, nor could euer expreſſe or approoue, one vertuous Act in any of their Predeceſſours. Surely, mee thinkes it is a very ſtrange courſe obſerued in the Kingdome of *Naples*, that euery baſe Groome in the Countrey, muſt (at euery Word) be tearmed *Signior*: And in the ſuperſcription to ſome ſlouenly Slaue, hee muſt haue the Title of *Don* ſuch a one, which agrees euen as handſomely, as to call a filthy Slut in the Kitchin, *Madama Lucretia*, or *Signiora Pampiluna*. Oh intollerable abſurditie? the like folly in no age (heeretofore) euer heard of. So, in Frannce, euery Peazant and Lacky muſt bee called *Sir*, or *Monſieur*: then which, no greater ſtile can be giuen to the King, or his Brother, or the greateſt Lord in Grace about him. In *Burgundy*, *Flaunders*, and *Henault*, a verie Lacky-Boy following the Campe, will make Armes for himſelfe, after his owne minde and faſhion, with Mantle, Helme, and Creaſt, after the *Saxon* guiſe, wherewith many Hoſtlers doors are famouſly dawbed. In *Brittaine*, ye haue not one, but his Father was a Lord at leaſt. In *Scotland*: they all extract of the blood Royall: And in *Aniou* (as in *Wales*) they are all Gentle-men. And this is moſt certaine, that there are very fewe places to be found in the World, but (in them) ſome Seedes of this miſerable ambition is diſperſed. Scarcely is there any Citty, Village, Towne, or Borough; but ſhakes hand in this folly, euen for friendſhip ſake. The Titles of Gentry in the Kingdome of *Naples*. In *France*. In *Burgundy*, *Flanders*, and *Henault*. In *Brittaine*. In *Scotland*. In *Wales*. All the world is ſet vpon Gentry.

I let paſſe the goodly Citty of *Venice*, wherin euery ſimple trafficker in Sugers, Cloths, Spices, &c. muſt be ſtiled a Gentleman at the leaſt, or *Meſsieur Magnifico*. The Citty of *Venice*.

If

Folly in persons appertaining vnto the Church.

If he be but a Sexton, and looke to the Church goods, presently hee must be intituled, Most Reuerend Sir, Most Religious, yea, and Most Blessed too, if it might bee admitted. Consider (seeing such dishonor don to true noblenes & Gentility) if it can bee endured with any patience? Would ye imagine, that these ambitious blastes haue past the Alpes, euen into *Frizeland*, *Saxony*, and high *Germany*? I can assure ye, hauing bin in those partes, about important affaires, wherein then I had some imployment, that so soone as I perceiued this horrible misery; Oh Deuill (quoth I) how largely hast thou euery wher shot forth thy pernitious venom? Couldst thou not keepe within thy Natiue bounds, but thou must climbe ouer those admirable Mountaines, and places almost vnaccessable, to enflame mens minds with this thy hellish fury? I found in that Country, howe some would ride post to the Chambers Imperiall, only to buy the title of Gentility; and afterward, make vaunt of their Nobility; some, by two; others, by three; and others, by four seuerall linages, curtalling the true names of their owne right Aunce stors, to make their claime by a contrary way, the more likely. Some boasted of their discent from the *Tuscanes*, some from the *Romans*, som from the eldest *Allemaignes*, and some were naturally bred of the race of *Achilles* Mirmidons. There was one, who for the Ensigne and Emblazure of his Nobilitie, in my conceit, had a very apte Coate of Arms giuen him, to wit; A Green-goose necke, in a Field Geules, couered with a Crest double staged, enriched with Mantle and Feathers, myraculously washed after the *Tartarian* manner, with other deuises of farre stranger fashion. Whosoeuer had sworne to me, that among so great a number of rough and sterne people, there should be found one sparke of such peeuish ambition, I would neuer haue beleeued him. Because I was (euer before) giuen to vnderstand, that this folly dwelt onely in the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Spaine*. But for ought I can perceiue, it hath euery where taken so deepe roote, that it hath receiued no smal hope in short time to haue an vniuersall flourishing.

Frize-land, *Saxony*, and high *Germany*.

Great paines taken for Gétility, and starting vp to Nobility.

Boast made of mens descent.

A fit Coate of Armes for a Foole.

The Kingdom of *Naples* and *Spaine*.

I remember I haue read, that the Father of *Euripides*, expressing some outward ioy, because on a sudden he was ennobled, receiued from his Sonne these words; *Good Father* (quoth he) *doe not reioyce so much at this matter, for the Prince hath but giuen yee a thing, which anie man else may haue for his money.* For Nobilitie nowe hath no other foundation then on Riches, and hee that hath store thereof, hath power likewise to be made a Nobleman. This was it which moued good *Socrates* to say; *Only Vertue maketh vs noble and excellent.* For it auayleth nothing, to glory or renowne our selues by this or that family, if without Vertue wee thinke or perswade our selues to be Noble.

The Father of *Eurypides*, & his Sons wordes to him.

Nobilitie grounded on riches.

The saying of *Socrates*.

To this purpose, *Cicero* who deserued that famous name, to be alway called *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of his natiue Countrey *Rome*, being reprehended by *Salust* in his inuectiues, that he knew him not to be descended of Noble race, but rather came from a place vtterly vnknowne to Noblemen, he returned him this answer; *My Linage beginneth in the name of Cicero, but the race and name of* Salust, *will end in* Salust. *Plato* also maintaind, *that seruants were descended of Noble bloode, if their Parents were Louers of Vertue, & they therein did follow their steps.* And contrariwise, that all Princes and Lords were issued at first, from people of base and meane condition, and thence might deriue the antiquity of their race.

The answere of *Cicero*, to the reprehension giuen him by *Salust*.

The saying of *Plato*, concerning Seruants and Princes.

This was to quallify the pride of some insolent persons liuing in his time, who made no account of any thing, but of their goods and treasure; imagining, that Gentility in olde time, dropt from Heaven, like the fall of *Manna* to *Aponillus Calaber*, or *Briancon*. But the ancient Noblemen, were made by their Vertue & courage, which they woorthily manifested, both in manly fighting, and dying for the honor of their Country, committing no other action beside, that might bee blotted with the detection of villainie or reproach. Such as go that indirect way, and labor to get the name of Gentility, by actions apparantly fowle and dishonorable; them I may properly tearme to be Gentle-villaines, in regard that their long coueted Nobility, by such depraued behaviour, can giue it selfe no other Name, then the iust guerdon to such notable iniquitie.

Gentility to fall from heauen.

True Nobility indeed.

Gentle-Villaines.

The Egyptians, from whome came the Originall of all faire and honest disciplines, did hold opinion; that all persons in

The opinion of the ancient Egyptians concerning Nobility.

in this world are Noble in quality, each one beeing composed of selfe-same matter, and framed by one onely builder or Worke-man, by whome their soules are infused into their bodies, being capeable (euen from their birth) of one selfe-same power and vertue. But they allowed afterward, that according to the disposition of each body, they which receyued the greatest portion of Vertue, had likewise greater preheminence aboue others; and so (for difference sake) were therfore called either Noble or Gentle. Vertue then is the trueſt Nobility; and Greatnesse of house, or antiquity of Lignage, are matters meerely of nothing. For, a poore Countrey-man, borne in *Arpinum*, hath bin as well called Emperor, and Father of his Countrey, as any *Iulius* or *Augustus Cæsar*, descended of most auncient Houses.

Vertue is the trueſt Nobilitie.

CHAP. XXIII.

A pleasant Allegoricall description of Charon, *called the Ferry-man of Hell.*

Seneca in his Tragedie of *Hercules Furens*, introduceth *Theseus*, who recounteth to *Amphitrio*, the strange sights he had seen in Hell. And he describeth *Charon*, according as *Virgil* doth, in the sixth Booke of *Æneides*; and as *Polygnotus* painted him in a Table which hee made for the Temple of *Apollo*, as *Pausanias* recordeth. *Boccace* being desirous to interpret the figure of *Charon*, deliuereth his mind in this maner; By *Charon*, we are to vnderstand the signification of Time, who is saide to be Son of *Erebus*, and of *Night*. *Erebus* may be taken for the secret counsell and spirit of God, by whome, both Time and all things elſe were created, and Night was the Mother of *Charon*. For before Time was, there was not as yet any light at all; but it was made in darknesse, and out of darknesse it first appeared. *Charon* was afterward commaunded into hell, because they that are in Heauen, haue no neede of Time, as we mortals haue, that inhabit this lower part of the world; frō whence, if we cast vp our eyes to them, we may (by good right) account out selues to bee in Hell. *Charon* carrieth and re-carieth mortals, from one side of the Riuer vnto the other; whereby we may gather, that when we are borne, Time in like manner, leads and guides vs on toward death, causing vs to passe the Riuer *Acheron*, which is as much to say, as without ioy or comfort, in which kind of course, slideth away our fraile liues, full of many and infinite miseries.

Theseus his return from hel.

How *Boccace* describeth the figure of *Charon*.

No neede of Time in Heauen.

What is ment by the Riuer *Acheron*.

Charon is old, and yet notwithstanding strong, hardy, and couragious; signifying thereby, that Time looseth no strength by multiplicity of yeares. His Garments are blacke and sullied, as shewing, that while we are slaues and subiects to Time, wee make no care or account of any thing elſe but the worlde, and occasions belonging to the world, which are vile, fowl, & much deformed, in comparison of them appertaining to heauen, and whereon we ought to set the very height of al our loue and desire. But the fraile Garment of our mortall body, which we continually cary about vs, doth in such sort couer the light of reason, that as led blind-fold, we walke through the hell of this world, guided only by common sense, and a million of inordinate appetites. Wherefore, there needs no great meruaile, if we bee dayly enuironed with multitudes of euils which present themselues as readily, as souls discend into the hell of this our worlde, and take vp their lodging in our mortall bodies. In which manner also, may the speeches of *Virgil* bee interpreted, describing the wicked carried into Hell, in the sixt Booke of his *Æneidos*.

Time looseth no strength by yeares.

The frail garment of our bodies.

The end of the Second Booke.

The Third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of Old Rome, in her Primitiue Nature and condition: Of her first Religion, Lawes, Magistrates, Ciuill Pollicies, &c.

Pan the first God honored in *Rome*.

AMongest all the Goddes, which the ancient Religion of *Rome* first exalted, it vvas *Pan Lyceus*, called by many, *Faunus* and *Syluanus*; to whome, with the *Lupercalles*, they did the honour of Sacrifice, as is affirmed by many auncient writers. They say, that such kinde of sacrifices were first broght to *Rome* by King *Euander* that fled from *Arcadia*, who came to that place, where afterward was built the Fort of *Rome*. Shepheards, who held this God as their Head and Commaunder, vsed to perfourme their Sacrifices starke naked to him, with their faces couered, and a certaine Girdle in their hands; but this kind of naked sacrificing is not punctualy known, in regard that our ancients haue written diuersly thereof. Some say, that he being their God, and naked; declared thereby, that he was more apt and ready with al diligence in their assistance, and therefore required, to haue his Ministers naked in like manner. Some others affirmed, that the *Arcadians*, the very ancienteſt Inhabitants of *Greece*, who at the beginning, remained like wilde Beasts, in Woodes and Thickets of trees: After, they became reduced to a more Ciuill kind of life, would haue their God to bee honoured in the former manner, onelie in respect of their owne greater memory.

Who bronght the first Sacrifices to *Rome*.

The reason of their Secrifising naked, alledged diuers wayes.

Many others haue VVritten, that *Iole* the Mistris of *Hercules*, was seene by this *Faunus*, and lasciuiously affected by him. The Old God, hauing from an hie rocke espied this beautifull aspect, became pleased beyond all patient sufferance, concluding with himselfe, to follow her whither soeuer she went. Shee, on the other side, hauing no notice of him or his intent, went along with her husband thorough the woods, seeking a place where to sleep in safety. In meane while, the night being at hand, she, according as she had formerly vsed to doe, tooke the hairy Lyons skin from *Hercules*, and spreading it about hir shoulders, tooke also his Club; then walking some distance from her husband, she laid her selfe downe to rest; for they were to Sacrifice to *Bacchus*, and therfore they ought to sleepe assunder. *Syluanus*, burning in wanton heate beyond al measure, and perswading himselfe, that nowe vvas the apteſt time to effect his amorous purpose, silently made stealth vnto the place where she lay; and putting forth his hand softly, felt the Lyons skin. Beeing thereat somewhat amazed, and thinking hee had mistaken her lodging, as whistly he withdrew thence, and went to the place where *Hercules* slept. His hand being there likewise his Taster, & finding more smoothnesse then he felt before; softly hee lifted vp the cloathes, and putting his hand still on,

The Hiſtory of *Faunus*, and faire *Iole*.

Iole putteth on her the Lyons skin.

The Lyons skin deceiueth *Faunus*.

Faunus would fly, but cannot

on, scarsely could he well feele the roughnesse of *Hercules* his body, but hee began to wake, and extended his hands to feele who troubled him. *Syluanus* offered to escape, but feare and darke night barring sight of his passage, hee began to make a noise, whereat likewise the Lady awaked; and lighting her Lampes, *Hercules* could plainely perceiue who it was that hadde made this ydle attempt. If *Faunus* (seeing his folly thus discouered) were ashamed or no, the effect it selfe can best witnesse. Confounded both with grief & disgrace, he fled thence into the remoter Woods, and ordained, that in the Sacrifices offered to him, no Garments shold be worne by the Sacrificers, because by them hee had bin so deceiued.

The ordination of *Faunus*, in regard of his owne disgrace.

How the reason of Naked Sacrificing, is attributed to *Romulus*.

Notwithstanding, some doe assigne the especiall cause heeteof to *Romulus*, & say, that hee celsbrating the like Sacrifice all naked, in regard of the Suns extreame heate, heard by certaine of his Newes-Bringers, that diuers theeues (in the time while he was thus busied) had stoln away a heard of his Cattle. Whereupon, euen naked as he then was, he swiftly pursued, and taking the Theeues, in perpetual memory of this worthy deed, he would haue all his sacrificing Priests, to exercise their office naked. But let the custome arise of what cause soeuer, it is most manifest, that it so continued to the time of *C. Iulius*. For it is recorded, that *Cæsar* beeing *Dictator*, at the spectacle of the like sacrifice, M. *Anthony* (who was one of the Sacrificers, and afterwarde of the *Triumveri*) comming running, would haue crowned *Cæsars* head with a wreath of Lawrel, wherein there was a Royall Crowne; but *Cæsar* not accepting thereof, because all the people frowned thereat, he went and crowned his Statue therewith. Afterward concerning the name of the *Lupercalls*, and wherfore Sacrifices were in that kind called; there are many reasons founde. Some say, they were called *Lupercalia*, because by inuocating on the name of *Pan*; Woolues were frighted away from the folds of Cattle. Some tearmed the Temple wherein that God was honoured, *Lupercale*; whereon saith *Virgil*.

The continuance of this naked sacrificing, to *Cæsars* time.

Of the *Lupercal* sacrifices, and why so called.

And the Lupercal vnder the frozen Cliffe.

The Nursing of *Romulus* & *Remus*.

They shewe also, and are perswaded. that because the Wolfe was there found, which gaue suck to *Romulus* and *Rhemus*; thereupon it was called *Lupercale*. There wants not some also, who say, that it was so sir-named, after a Mountaine in *Arcadia*, called *Liceus*, where that kind of Religion is yet in account; for the *Arcadians* do call that Beast *Licon*, which we in Latine terme *Lupus*, a Woolfe. The especial deuotion vsed to this God, and the priests dedicated to him, was, as is found written, because women that could haue no conception or easy deliuery in childbirth, or prosper in constitution of their bodies, vsed to go to the *Luperci*, who were the Priests of *Pan*; and as they were more or lesse, beaten with a little rod, dipt in the blood of a young Goate, by the Priestes, euen so they conceiued, and were deliuered also of their Children. The solemnity done to this God, was celebrated the 15. day of Ianuary, as *Ouid* declareth in his Bookes to *Faustus*.

The deuotions to this God, and his Priestes, and wherefore.

1. In the same time that *Euander* raigned, it is saide, that *Hercules* hauing slaine *Gerion*, brought along with him a heard of Oxen and Kine, of meruailous goodlinesse; and hauing found neere the Riuer of *Tiber*, a place that liked him well for their feeding, made his stay there, and being weary with trauailing, did eate and drinke a little to sustaine nature; and afterward laide him downe to rest. *Cacus*, a Neat-heard of those parts, one that liued by others losses, seeing the seemly appearance of the Cattle, was very desirous to steale them: yet fearing least the owner should take notice of his theft (albeit now was the time of night) he tooke the verie fairest of them, and drawing them backeward by the tailes, conueyed them in that manner into his Caue. At breake of day, *Hercules* awaked, and numbering his cattle as he was wont to do, not only discerned the Theft, but also the backward footing of the Beasts; whereby he coniectured no otherwise, but that they had wandered, and came forth of the caue again. Yet meruailing how the other should be gone, he concluded to inquire no further, but to depart with the rest; and driuing them thence with his wand, it happened, that the Beasts themselues missing the others gon, as naturaly desiring their company, began to Low or bellow, which the enclosed Cattle in the Caue hearing, answerd them againe in the same language. *Hercules* immediately knew the noyse of his Oxen and Kine, and ran presently to the Caue, wher *Cacus* comming to withstand

Of *Potitius* & *Pinarius*, priests of *Hercules*.

The Historie of *Hercules* and *Cacus* the Theefe.

Hercules deceiued by *Cacus*.

Cacus his theft discouered by the Beastes themselues.

Hercules charged with the death of *Cacus*

ſtand his entrance, by reſiſting him manfully hand to hand, was there ſlain vnder the weight of his Club.

The Parents and Kindred of the partie ſlaine, with all the other Heardſmen together, immagining that this iniurie was not to bee endured, called *Hercules*, as a ſtranger, in iudgement before King *Euander*, who not long before, was fled thither from *Peloponeſus*, and gouerned iu theſe parts, rather by authority, then any right of Seigneury, yet was hee a man very venerable, for inuention of Letters among rude people; and much more venerable, by Diuinity of his Mother *Carmenta*, who before the comming of *Sibilla* into *Italy*, was honoured of the people as a Propheteſſe. *Euander* hauing heard the caſe, and well noted the habit and ſtature of *Hercules*, which appeared to bee beyond ordinary manner, he demanded his Birth, Parentage, and Condition; but no ſooner heard he his Name, Father, & Countrey, but preſently he entered into theſe ſpeeches; *O Hercules, thou Sonne of Ioue, highly art thou welcome, my Mother preſaged thy future being, telling mee, that thou ſhouldeſt encreaſe the number of Gods in Heauen; and that in this place an Altare ſhould be dedicated to thee, which altar ſhold be honored by the richeſt people in the world, obſeruing thy cuſtome.*

Carmenta, Mother to King *Euander*, a Propheteſſe.

Euander his words to *Hercules.*

Hercules vpon theſe wordes, gaue his hand to *Euander*, in ſign of peace, anſwering him that he vnderſtood the Augury, and woulde himſelfe ſee the Diuine will executed; whereupon, he built and dedicated an Altar, and ſelecting foorth the beſt and faireſt of his Oxen, they were giuen to be celebrated in Sacrifice, to *Potitius* and *Pinarius*, men of a family in thoſe times, moſt honorable and famous. It fortuned, that the *Potitij* (as *Liuie* declareth) were much more ready then the other, to the ſolemnity: whereupon, the inwards or intrailes of the Beaſts, were aſſigned to them. And the *Pinarij* cōming ſo tardy, and finding them burnt; the reſt of the Sacrifice was appointed to them; and thence-forward it was ordained; that while the generation of the *Pinarij* continued, the Beaſts inwards ſhould neuer be giuen to them on the ſolemn day. The *Potitij*, enſtructed by *Euander*, were preſidents for many years at the like ſacrifices; and till this charge was impoſed on publicke ſeruantes, there wanted not of this ſolemne family of the *Potitij*. Which was occaſioned by *Appius Claudius*, an enemy to this family; and therfore it was immagined, that in iuſt reuenge and diſpleaſure of the Gods, he was ſmitten blind.

Hercules his anſwere to *Euander.*

The *Potitij*, and *Pinarij*.

The *Potitij* inſtructed by K. *Euander.*

2. I finde vnder good Authoritie, that the Brethren *Arnales*, were eſpeciall Counſellors to the *Romans*, for preſeruation of their Corne fields, and that they might produce plenty of graine. I find alſo, that the firſt inuenter of this Religion, was *Romulus* the Father and firſt builder of *Rome*. For *Accalaurentia*, the Nurſe to *Romulus*, being a ſtrumpet, gaining greatly by that baſe profeſsion, and becōming rich beyond meaſure; of two Sons which ſhe had, one of them dying, by way of adoption ſhe made *Romulus* her owne ſon, inſtead of the dead childe; and when ſhe her ſelf died, ſhe made the people of *Rome* heires to all her wealth. The people meruailing at ſo great a liberality, and deſirous to make a liuing memorie of their Kings Parentage, they gaue order, that the womans name ſhould be regiſtred in their yearely Kalender; and the children deſcending of her Kindred, to bee called Brethren *Arnales*, of *Serendo*, which is a Latine word, ſignifying to ſowe; and of *Arui*, that is, Fields; ſo forming their appellation, and at what time the authoritie of this Brethrens Prieſt-hood flouriſhed. It is alſo recorded, that there were but twelue of them in number; and whē they receiued their order of Prieſt-hood, their heads were crowned with wreaths of ears of Corne, and a Bend or Stole of the like put about their neckes.

Of the Brethren called *Arnales*, who were Prieſtes of *Bacchus* and *Ceres.*

Accalaurentia, the Nurſe to *Romulus.*

The firſt Naming of the *Arnales.*

3. About the very ſame time, the knowledge or Religion of Angurie or Soothſaying, was brought to Rome out of *Tuſcany*, where the people were verie excellent in that Science. It is ſaide, that a certaine man, whoſe Name by antiquitie of time, is not remembred, as *Naſo* writeth, being baniſhed thence, conducted as I think by hope and perſwaſion of ſafe Sanctuary, came vnto Rome. I am of the mind, that *Romulus* and *Remus*, in contending to impoſe a name on the Citty, vſed the ſame kind of Angurie; for M. *Tullius Cicero* writeth in thoſe Bookes, which hee entitled of Diuination, that *Romulus* was very expert, and eſpecially skilled in the ſcience of Diuination. *Numa*, who afterward ſucceeded *Romulus* in the kingdom, ordained, that this ſcience ſhould be obſerued

Of the *Angures*, diuiners or Sooth-ſayers in *Rome*, and of their Originall.

M. Tul. Cicero in lib. de Diuin.

A perpetuall Prieſt-hoode of *Angures.*

ſerued in a perpetuall Prieſthood. I think, that in writing the cuſtome which vvas kept in Diuination or augury, one example may be ſufficient, becauſe therby may eaſily be comprehended euery other maner; therefore, out of all obſeruations of ancient writers that euer I could ſee, this was the cuſtome.

The cuſtome obſerued by Diuiners and Sooth-ſayers in their Diuination.

The Diuiner or Sooth-ſayer, who was to fore-tell what ſhould enſue, aſcended vp on ſome Fort or Caſtle, or ſome other place of beſt diſcouery, where hee ſate downe vpon a ſtone, turning his face into the South, leaning on the left ſide, and holding a crooked Wand in his Hande, commonly called the *Angures Staffe*. Hauing thence well noted the Citty, and the fields round about, praying to the Gods they would deſign the Regions from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and collocate the right hand partes from the South, to thoſe on the left hand in the North; then ſilently, determining the ſigne, which his eie from farre ſhould bring to ſight, holding the wand in his left hande, hee would ſet the right hand on his head, of whom he was to augurize, ſaying; *O Father Ioue, if it be lawful that this Numa Pompilius, vvhoſe head I lay my hand on, ſhould be K. of Rome; giue a cleare ſigne thereof manifeſtly, euen there where I haue confined the place.* Then naming what ſigne *Ioue* ſhold ſend, it was forthwith ſent, and *Numa* vnderſtood to be King; whereon he deſcended vnto the Temple, which ſhould be called after the deſigned Region from Heauen, by the litle wand. This forme of Angury, as elſewhere I haue ſaid, may ſerue for all other of the like Nature.

The words of *Augury*.

Many men of great Authority, ioined hand in this ſcience, crediting the famous skill of *Accius Nauius* the Sooth-ſayer. *Tarquinius Priſcus*, beeing deſirous (beyond the forme of aun cient order) to alter many things, and make addition of as many, without Diuination. *Accius Nauius*, a Noble Augure of thoſe times, ſaid; that thoſe thinges appointed by *Priſcus*, were not good, becauſe they had not bin augurized before. The King grew offended thereat, and ſcorning both him and his Art, ſaid; Now Sooth-ſayer, vſe thine Augury, and ſee if thou canſt (with al thy skil) accompliſh a thing which I haue inſtantly conceited. *Accius* hauing conferred with the experience of other Augures, made anſwere, that the Kinges conceit was poſſible to be performed: whereupon *Priſcus* preſently replied; I haue already conſidered with my ſelfe, and ſay, that with this Raſor thou canſt not cutte this whetſtone through the middeſt. Cal now thy wits together, and vſe the inſpiration of all thy Birds, to try if poſsibly it may be done. It is affirmed, that *Nauius* inſtantly (without any delay) did cut the whetſtone through the midſt with the raſor. In memory whereof, a Statue was afterward erected, containing *Accius Nauius* in liuely forme, with his head couered, a Razor in the one hand, and a whetſtone in the other, and in a faire table of Marble, was the whole argument engrauen to perpetuity.

Accius Nauius, an *Augure* of great fame, who in the preſence of *Tarquin*, did cut a Whetſtone in ſunder with a Razor.

A Statue erected to *Accius Nauius*.

The authority and credit of theſe Diuiners ſo encreaſed, and the Prieſt-hood of the Augures (as *Liuie* declareth, and *Cicero* in his Books of Diuination) as not any thing was enterprized for future ſucceſſe, either within doores or abroad, but firſt it paſſed the triall of Angury: and to this ſcience and order of Prieſthood, the moſt Noble men of the City, and the very cheefeſt Cittizens were wholly enclined. *Tiberius Gracchus*, the Father of *Tiberius*, & of *C.* in an aſſembly of the people, obtained to haue Conſulles placed according to his owne minde. The *Tuſcan* Augures ſaide, that hauing conſulted with their Diuination, they founde this creation of Conſuls not to bee good: for which, they were reprooued as fools and ignorant men. But *Gracchus* beeing gone to his owne Prouince, could then write backe to the Senate, that the *Tuſcans* ſaid true, and were no fooles, in ſaying; that the preſent Conſulles were by him moſt badly created, becauſe they were elected in a Tabernacle without the walles of the Citty, contrary to cuſtome and order by all their elders obſerued; and therefore, they ſhoulde renounce them for Conſulles.

Plin. lib. 9. Cicero in lib. de Diuinat.

Tiberius Gracchus obtaining the Conſullſhip for whom he pleaſed.

Now, as this order encreaſed both in authority and reuerence, ſo did they likewiſe in number, inſomuch, that a Colledge was erected for Augures & Sooth-ſayers. At firſt, they were only created of three Tribes, to wit; the *Rhamenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*, and obtained together, that they might chaunge their number, and changing into vnequal number. According to this obſeruation, they began to create foure orders, contrarie to the

A Colledge erected for Diuinators.

Rhamenſes. Tatienſes. Luceres.

The common people affected to be *Augures.*

the Common people grewe desirous of this honour, both in the Senate, and in all other places. Therefore, by meanes of the Tribunes, they compassed, that as they were partakers in all other matters, so in like manner they might exercise the Augures Priesthood. After many Seditions and garboyles, they obtained, that with foure Noblemen, fiue *Plebeians* might bee ioyned. And this was doone, when *M. Valerius*, and *Quintus Apuleius* were Consuls.

Flamini Dialis, an Order of Priests inuented by *Numa Pompilius*, king of *Rome.*

Numa Pompilius King of *Rome*, was the first that instituted the *Flamini Dialis*, because in former times, the King himselfe did exercise the Office both of King and Priest, without any difference at all, as manifestly is to be seene in *Virgill*, both of *Priamus*, and of *Æneas*. *Anius* the King (as the same Poet doth likewise witnesse) was King of men, and Priest of *Phœbus*. The like hath bin obserued of their Successors; as of *C. Cæsar*, of *D. Augustus*, & of many other Princes, who had (as wee may plainly see) the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, the chiefe Priest. Wherefore, *Numa* considering, that there might bee (in time to come) more Kinges like vnto *Romulus*, who (after his manner) wold leaue all care of Religion, and rather attend to matters of Armes; he ordained 4. Priests, by him called *Flamines*, who continually were to waite on the Diuine seruice; and them he dedicated to diuers of the Gods. One *Flamine* to *Ioue*, and hee was called *Dialis*: Two to Mars, and one to **Quirinus*. They were called *Flamini Diali*, *Flamines* belonging to *Iupiter* (as *Varro* saith) because their heades were couered with Vailes, and bound rounde about with a Fillet of Wooll, whereby they hadde the name of *Flamine*; and *Dialis* was interpreted of *Dion*, which is, helping the Goddes.

Numa ordained foure *Flamines* at the first.

*The surname of *Romulus.*

All the other *Flamines* had Titles of those Gods, to whose seruice they were appointed. It was ordained, that those Priests or *Flamini Dialis*, should wear very honourable Garments, and sit in those Iuory seats, which (in those times) were onely graunted vnto the chiefest Magistrates.

The habit and honour of the *Flamini Dialis*, with diuers other of their dignities and priuiledges.

These men onely, were allowed to weare white Chaplets or Bonnets, because they were higher in dignity then the other; or else in regard of their sacrificing to *Ioue*, it seemed more proper to haue them vested in White. In all other occasions whatsoeuer; by their pontificall priuiledge and iurisdiction, many other especiall prerogatiues were graunted to them, which *Aulus Gellius*, in his Commentaries of the Attick nights, hath left at large described. In honour of their Religion, they rode on horseback. It was not lawfull for them to sweare, nor to carry the Fire for their Sacrifice, but in hallowed places. If any man entered into his Church girt, hee ought to be presently vngirt, and drawne forth againe by the haire of the head. They vsed not to wear any knot backward, or behinde them. If the Malefactor which was brought to be whipt, fel vpon his knees at his feet whom he had offended, it was held as a sinne if he suffered him to be whipt. He that was no Free-man, ought not pol or to cut the haire of the *Dialis*. It was not lawfull for them to speake of, or touch a Goate, raw flesh, Ivy, or Beans. They might gather no clusters of Grapes, but on the top of the Vine. The feet of the bed wherin any one of them slept, ought to be besmeared with a certaine blew kind of Morter, and no other then himselfe might (lawfully) sleepe in that bed. The pairinges of the Nailes, and cuttinges of the haire belonging to the *Dialis*, were buried in the earth vnder Flintes or pebbles; and euery day was (to them) a Festiuall. It vvas against their Religious Order, for any of them to be bare-headed in the open aire, and none of the *Flamines* or priests ought to go vncouered. They might meddle with no Flower or Dow, wherewith any Leauen was mingled: Neither ought any one of them, either put off or on, any shirt or Linnen Garment, but in some priuat and couert place; because he must not be naked vnder Heauen, or in the sight of *Ioue*. At dinner time no man might sit, but only the sacrificing king. The *Flamines* mariage might be (by no meanes) separated, vntill death. They neuer entred into anie place where any dead bodies were. *Marcus Varro*, in those Bookes which he entituled the Originall of the Latine tongue, saith; That in ancient time, they had as many *Flamines*, as they honoured Gods; as the *Dialis*, *Martialis*, *Quirinalis*, *Vulcanalis*, *Furialis*, *Falagris*, and many others of different manner in authoritie, and as we tearme Byshops, Arch-byshops, Cardinals, Patriarkes, and Metropolitanes:

Aul. Gel. in Cõment. Att. Noct.

Their orders and Ceremonies in their Religious Offices, and also in their common behauiour.

Mar. Var. in lib de Origi. ling. Lat.

so had they among them *Flamines*, *Protoflamines*, and *Archflamines*, who held sundry kinds of degrees in Offices.

The Vestall Virgines inuented by *Numa Pompilius*.

5 The beginning of *Vestall* honour (euen as of all other things) was found out by *Numa Pompilius*, although the Originall thereof be so auncient, that from the *Troyans* (*Æneas* beeing their chiefe) it was transferred to the *Albanes*, as *Virgill* hath very well recorded. To the Goddesse *Vesta* (by some learned *Terra*, the Earth, and Mother of the Goddesse) they vsed (in perpetuall memory) to consecrate an eternall Fire, which they committed to the care and heedfull obseruation of many elect Virgines, Daughters, to the chiefest Senators: thorough whose neglect or carelesnesse, if the sacred Fire happened to goe out, or to be quenched; they were (with certaine Roddes) beaten by the chiefe-Priest; according as *Valerius* hath left written, of *C. Licinius Crassus* the High-Priest, who did beate them, that vsed not diligence in preseruing the fire. It was ordained, that she who was condemned of vnchastnesse, and had had the carnall knowledge of a Man, should be buried aliue.

An eternall fire consecrated to *Vesta*, and committed to the charge of many Virgines, Senatours daughters.

A seuere Law against vnchastnesse.

Labeo Antistius writeth, that it was not lawfull to accept into the Societie of the *Vestall* Virgins, any vnder the yeares of sixe, or aboue the age of ten; beside, that she must be the Child both of one Father and Mother: without any imperfection in speech, sight, hearing, or any other impediment of body. None might be admitted to be a *Vestall*, except her Parents (one, or both of them) had beene of ability to keep Seruants, and stood clear from hauing vsed any bad or infamous quality. It is further said, that such a one might be excused from the vow of Vestality, as had a Sister elected into the same Order; or tha ther Father were a *Flamine*, *Augure*; or of the ten men that made the Sacrifices; or of the* *Epulones* sect, or of other like Offices. The Spouse to the chiefe Priest, and the Daughter of the sacrificing King, had the same vacancie from such Sacrifices: And, as *Capito* hath writtē, no Election could be made of any mans Daughter, that had not his dwelling in *Italie*, and yet his Daughter might be excused, if he had three Sons beside.

Labeo Antistius so called of his great lips.

Who were excused from the Vestall Vow.

* That furnished feasts for *Iupiter*, and the other Gods.

Capito translated the *Epitomie* of *Liuie* and *Eutropius*, into Greeke.

Next vnto the precedent decrees, many times it hath beene ordained by the Prætors Edict, that the *Flamines Dialis*, nor the Vestall Virgines should be compelled to sweare: But the *Prætors* words might serue in this manner. *I commaund within my iurisdiction, by the publique Proclaimer, that neither Vestall Virgines, nor the Flamines Dialis, shall bee enforced to take an oath.* In election of the Vestall Virgines, these were especiall obseruations. It was ordained by the *Papian* law, that at pleasure of the chiefe Priest, twenty Virgins should be elected by the people, out of which number they were chosen by lots. The same law saith, that by Antiquity, many other thinges grew into forgetfulnesse. In election of Virgines, it was sufficient enough, that any man being borne of honest place, might go to the supreame Priest, and offer his Daughter to the Priest-hood, she being able to vndertake such an authority: the obseruation of Religion reserued, because the Senate onely had power of the Law *Papia*. And then the custome was, that those Virgines were taken by the chiefe Priest, as if they had been surprised by the enimy, and the wordes vsed by him in the action, were these. *If by the chiefest Law it hath beene allowed, that the Vestal Nunne or She-Priest, should offer these Sacrifices, which I am commaunded by the people of* Rome, *and by the Fathers: then (to that end) doe I take thee, ô Amata.* They vsed to tearme euery Virgine *Amata*, as witnessing thereby, that the first Nunne taken to that Office by *Numa Pompilius*, was called by the name of *Amata*. Shee being thus taken, and led to the Castle or Fort of *Vesta*; presently, without enfranchising, or alteration of degree, she is freed out of her Fathers power, and obtaineth authority, to make her Will & Testament. I finde in the Commentaries of *Lateranus*, which he wrote vpon the twelue Tables of the Lawes, it is thus written. *The Vestall Virgine is heire to no man or Woman, that dyed without Testament, neither can any one be heire to her, dying intestate: but her goods or possessions are to be publikely bestowed.*

Vestal virgins not enforced to sweare.

Order in electing the Vestall Virgines.

The wordes vsed to the Vestall Nun, and reason of the name then giuen.

Lateranus a Nobleman of *Rome*, of whō *Lateranensis* tooke name.

6. Among all other Sacraments or Misteries ordained by *Numa*, and of posterity helde in reuerence, it was that obserued by the *Romans*, to wit; the vow made

Of the *Salij*, or Priests of *Mars*, that danced in Armor.

made to *Marti Gradiuus*. There were xii. men elected into this Order, who vvere called *Salij*, of Leaping or dancing, which they vsed in their sacrifices. To these men *Tullus Hostilius* added twelue more, when the *Romans*, conducting their men of war against the *Fidenates*; the Albans (vnder colour of treachery) rebeld against them, and would not fight, *Metius Suffetius* being their Captaine. For these men was appointed a very honourable kind of Vesture, with a Breast-plate of Steele. And they might weare Celestiall armor, which they called a Target or Shield, wherewith they leaped and danced through the Cittie, singing Verses along as they went; & it was appointed, that at the end of euerie Verse, they should name *Mamurius*. It is said, that (in those times) this *Mamurius*, was a very notable Smith; and a Target being faln from heauen, while *Numa Pompilius* and the Senate were sacrificing, it was committed vnto the saide *Mamurius*, that (by his Art) he should make many other, resembling that which fel from heauen. Which he hauing performed in very excellent maner, *Numa* commanded him to requeste whatsoeuer himselfe woulde make choise of, and it should be granted him. Whereupon, the ingenious workman, not mooued with greedy desire of mony, but glory; requested that his name might bee mentioned by the *Salij*, at the ending of all their Verses and Daunces; which (as *Liuie* affirmeth) was orderly obserued in all their assemblies, and in their Sacrifices for long time after. The number in this Priesthoode increased in such manner, that a Colledge was builte for them; and afterward, a chiefe Magistrate was appointed ouer them in the Colledge.

An addition of 12. more to this Order.

Mamurius, a famous Smith and engrauer in the time of *Numa Pompilius*.

The request made by *Mamurius* to *Numa*.

It is very manifest (according to *Liuy*) that Byshops (like as all the other Priesthoods) had their Originall by *Numa Pompilius*, and (for long time together) vvere created by no other persons, then the Senators. They were at the first but foure in number, but afterward, when the Common people (by meanes of the Tribunes) obtained part in all the greatest honours; they wold likewise participat in the priesthood, and with euery other most Sacred power. It was then concluded, that foure other Byshops should bee created of the vulgar people, in the Consulship of *Marcus Valerius*, and *Quintus Apuleius*. To all

Of the Colledge of Byshops, and of the chiefe Bishop.

A chiefe Byshop appointed by *Numa*, and what his Office was to do.

these there was appointed one Heade or Chiefe by *Numa*, and he was then called *Pontifex Maximus*, the Chiefe Byshop. He in his owne person; both noted and wrote downe euery thing, that appertayned to Diuine worship or reuerence; as best knowing what sacrifice, what day; & also what time best fitted for the ceremonies. Hee also had the care from whence such Monies should be collected, as were expedient for the charge of diuine occasions: as (in like manner) all other sacred things, either publicke or priuate, vvere subiect to the Holy priestes allowaunce. Whensoeuer any dissention happened about sacred Misteries or Religion; the people did helpe (both with their care and counsell) in his assistance.

The people assisted the chiefe Byshop

Numa Pompilius, Author and Founder of this priesthood, conceiued this to be the best course, to auoide perturbation in all things, contempt of religious persons, and Diuine seruices; in which regard, he inioyned very especiall care to be had by such men. It is further said, that the chiefe Priest had a table, wherein to know the Ecclipses of the Sunne and Moone; as also a reason for all the feastiuall dayes in the yeare, as monthly they happened. *Varro* Writeth, that *Q. Mutius Scæuola*, was wont to say, that of the words *Potare* and *Fare*, the title of *Pontifex* vvas compounded. But they would not so admit it, because they thought that *Pontifex* rather was deriued of *Ponte* and *Facio*, because (by them) was first made the bridge called *Ponte Sublitio*, and many times after very well repaired.

M. Varro, concerning the word Byshop in the Originall.

8. I do not find, that the Priests called *Fecialis*, were among the *Romains*, before *Tullus Hostilius* raigned. Nenertheless, as I do not maintaine, that *Tullus* was the first inuenter of them; so do I not also deny, but that *Numa* (the most Religious King of them all) might be the Originall of them. But be it howsoeuer, the first mention made of their name (according to *Liuie*) was, when M. *Valerius* was *Fecialis*, *Tullus Hostilius* raigned. It was the Office of the *Fecialis*, to stand as president, when publicke faith was made by the people. Also, it was adiudged to bee an vniust warre, except it were first denounced and made knowne by the *Fecialis*. When end or conclusion likewise was made of the warre, he constituted peace vnder solemne faith, which was tearmed

Of the Priests called *Fecialis*, who were as Heraldes or Officers of Arms for war or peace.

The Office & quality of the *Fecialis*.

Fœdera, by the teſtimony of *Varro*: but by *Ennius* it is called *Fidera*, as induced by reaſon of making Faith, and therefore hee conceiueth, that *Fecialis* was formed of *fides*, and *facere*. The manner of offending or breaking (by the *Fecialis*) a league of peace, was ſuch, as (in *Liuies* opinion) none can be found more ancient. *The* Fecialis (ſaith he) *demaunded thus of King Tullus. O King, doſt thou commaund, that I ſhall confirme or breake peace with the Paterpatratus, or king of Heraulds belonging to the Albane people?* The King commaunding it to bee done; the Fecialis ſaith: *Allow mee then (ô King) the herbage that I muſt carry with me.* The King commaunded him to take the very beſt: whereupon he taketh the choiſeſt Hearbs out of the Herbage Caſtle, and againe thus proceedeth. *Doſt thou (ô King) make me Meſſenger for thee, thy Kingdome, the people, and the* Romaine *Senate?* The King replieth, that he doth. Then the peace being made, after many vttered wordes, concerning the Lawes on both ſides, he beginneth againe with a loud voyce, ſaying; *Heare me, ô Ioue; Heare me, ô Paterpatratus of the* Albane *people; Heare me, ô you people, called* Albanes; *Heare mee from the beginning to the end: if I haue recited thoſe thinges contained in the Tables, and vnder ſeale, without fraude, or any deceit, and according as they ought rightly to be vnderſtood. The people of* Rome *will not bee the firſt breakers of ſo good Lawes; but if through lacke of good Councell in publike, by fraude or deceit they ſinne in ſuch ſort: Then doe thou (ô Ioue) that very day ſmite the* Romaine *people, as I doe this Swine; yea, ſo much the more violently ſtrike them, as thou art much more potent and powerfull.* The words are no ſooner ſpoken, but preſently hee throwes a ſtone at a Swine, appointed there for the purpoſe, & then ſtreweth the Hearbs vpon the ground. The ſelfe-ſame forme and ſpeeches is obſerued on the contrary ſide by their Prieſt, and then by his Dictator: and thus is peace fully agreed on.

But when warre is denounced by the *Fecialis*, then this is the manner. The *Fecialis* carrieth a Speare or Lance, headed with Iron, and halfe burnt with fire, and ſtreweth Hearbes alſo all the way, euen to the Confines of them, againſt whom he is to menace warre. There, in preſenee of three men of good yeares, he openly declareth; That ſo farre hee came ſtrewing ſignes of peace, till hee found, that the people of *Priſcus Latinus*, and the Men of *Priſcus Latinus*, had dealt againſt the people and Senate of *Rome*, and had greatly offended them: wherefore, the people of Rome purpoſed to make Warre on *Priſcus Latinus*. *In which iuſt cauſe* (ſaith he) *I, and the people of* Rome, *doe denounce war againſt Priſcus Latinus, and againſt the Latine people.* When he hath ſo ſaid, he throws the Lance (ſo far as he can) vpon their ground, to the end it may be ſeene, that the warre is iuſtly vndertaken.

9 There is no difference (according to *Liuie*) betweene the *Paterpatratus* and the *Fecialis*; yet notwithſtanding, diuers haue comprehended, that there was and is ſome diſſimilitude: wherefore, I am the more willing to diſcourſe ſeparately, both of the one and other; and how the State then ſtood in eyther condition, it ſhall not ſeeme much from our purpoſe, if I deliuer what I haue obſerued. The vſe of the *Paterpatratus* declareth, that he was at the ſame time as the *Fecialis* was: becauſe when the *Fecialis* went to breake peace, he needeth both the help and authority of the *Paterpatratus*. They vſed equall aſſiſtance to *Patrare*, that is; to commaund the Oath, in place where peace was to be concluded on. *Marcus Valerius* being the firſt *Fecialis*, *Spurius Fuſius* was created the firſt *Paterpatratus*, in the firſt warre that *Tullius Hoſtilius* made againſt the *Priſci Latini*, hauing his bare head circkled with a wreath, made of the Hearbe called *Veruein*. The other Office, that is, to demaund any thing whatſoeuer; was giuen to *Ancus Martius*, according to the cuſtome of the * *Æquicoli*, a very auncient people, and the auncient manner of their behauiour, was thus. The *Paterpatratus*, and an Ambaſſador with him, went to the Confines of them, of whom the demaund was to bee made, his head beeing couered with a Silken Vaile, and there he vſed theſe wordes. *Heare me, ô Ioue; Heare me, ô you confines, of what people ſoeuer they be; And heare, ô you Deities, honeſty and plaine truth. I am the publique Meſſenger of the people of* Rome, *and I come prouſly and iuſtly with this Ambaſſador; therefore giue faith to his words*

The wordes of *Liuie*, concerning the *Fecialis* of peace or warre.

Ceremonies betweene the King and the *Fecialis*.

The words of the *Fecialis* in preſence of the King and State.

The denounciation of war, by the *Fecialis*.

The Prieſthood of the *Paterpatratus*, or K. of Armes

The authority of the *Paterpatratus* and the *Fecialis*, and their equall aſſiſtance.

* A people very anciẽt, neer to the *Sabines*.

The words of the *Paterpatratus*.

words and mine. Then doe they manifeſt the ſumme of their demaund, and call *Ioue* as Witneſſe thereof, proceeding thus. *If I demaund for the people of Rome, or for my ſelfe, any thing of theſe Men that they poſſeſſe: deale with me ſo, that I may neuer participate in the ioyes of my Country.* Hauing thus ſpoken, they paſſe on vpon the Confines, deliuering the ſame ſpeeches to the firſt Man they meete withall. So entring the Citty Gates, and going on to the Pallace, there they declare (more at large) the full intention. And if that bee not giuen them, which they made demaund of, within the ſpace of three and thirty daies; the time is no ſooner expired, but Warre is denounced, in this manner. *Heare me, ô* Ioue, Iuno, *and thou* Quirinus: *Heare me alſo all you Gods Celeſtiall, Terreſtriall, and Infernall. I make knowne before you all, that this people* (and then he nameth them) *are vniuſt, and will not pay that which is reaſonable. Wherefore, wee will take Counſell (with our Countrey and our Elders) in theſe matters, and wee will duelie examine all meanes, that beſt may helpe vs, to regaine our own rights and dues.*

Their proceeding in their demand.

Their manner of proclaymming warre.

So, returning back to Rome, to take further Councell in this caſe, foorthwith the King, the Dictator, the Conſull, and all other that belong to the Senate, aſſemble together, and the matter is debated, in what reſpect the *Paterpatratus*, which (in behalfe of the Romain people) denounced Warre againſt the *Priſci Latini*, and the demaund made; wherein, no ſaying, doing, or repaying being made on the contrary part, according as they ought to haue ſaide, done, or paied; *Make anſwere* (ſaith he to him, that firſt is to ſpeake his opinion) *what is your mind herein?* Then he ſtanding vp, ſaith. *I iudge, that theſe things are to be recouered by battaile, or otherwiſe by ſingle Combate (body to body of two men) pioufſlie and honeſtly performed.* Euery man deliuering his iudgement in order, and the greater part iumping with this reſolution; the ſentence then is determinately pronounced. Thus, conſent muſt firſt conclude the warre, and then the *Fecialis* throwes his Launce vppon the enemies Confines, according as wee haue before declared.

The aſſembly of the King & State in councell, for further deliberation in the buſineſſe.

10 The King of the Sacraments, who is alſo called the Sacrificer, had his firſt beginning, in the time of the firſt Conſuls, *Iunius Brutus*, and *Marcus Valerius*. The occaſion of this inuention, was the expulſion of the kings, becauſe they (without any difference) vſed to execute the Prieſts Office. Whereupon, the people, after they were thus excluded, thought it very ſtrange, that there was no ſacrificing, and that ouer-much reputation was taken from Religion, by ſending thus their Kinges away: They therefore created a Prieſt, and becauſe he ſhould be of no leſſe authority then a King; they called him King of the Sacraments. Notwithſtanding, they would haue him to be vnder the cheefe Biſhops iuriſdiction; leaſt, being at his owne liberty, the expulſed Kings might returne, or be called backe againe. But what his office was, is not at this preſent to be found.

The King of the *Sacraments*, or the *Sacrificer*.

The creation of the King of the *Sacraments*.

11 The *Gaules* dedicated al Antiquity to *Berecynthia*, Mother of the Gods: which Religion, as many other beſide; came to *Rome* from *Phrigia*, at ſuch time as theſe Verſes were found (by way of anſwer) in the *Sybils* Bookes.

The Tranſlation of the Image of the Mother of the Gods.

Rome, farre hence is thy Mother, I command
That thou go ſeeke for her, and if ſhe come:
Welcome her with a chaſt vntainted hand.

The *Sibilles* verſes.

The Fathers and Philoſophers, hauing long conſidered on theſe wordes, and beeing vnable (by any ſufficient meanes) to finde out what Mother was intended hereby, and alſo from whence ſhe was to come: they ſent to be reſolued by *Apolloes* Oracle, from whence the Meſſengers returned with this anſwer. *Take with ye the mother of the Goddes, whō you ſhal finde in a hill.* Hereupon Ambaſſadors were ſent into Aſia, where they had commaund to ſeeke for her, and hauing found the Simulachre or Image of the Goddeſſe, to bring it thence with them to *Rome*. But *Attalus* King of Aſia; denying the *Romaines* (after they had found the Image) the carriage of it thence, and they preparing themſelues to depart without it: it is ſaid, that a voice was heard from the Goddeſſe, ſaying: *I am deſirous to go to Rome, as to the habitacle of al the Goddes.* *Attalus* being amazed at this Miracle, gaue conſent to the Ambaſſadours for her carriage thence,

The anſwere of the *Oracle*.

A voice heard in the Image before King *Attalus*.

The Ship sinketh in *Tyber*, by waight of the Image.

whereupon she was brought (by Sea) to *Rome*, & many of the people going forth to meet her, singing Verses, and making much ioy: it fortuned, that by the great waight of the Statue, the ship sunk in the Riuer of *Tyber*; which caused the people to labour by all meanes, both with ropes, Cables, and other helpes of strength, to get it vp againe, but all proued to no purpose. There was then present among the throngs of Roman people, a Vestall Virgin, named *Claudia Quinta*, a Lady of incomparable beauty, who wearing more costly and sumptuous Garmentes then some thoght conuenient for her degree, was suspected to be imodest and vnchast. This goodly young Virgin, knowing the peoples idle suspition, and puritie of her owne soule, fel on her knees by the riuers side, and (as it should seeme) by that part of the Ship where the feete of the Goddesse lay, and holding a loose Girdle in her hand, which she had fastned vnto the Cable of the ship, vttered these speeches:

Claudia a Vestall Virgin, approued her Chastity myraculously.

The words of *Claudia* before all the people on her Knees.

Before them that haue accused me of immodesty, I beseech thee (O Sacred Goddesse) that by thy testimouy my fault may be iudged: to the end, that beeing condemned by thee, I may by death suffer deserued punnishment. But if thou approue me to be innocent of such foule shame, let this my chast hand bee thy guide, to raise and conduct thee hence. Hauing thus spoken, and rising from off her knees, by her Girdle she easily drewe the Ship along, and (to the no little maruail of the people) guided the Goddesse into the Citty.

Scipio Nasica did cause a Temple to be erected to *Cybele*, and priestes for her seruice.

Scipio Nasica was only thought worthy to receiue the Image, and touch it vvith his hand. And to him it was committed, that he should cause a magnificent Temple to be built to the Goddesse, & Priests dedicated to her seruice; who according to the ancient Custom of the Goddesse, ought to be guelded. The reason of this institution is said to be thus: *Cybele*, which also was the name of this *Berecynthia*, loued a young youth in *Phrygia*, and gaue him charge not to breake chastity. But he being enamored on a Nimph, named *Sagarida*, slept with her one Night vnder a Tree, which was dedicated to the Goddesse. *Cybele* comming thither, and cutting downe the tree, killed the Nimphe; which the youth perceiuing, fled in hast to the neareste Mountain; & there, meerly confounded with griefe and shame for so foule a fault committed, hee did quite cut off the wanton instrument wherby he had so highly offended. Vpon this occasion, the Goddesse (in memory of this act) commanded that all such men as sacrificed to her, should bee guelded. It is further said, that the name of the *Gaules* or *Galli*, was deriued from a riuer in *Phrygia*, which was neare to a Temple of this Goddesse. And I find written, that whosoeuer entred into that Riuer, or drank of the water, it foorthwith caused them to run mad.

Gallus a Riuer in *Phrygia*, the water wherof made mē mad

12. There were two men belonging to the Sacraments, or sanctified mysteries, whose charge and Office was, to read the sacred Bookes, the verses of *Sibilla*; and likewise, to interpret the deeds of the *Roman* people. Next, they were as Presidents at the sacred Ceremonies, which vsually were made to *Apollo*. And at all times when any Monster was born, or any prodigy happened, fore-telling the ensuing of some great accident, entering into their beds, before the Tabernacle of the Goddes, they would appease them with Sacrifices and praiers, that their displeasure might some whither else be turned from them.

Of two men appertaining to the Sacraments.

Furthermore, by their Decree and order, all Sacrifices (for times of prosperity) were solemnly determined and apointed. I find no other mention made of this Priesthoods Order, vntill such time as a Temple was Dedicated to *Castor*, by the Sonne of *Posthumus* the second Dictator, who was then one of the two men: for his Father being Dictator in the Latine war, made a solemne Vow to performe such a Temple.

Sacrifices for times of prosperity.

A Temple dedicated to *Castor*.

These two men, being long time created in this order of Priest-hood, and the Common people coueting in like maner to create the Consuls among themselues, and so to meddle in all matters, they being no way else to be appeased, obtained at length, that on the same day as these two men were to be created, they might also create ten other men; fiue of the nobility, and fiue of the Comminalty. Heerupon, of two men they grew to be ten in number; and likewise to haue the name of the Ten men.

The creation of tenne men more.

The historie of the Nimph *Sagarida*, and her louer.

13. By that which may be coniectured and comprehended, it appeareth that seuen men, tearmed *Epuloni*, were included in a kiude of Priest-Hoode. And

Of seuen men called *Epuloni*, and of their Originall.

And so much the rather it is to bee presumed, because in discoursing the vacancy of Vestall Virgines, it is saide, *That the Sonnes of the* Augures; *of the ten sacred men*; *of the* Flamines; *and of the seauen men, called* Epulonj, *deserued, and had their lawfull excuses admitted.* Whereby I gather, that among the other Priest-hoodes, this of the seauen men was included. Yet I know not how this matter should so fall out; because I can finde nothing (concerning them) worthy of faith and authority: wherefore I am the lesse forward, in affirming what office was committed to this Order. Neuertheless, I must needes say, that *Pliny* reciting an Oration of one that stood in some feare of his Auditours, saith; *In the midst stood the Consul, and next, the seauen men, tearmed Epuloni.* And euen to this present day, there is to be seene engrauen on a smooth Piramide in Rome, this inscription. *Opera finita, &c. The worke ended the CXXX. day, by the Testament of Caius Cornelius, Tribune of the people, and seauen men of the Epuloni.*

The wordes of *Pliny*, concerning the seauen men.

Hauing determined with my selfe, to intreat of all other Magistrates, not appertainiug to Religion: we are then to consider, that some Magistrates were called Greater, and some Lesser, and what the lesser were, may breefely bee declared, because *Aulus Gellius* writeth at large on this Argument, taking his instructions frō the books of M. *Messala* the *Augure*, & these are his words. *The authority of the Noblemen is diuided in two parts. The greater is of* Prætors, *of Consuls, and of Censors, and yet neuertheless, there is not one kinde of iurisdiction or power among them: because the Censors are no Colleagues with the* Prætors *and Consuls, but the* Prætors *are Colleagues with the Consuls, and therefore the Prætors and Consuls haue not the power of the Censors, and the Consuls trouble not the* Prætors *and Censors. But the Censors among themselues, the* Prætors *and Consuls also among themselues, obtaine and enioy alike authority. The* Prætor, *as it were a Colleague with the Consull, cannot (in reason) vse the same power, as belongeth to the Consull, and to the* Prætor; *as wee haue learned from our betters, and as hath beene obserued before these times.* And it is manifest in the thirteenth Commentary of *C. Tuditanus, that the Prætor hath the lesser, and the Consull the greater authority: whereupon meere reason directeth, that the lesser cannot vse the power of the greater, nor the greater, the priuiledge of the lesser Magistrate. We in these times, creating a* Prætor *for the* Prætors; *haue followed the authority vsed of old, though wee haue not searched into the like power: for Censors, Consuls, and Prætors, cannot iustly deale in one & the same scrutiny. The rest of the Magistrates haue lesser authority, and therfore these other are called the Greater, and they, the Lesser Magistrates; the Greater are made according to the Centuriatæ leges, Lawes made by the whole assembly; and the Lesser, among the Tribunes priuiledges, but yet much more iustly, when it is done according to the Lawes Curiatæ, Lawes made by the same assembly.*

C. Tuditanus in 13. Comment.

Centuriatæ leges, and *Tribunity.*

By all these words of *Messala* (saith he) may easily be gathered, what the lesser Magistrates were, and vppon what occasion they were so called. Hee saith also, that the *Prætor* was Colleague of the Consuls, because they were created by one absolute power. And he granteth them to haue the greater authority, because their scrutinie or search was more firme, and better ratified then the other. The Consull may reduce all the other Magistrates scrutinies, and their conference or Parlement: the Prætor had not the like priuiledge at all times, or equall reducing. The lesser Magistrates could not reduce any thing from the Consul, or to any other Magistrate. In an equall action, he that is first called of them, and first obserueth the search; he goeth directly to his charge: because hee may not moone the people twice, neyther can he carry one to any other, if hee will haue conference, and deale with the people, although many Magistrates together may admit conference. By these words of *Messala*, is euidentlie discerned, that it is one thing to worke with the people; and another, to deale by speech or conference. Because, to deale with the people, is to request some thing, which their suffrages either commaundeth or denyeth: But to haue speech and conference; is simply to speake to the people, without any rogation or intercession.

A collection vpon the words of *Messala.*

The Consuls power.

Of working the people by speech and conference, or other wise.

14 There is no man doubteth, that the order of the Senatours did not receiue

Of other Magistrates not appertaining to Religion.

Aul. Gel. ex. lib. de M. Messala Aug.

Prætors, Consuls, Censors, and of their seuerall authorities.

The Original of the Senators.

ceiue Originall from *Romulus*. Hee was the first founder and builder of the City, and considering with himself, that it was sufficiently fortified with able youth, as also with others of competent strength; he conceiued also, that it was not the lest important matter, if it had like helpe, or much better ability of Counsell (elected to the number of an hundred) of the chiefest Fathers and Cittizens then to bee found; who (for their honour) might be called Fathers; and (for their yeares) Senators; according to the saying of *Caius*, that those (amongst the *Lacedemonians*) were called *Senes*, that were men of years, and ought to haue the place of Magistracie.

The order among the *Lacedemonians*.

Afterward, such as were born or sprung from these first Fathers, were named *Patricij*. *Tullus Hostilius* made the number of them much more perfect, hauing vanquished *Alba*, and brought the *Albanes* thence to *Rome*. Hee then entertained among the Senators, the *Tulli*, the *Seruilij*, the *Quinti*, the *Gregani*, and the *Clodi*. But the Kinges being expulsed, the Consull *Brutus*, perceiuing the Senat to be empty of honest persons, appointed, that those men who were cheefest in the Order of Knight-hood, should be made Senatours, and beare the name of *Patres Conscripti*, Enrolled Fathers. Whereuppon, from hence the Nomination of Conscribed Fathers, receiued Originall; and because he spake it, it had full approbation, and ioyned with the other Fathers.

Tullus Hostilius encreaseth the Senators number.

Brutus the Consull altereth the Senate.

Patres conscripti.

These Senators had such absolute authority, that they administred the maine importancy of all matters in the Commonwealth; in such sort, that neither the King, the Consuls, the Dictators, nor any other Magistrate dealt in any thing, vntill it hadde first passed Counsell in the Senate. For *Tarquinius Superbus*, hauing (beside the Senates authority) doone many things according to his owne will; was called Tirant, and (last of al) lost his state. I finde that there were three degrees or orders of Senatours, because some were called *Pedarij*, others *Patricij*, and some others *Conscripti*. The *Patricij* were they that descended (by Birth) of those hundered, elected at first by *Romulus*. The *Conscripti* wer such, as, by decree of the Consulles, the King and the Censours, were brought into the Senate. But I finde the

The absolute authority of the Senate.

Tarquinius Superbus.

Three Degrees of Senators.

Patritij. Conscripti.

Pedarij to be so called for diuers reasons. Some say, that though they were in the Senate, they might not bee allowed to speake their minds, but only to giue their consent to the rest, and (with their feete) to expresse the same, by making some little noise, whereon the Latine sentence of them was, *Ibant pedibus in sententias*, and therefore to be tearmed *Pedarij*. Others Write, that many of the Senators being great Magistrates, came to the Senate in their Horse-litters or Coaches. Others, (hauing no Office of Magistracy) came after them on foot; and thereupon were called *Pedarij*. *Marcus Varro* saith, *That there were some Knights, who hauing beene imployed by the greater Magistrates, and not (as yet) elected by the Censors in the Senat: They might not deliuer their opinion in the Senate, or giue any sentence. Onely it vvas lawful for them to be present with the rest in the Senate, and yeelde consent vnto that which was agreed on by their elders.*

Pedarij, and the reason why so called by sundry opinions.

The saying of *Marcus Varro*, concerning the *Pedarij*.

Concerning the Consulles order in the Senate, all that I haue read, doe consent in this manner. It was the vse at first, that he (who by the Censors) was appointed chiefe in the Senate, should begin to speak his opinion; and other-whiles they graunted such as were elected Consulles leaue to begin. *Cicero*, in the book which he intitled the Elder *Cato, of Old age*, writeth; *That they vsed to giue their preheminence to him of greateſt yeares.* Wherupon, he that was the most aged, hee began to speake his minde, and giue the sentence. Neuertheless, it is saide, that (by custome) it was introduced, that he who was desired thereto by the Consul, might be the first to speake. And yet it was not lawfull for him to intreate any man, that either was, or had not bin Consull. I find recorded vppon this custome, that *Caius Iulius Cæsar*, in the Consulship which he held with M. *Bibulus*, made entreatie (out of common forme or vse) to three seueral men, (to wit;) M. *Crassus*, *Cneius Pompeius*, and *Marcus Cato*. Afterward, *Marcus Crassus*, (as straining courtesie) began to entrea t *Cneius ompeius*, because his daughter was his Wife: but preuailing with M. *Cato*, hee accepted the charge, but spake so loude, and continued so long in his Oration, as all the time was welneere spent, that the Senate obserued in their arguing. *Cæsar* perceiuing that hee grew to no conclusion, but held on still; commanded

The Consuls degree in the Senate.

Cicero in lib. de Senectute.

Iulius Cæsar, Consull with *M. Bibulus*.

Cæsar committed *M. Cato* to prison.

manded him to be carried thence to prison. *Cato* obeying, and beeing led on the way towards the prison, the Senate rose and followed after him; whereat *Cæsar* being enuiously moued, staied, and commanded to let him go.

Of the assembly of the Senate, a Booke written by *M. Varro*.

Concerning the congregating and assembly of the Senat, M. *Varro* at the intreaty of *Pompey*, wrote a Booke when he was the first time designed Consull with M. *Crassus*: and it was conceiued, that he who (till that time) had bin so long in the Warres, would (in that respect) make the better obseruation of customs, and other ciuill occasions. In like manner he wrote a Letter to *Opimius*, wherein he saith, that the fore-named Booke was lost in the age of *Varro*. In which letter (saith *Aulus Gellius*) *Varro* wrote many things of the same argument; and there was set downe, what they were, that might cause the Senate to be assembled; as also to nominate the Dictator, the Consul, the Prætor, the Tribune of the people; the *Interrex*, the *Præfect* for the Citty; and that no other had authority beside, to congregate the Senate. Some adde (ouer and beyond the ordained authority) the *Tribune militaris*, or Tribune for the warres, who was first Vice-consull. The ten men who had then the Consuls power: the two men, created on especiall occasion, to order the Common-wealth: and that those men were of power to assemble the Senate. As for the Præfect of the City *Latium*, none do sufficiently proue, if hee might assemble the Senate, because (they say) he was no Senator, neither might speake his minde in the Senat. Yet M. *Varro*, and *Atteius Capito* do both affirme, that the Præfect of *Rome* Citty, had authority to Assemble them, as the Tribune of the people (before Law made to the coutrary) had the like prerogatiue.

The seuerall Offices nominated in the Senate.

The Præfect of *Latium*.

M Varro, and *Atteius Capito*.

Their prohibition also are written of, Namely, that such men had authoritie to prohibit and gainsay, who had power ouer him that was to be prohibited, or wer greater in credit: which power they receiued either from the * *Senatusconsultum*, or the * *Plebiscitum*, or some other Decree from the purpose. But concerning the place where the Senate ought to assemble, or to request *Senatusconsulti*; it was flatly forbidden to be any where, that had not bin first ordained by the Augures and (by them) called a Temple. Whereupon, when they met first togither in the Court *Hostilia*, in *Pompeia*, and afterward in *Iulia*, they being all prophane places; the Augures gaue order, that they shold be made Temples, to the end, that (according to precedent custome) in them their deliberations might bee consulted on. Now, for meete time of the Senates Assembly, if it were before Sunne-rising or Sun-setting, it appeared vtterly vnprofitable. Wherefore, the Censor gaue direction, for the time most fit and conuenient.

Hostilia, Pompeia, and *Iulia*.

The time of the Senates meeting.

What yeares the Senators were to be of, is very apparant, and that youths had likewise leaue to be in the Senate House: but *Papyrius Prætextatus* occasioned the absence of all youths afterward, as *Valerius Maximus* hath recorded. And then, it was ordained, that no person vnder the age of fiue and twenty yeares, should be admitted entrance, as we read in *Plutarch* in the life of Pompey the Great. The like is comprized in the *Romans* Ciuill Lawes, whence likewise we receiued these instructions.

The age of the Senators.

Plutarch. in vit. Pomp. Magnus.

Varro also recordeth, that hee who was to be admitted into the Senat, should first be a Sacrificer, and an Augure: and that his first speeches in the Senate, ought rather to be of Diuine causes, then anie humain matters. Moreouer he saith, that deliberations there, were in two kinds, by disputation; or (if the case were doubtful) by generall opinion: such order they obserued likewise, in conferring on Monies, pawnes, and punnishment of them that appeared not (on summons) while the Senate sat. As for them that appertained to Senatory Families, it was decreed, that vnder the appellation of any Senate person, they comprehended the Wife also, and that those children which were giuen in adoption, before the Father was admitted into the Senat, should also be Senators. They obserued also, that whosoeuer was of the *patrician* order, though the same were by adoption the son of a common Plebeian, yet he should continue a Patrician still: which law (in mine opinion) was scarsely obserued truely in those times; considering, that P. *Clodius* (being a Patrician borne) and coueting the Magistrates power of the *Tribunitia*, to make vse thereof against the faction of *Cicero*, gaue himselfe by adoption to a common man.

Of admitance into the Senate, and order of their deliberations.

For the Senat Families.

Of the *Patrician* order, yet not approued in P. *Clodius*.

* An act of the Senate
* A Law of the people.

The place for the Senates assembly.

The

Concerning the daughters of Senators.

The Daughters of Senators, if any of them were giuen (openly) as wiues to Senatory Men; they were not comprehended vnder the name of honorable Women. And the Sonne of a Senator, being made free by his Father, as in the ciuil right of reason: lost the name of submission, and yet retained still the Senatory dignity.

Of the *Posthumi* or *Post-nati* in the Sons of Senators.

The *Posthumi*, who were borne after the death of their Fathers, were yet neuertheless, called Senatory men. But he that was conceiued, and borne, after that his Father had been remoued from the Senate: both *Proculus* and *Pegasus* doe say, that he was not the Sonne of a Senator. But if before his Fathers remooueall, his Sonne was conceiued; meer paternal respect cleared him from any preiudice, and hee was esteemed to be Senatory. But if before his conception, his Father had lost the Senatory Dignity, and then dying, his Sonne fell into the power of his Grand-Father, (being then a Senator) so that he might seeme as not to be borne of a Senatour: ye was he (notwithstanding) to be held as Senatory. A Woman, being maried at first to a Senator, and afterward matching with a Man of meaner condition; lost her Title among the Honourable Women. In regard whereof, many of them made intercession to the Princes, that although they were marryed to men of humble condition; yet that they might still retaine their Senatorie Dignity. And it is said, that D. *Augustus* did affoord such grace to *Iulian Mania*, being his Cozin. The Law *Iulia*, of restitution, prohibited Senatours, such as were remooued from their Order (albeit they changed not State, but dwelt still in the Citty) yet could they giue no sentence, or bee Witnesses in any case whatsoeuer.

A Senatours falling into his Grand-fathers power, after his own fathers death.

Of Womens marriages.

The law *Iulia*, of restitution.

15 I find, that *Romulus* was the first that ordained the *Tribunes* of light or nimble Horse-men, when hee selected three Centuries of Horse; whereof he made vse in all businesses appertaining to the Commonwealth, and gaue them these Titles: Of the *Ramnesi*; of the *Tatij*; and of the *Luceri*. The *Ramnesi* were named of *Romulus*; the *Tatij*, of *Tatius*: but the *Luceri*, the reason of that name was not knowne, as *Liuie* remembreth, and nameth them all in this manner.

Tribunes of the light horse men, ordered in three Centuries by *Romulus*.

Ramnesi, *Tatij*, and *Luceri*.

Three Tribunes he appointed to those Centuries, as Heades and Commaunders, and those three were chosen forth of three Tribes. It is said, that the Horse in number were three hundred, in regard that the* *Curiæ* (being thirty) might haue to each one ten Horse. And the reason why he would haue them called swift or light Horse, was; because they should be alwaies in speedy readinesse, whensoeuer the Common-weales affaires so required. There be some, who affirme, that they were called *Celer*, or swift Horse, after the name of a Man called *Celer*, who was the first (ordained by *Romulus*) chiefe or Commaunder of those Centuries, according as *Ouid* affirmeth.

* The Tribes, Wardes, or Precincts of the *Romaine* people.

Ouid in lib. de Fast.

16 The Originall of the *Quæstores* creation, is very ancient, and they were ordained (some thinke) before all the other Magistrates. *Gratian*, in his Booke bearing the name of *Times*, hath written, that *Romulus* and *Numa* had two *Quæstores*, who were not by them created, but by the care and scrutiny of the people. But if (as it is not certainelie noted) that *Romulus* had *Quæstores*; it is manifest, that *Tullus Hostilius* the K. created some. It is said, that they were called *Quæstores*, because their duty was to gather the publike Monies, and they had the charge also of the publike treasury. *Gratian* further saith, that they vsed to read in the Senate, such Letters as were sent from this or that Man, and that they were named (by the Prince) *Candidati*. I find beside, that sometimes these *Quæstores* examined Malefactors, and gaue them tortures. Whereupon, *Varro* wil haue it, that of *Quæstionarius*, an Inquisitour, or Giuer of the *Strappado*, the name of *Quæstor* was imposed on them. They vsed to create the *Quæstores*, as wel from among the common people, as the *Patritians*, euen as all other Magistrates; which authority, because it was giuen to the meaner sort, had neither any admonition or prohibition. And as those priuate men were to be called in question by the *Prætor*; so is it likewise said, that (at the beginning) they had authority to speake their opinion in the Senate. And because the Consuls could not sentence any *Romain* Cittizen to death, without commission from the people; therefore it was ordained

Of the *Quæstores*.

Grat. in Lib. de Temp.

Why called *Quæstores*.

Quæstor Aerarius.

Canditati.

Examination of malefactors.

Quæstionarius.

Quæstores created among the *Plebeians*.

No Romaine Cittizen iudged to death, without commission from the people.

dained to the people, that certaine *Quæſtores* ſhould haue authority in Capitall occaſions, and they were called *Quæſtores* of Homicides or Murderers, whereof mention is made in the Lawes of the xii. Tables.

The Magiſtrate of *Inter Regnum*. or the Kinges deceaſe.

17. *Romulus* being dead, and the Fathers bethinking themſelues in vvhat manner they might then beſt gouern the Common-wealth, and who ſhould ſeeme worthy to ſucceed *Romulus*; as alſo, what courſe therein were beſt to bee obſerued, that the people (who were as without a Head) might enter into no ſuch diſorder, as (thereby) to draw war from neighbors, vpon a Citty without a guide: they congregated themſelues ſeriouſly togither, and concluded (after mature conſultation) to make choiſe of an hundred fathers which ſhould be diuided into ten bandes or Squadrons, ten for each compeny, & out of each company to elect one man; and he (with the other ten) ſhould haue the charge of the other ninety. Out of theſe alſo, they made Election of one man, who ſhould aſſume the place of a King; which dignity of his, was to laſt but fiue dayes, and the fiue dayes beeing ended, another was choſen; and ſo went it thorough them al, each man by his fiue daies, vntill a whole yeare was expired in this kind of gouerning.

The election of an hundred Fathers.

A King elected for 5. dayes ſtanding.

An hundred Kings in ſtead of one.

But this Empery or rule appearing hurtfull, and the people complaining, that (for one King) they had now an hundred; the fathers likewiſe perceiuing what ſtirres might ariſe in challenging the ſole Gouernment, they deuiſed what meanes might beſt rid them of ſo waighty a burthen, and throwing the ſame clog vppon the people, determined with them, that no Iuriſdiction or power ſhould remain to any future King, but only vnto ſuch a man as they ſhould make choiſe of. They further reſolued, that he ſhould be King, whom the people commanded to be elected as King, with this condition: That he ſhould be ſaid to be truly a king, if the Fathers gaue him their full Confirmation. Thē the *Inter-Rex*, or fiue daies king, called a Parliament, and ſaid to the people, as followeth: *O you * Quirites, create you a King, that may bee good, iuſt, and happy. If you create ſuch a one, as may worthily be ſaid to ſecond Romulus; the Fathers will therein gladly ioyne with yee*. With theſe conditions, they created him who ſhould haue the generall gouernment. But in the time of vacancy, and when there was no King, he that had the chiefe power of the hundred, was called the *Inter-Rex*. It hapned afterward, that wanting a King, and the Conſuls being abſent from *Rome*, as men imployed in the Common-weales waightieſt affaires, and thereby to be exeuſed by their abſence; they coulde not find a man to generall liking. And therefore, being fruſtrated of a full and lawfull creation, the gouernment was referred to the *Inter-Rex*, by whoſe meanes they created their following Conſuls.

Election of a King referred to the people.

*The people of *Rome*, ſo called of *Quirinus*.

Conclusion for the Kings creation.

The gouernment of the *Inter-Rex*.

18. There were two chiefe or capitall men, created in great authority, but if wee would vnderſtand the Originall of theſe two eſpecial men, we muſt then begin with the time of King *Tullus Hoſtilius*. He warring vpon the *Albanes*, had already conducted his army into an apte place; and *Metius Suffetius*, Captaine of the *Albanes*, came to haue conference with the King of the *Romaines*. Hauing long debated about the conditions of peace, it was finally concluded in this maner. There were then in the *Albane* army, three worthy Bretheren, who were tearmed the *Curiatij*, & theſe three Gallants muſt fight (body to bodye) with three other *Romain* Brethren, called the *Horatij*. The reſolution being paſt, without anie alteration, the day of battaile was determined, and the order to bee obſerued in their fight.

Of two eſpeciall and Capitall men.

The memorable & famous Hiſtory of the three Bretheren of *Alba*, & other three of Rome.

Hauing tried their manhood valiantly a long time together, at length the three *Curiatij* (who were all ſore wounded) hapned to kill two of the *Horatij*. The thirde man ſeeing his Brethren ſlaine, and himſelfe (as yet) ſprightly and vntoucht, began to conſider, that to defend his life againſt the *Curiatij*, ther was now no need of any loſt time, or to ſtand ſtill in a ſeaſon ſo perrillous; and therefore he began to run about the Liſts. He of the *Curiatij*, that was in weakeſt eſtate, immagining, that the death of his brethren had amazed his ſences, and therefore ſought the beſt meanes how hee might eſcape; purſued him very ſpeedily. But *Horatius* turning ſuddenly backe vpon him, manfully ſlew him: and the ſecond making haſt to ſuccour his Brother, beeing ouer-feeble for the performance, was likewiſe ſlaine; and euen ſo ſped the thirde, who needed not many ſtrokes to diſpatch him.

A ſtratageme to preuent 3. potent enemies.

Hauing

Horatius triumpheth after his worthy victory.

Herevpon (by common consent) a glorious Triumphe was prepared for *Horatius*, and he riding back to Rome in that manner; no meane confluence of people came to meete him, among whom also was the Sister to *Horatius*. This Lady, who formerly had beene giuen by her Brother, in marriage to one of the *Curiatij*, beholding the spoiles of her slaine Husband hanging on his chariot: fel both into such loud and lamentable exclamations, as made all present very much amazed. *Horatius* taking her sorrowes discontentedly, perceiuing them to be a blemish to his victory, and a trouble to the generall reioycing; suddenly slew her. The Ttiumphe being ended, *Horatius* was brought before the King, from whom he was sent to Prison, and (in common opinion) thought worthy of death. But his memorable fortune, winning great grace and fauour with the King; procured his tryall to be delayed, and he being desirous also to haue his cause duely examined, would be one in his owne royal person, and therefore created two men more, who should heerein assist him to their vttermost power. The two chosen men pronounced *Horatius* worthy to dye: but then he appealed from them, and would put himselfe on the peoples sentence. At which time, the aged Father to vndaunted *Horatius* (halfe drowned in teares) fell on his knees before them, entreating, that hauing lost two of his Sonnes in battaile, and onelie for the honour of their Country; that they would not suffer him now to be depriued of the third. The people being moued to much compassion, and calling to minde, the no small hazzard of his atchieued victory; clearely acquitted him.

The Sister of *Horatius* was wife to one of the *Curiatij*, & killed by her own Brother.

The K createth two men, to examine (with him) the fact of *Horatius*.

The people deliuer *Horatius* frō death.

Thus grew the Originall of those two Capitall men, to whom (not long after) a third man was added, and so they became three. Now, because they were appointed to Capitall Inquisitions: they had the charge of those Prisons, wherein capitall Offenders were enclosed, and thereupon had the Name of Capitall Men. And this degree of Magistracy, had hand in the condemnation of *Caius Manilius Capitolinus*, from the people of *Rome*. And the same authority chastised all them, that dealt in the conspiracy of *L. Cataline*, according as *Salust* describeth.

The Capitall men, and how they became so named.

Caius Manilius Capitolinus.

19 Concerning the *Præfect*, Prouost, or Captaine of the Citty, there is nothing found written, before the time of *Spurius Lucretius* (Father to *Lucretia*) who was *Præfect*. I doe not heerein deny, but that there might be such Magistrates, and that all the other Kinges, from *Tarquine* forward, might create *Præfects*. But howsoeuer it might be, or was, the Reader is to take notice, that at all times, when the King had occasion to be farre off from *Rome*, he left (in his stead) the Præfect of the Citty. But as the Empire increased, so was the iurisdiction of all *Italy* committed to the Præfect. All delicts and offences which were found through *Italy* (as is witnessed by an Epistle sent from *D. Seuerus* to *Cilionus*) were brought before the Præfect of the Citty, in the beginning of which Epistle, are these wordes set downe.

Of the Præfect, Captain, or Prouost Marshall of the Citty.

A note for the Reader.

Epist. D. Seuer. ad Cilion.

We hauing committed the Gouernment of the City to thy faithfull trust; know from vs, that all such transgressions as happen in our Citty, shall appertaine to the care and cure of the Præfect thereof. The like we say, of all delicts and errors committed foorth of the Citty, within the circuit of an hundred miles euery way. But if he proceede any further, he shall be then out of our protection. Let him giue audience to Seruants, that flie for refuge to the Statues; or in complaining on their Maisters, for not making them free, they hauing bought their liberty by their owne true seruice, or best meanes. He must heare Maisters falne into pouerty: And such as are sicke and weak, that releefe may come to them from the sound and healthfull. His authority likewise extendeth, to confirme, and to banish. If any one shall faithfully affirme, that a Wife hath committed Adultery with her Slaue; the Præfect *is to heare his information: because he may (by his authority) make enquiry, whether the accusation proceedeth on spleene, or fraud, or whether the act were violently committed, or no. He shall also cause to appeare before him, Gouernours of Wards, or fatherlesse Children, and Stewards of mens Landes or possessions, for enquiry of well or ill dealing in their offices: how they stand suspected, either for giuing Money to enioy their Gardianship, or deliuered any other bribes or rewards, without which, they had beene vnmeete for such authority;*

The words in the Epistle.

The limitation of the Præfects power.

Their causes of Audience.

For Maisters and Seruants.

For sicke persons.

Confirming and banishing

For Adultery.

For Stewards and Guardians of Wards.

thority; Also, whether they haue abused and diminished the Orphanes faculties, or (by fraudulent conueyance) got any part of his patrimonie.

Other additions to the Præfects office.

Ouer and beside the precedent matters, *D. Seuerus* likewise added to the office of this Magistrate; That he should haue an eie to Seruants, least they swerued from their Maisters; to vnlawfull entertainers. To be carefull of the Moniers or Minters, in carying themselues vprightly, and to make knowne all their treacheries against the Lawes. That Maisters should not be iniuried by their Free-Seruants, or Iourney-men, as we call them: neyther by his owne Children, or his Wife, or his Neighbours. All these occasions ought to bee heard before the Præfect, who, according as he findes the offence, may punnish the Free-man menace, disfranchise, or proceede to some heauier kind of punnishment; as the like is to be doone, if he haue practised and conspited with any of his Maisters enemies. He ought likewise to ouer-see all things that were to be sold, and giue admonition, that a iust value or price should not be exceeded. The Markets also were vnder his charge, for Oxen, Sheepe, Swine, &c. with the Shambles, Fishery, Hearbery, and such like. And to conserue the people in quiet, he kept the souldiers in their places of quarterage, to preuent any insurrection, vpon the least suspition. In the Citty he might prohibite the faculties, pleadings, and Sessions, at such times as himselfe pleased, and (in like manner) appoint them.

For Coyners of Money.

For iniury done by Wife or children, or free-seruants.

For the Markets, and all other matters of sale.

Souldiers in due readines.

The Prætors power and translation of it.

At length, when this Man had long time continued in this high place; his Authority was giuen to the Prætor of the Latines Holy-daies, vntill (at some other time) the like creation should begin againe. And when all the other Magistrates made Holy-day, yet they gaue place to the Præfect of the *Latines* Citty onely. I haue left some other things vnspoken of, concerning the authority of this Præfect, but they are not of any great importance.

Of Consuls, and their originall.

20 The most auncient Writers doe consent, that the authority of Consuls was formed after example of the Kinges. For when the Kings were expelled, two men were created; to whom no lesse power was graunted, then formerly had beene giuen to the King: only excepted, that their Dominion endured but for a yeare. They had * Lictors, and all other Officers as the King was wont to haue. Now, because their especiall care was, to counsell what was most conuenient for the Common-weales benefit: thereuppon they were named Consuls, and to them was committed the diligent respect of al occasions, which they could conceiue to be fittest for generall good. The first Consuls, after the rule of Kinges was controuled, were *L. Iunius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*. *Brutus* concluded with his Colleague or companion, that (by turnes) one of them onelie should be seene with the Ensignes royall: to the ende, that the people (who had seen and knowne both the one and other) might not lament for the losse of one King, nor yet bee terrified with the sight of two. The Lictors or Sergeants were twelue in number, who with bundles of Rods & Axes, alwaies went before the Consull.

* Sergeants attending with Rods and Axes.

L. Iunius Brutus, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, the first Consuls.

It is said, that *Romulus* instituted this number of Lictors, because as hee questioned with a Brother of the *Augures*; he beheld twelue Gripes or vultures on Mount *Auentine*. Many other Authors of credit hold opinion, that the Lictors, Commaunders, the * *Sella Curulis*, the Gowne, and the long Roabe, called *Prætexta*; came to *Rome* from the *Tuscane* people, confining on the *Romaines*. For it is saide, that the *Tuscane* people, being of twelue seuerall kinds, and hauing created their King; each people affoorded and gaue him a Lictor. They hold, that the word *Lictor*, was formed of *Legare*, because as suddainely as the Consull gaue commaund, eyther to apprehend, or to binde any man; they were as ready and officious thereto, and they gaue commaund also to any that was to appeare before the Consull: *Iunius Brutus*, one of the first Consuls, died in Warre, and *P. Valerius* remained aliue in the Consulship, because he was put in place of *Tarquinius Collatinus*, who for the hatred the *Romains* bare to his Progenie; had renounced his Dignity. Such was the mutability of the vulgares mindes, not onely to beginne false Calumniations against him, but also to intimate blames, suspitions,

The reason of twelue Lictors or Sergeants.

* The Iuory Chaire of State for a Consull to sit in.

Concerning the word *Lictor*.

Iunius Brutus died in warre; and *Collatinus* gaue ouer his Office.

and (finally) vehement accuſations. Notwithſtanding all which, hauing called a Parliament, and iuſtifyed himſelfe beyond their expectation: he was the Authour of making a Law, that a Man might defend himſelfe, and appeale from any Magiſtrate. Then beganne the Conſulles Authoritie (which had long continued famous) to bee inferiour to kingly prerogatiue, and ſo largely ſpread the Seedes of Licence and Liberty, that quickely began too liberall a Harueſt thereof: for they left creating of Conſuls among the Fathers, and the *Auſpici* or hopefull ſignes, would neuer afterward come neere any other.

The declining of the Conſuls office.

At laſt, the Warres beeing ended with the *Gaules*, I meane that Warre wherein *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, taking the Chaine from the *Gaule*, that fought hand to hand with him, was ſlaine by him, and gaue the Sir-name of *Torquatus* to all his Poſterity: the Romaines waxing wearie of the Tribunes continuall ſeditions; gaue grant, that one of the two Conſuls ſhould be choſen by the Common people. The firſt Conſull (then) of the *Plebeians* or Commoners, was *Lucius Sequatius*, and the *Plebeians* hauing obtained before, that the Tribunes of the Souldiers might be choſen among them, becauſe they ſerued in the ſtead of Conſuls: oftentimes, in creation of the Tribunes, they made likewiſe a mixture of the Conſulles Authority, and that in ſuch manner, that many times it happened, that the Conſuls commaund was voide two yeares together, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſſe, according as occaſion fell out.

Titus Manlius Torquatus, a Noble Romaine.

Lucius Sequatius firſt Conſul of the *Plebeians*.

Concerning the Conſtitution or creation of the Conſuls power and priuiledges; I finde, that an aſſembly beeing called by the Conſuls, or by the two cheefe men, or by the *Inter-Rex*, or the Dictator of the *Squttinie*, which Man was elected of the Tribes, or by the congregating of the Centuries; and all theſe meeting in the field, called * *Campus Martius:* ſuch as were deſirous to require the Conſulſhippe, came into the Fielde, and then they were called *Candidati*, in regard of White Robes or Garments which then they wore. He that obtained moſt Suffrages among the people, or had his happineſſe by lot, hee was immedinly called Conſull.

The conſtitution of the Conſuls authority.

*A Field neer Rome, where they made vſe of all manly exerciſes.

Now, becauſe wee haue formerlie made mention of the *Squitinie*, whom the *Latines* tearmed *Comitij*: it ſhall not differ ouer farre from our purpoſe, if we ſet downe what wee haue collected concerning them. Among theſe *Comitij*, there were ſome called *Calati*, and other ſome, tearmed *Tributi*. *Calati*, becauſe the *Curiata Comitia* were called by the Lictors. The *Curiata* were deuided into Centuries and *Curij*, and called *Curiata*, of *Curij*: who were thirtie in number, containing the Cittizens among them; whereupon, euery one of the *Curij*, was called by the Lictors to the *Comitij* or aſſembly. The Centurie were elected by voyces, and according to their yeares. The Tribunes were ſo named (as I thinke) of the parts of the Citty, and of the Tribes. It was not lawfull, to congregate the *Centuriata Comitia* within the Wals of *Rome:* becauſe it was accounted vniuſt, that an Army ſhould bee commaunded or gouerned, but in place moſt conuenient; which could not bee within a Cittie. Wherefore, the *Centuriata* vſed to aſſemble in *Campus Martius*, where by reaſon of ſpeedieſt ſupply, Martiall matters might be beſt diſcourſed, and men trained. Beſide this, it was neceſſary for ſuch as demaunded the Conſulſhip, that by themſelues (perſonally) they ſhould be with the *Squitini* or *Comitij*, becauſe it was not accepted, or giuen by a third perſon: which I perceiue they alſo obſerued in euery other Magiſtracy. Such as were Sonnes of the Family, and were not vnder the awe of their Fathers, or Grand-Fathers; might haue the Dignitie of Conſull, and might alſo be made free when they would, by their owne authority. Finally, it was concluded, that ſuch as were Conſuls; without any other freedome of their Fathers, were at their owne liberty.

Of the *Squitini* or *Comity*, aſſembled as in a Parliament houſe.

Theſe Men made the *Curiatæ leges*.

The Century and the Tribunes.

Centuriata Comitia.

Where the *Centuriata* vſed to aſſemble.

For Sons of the Family.

21 *Titus Liuius* beareth witneſſe, that the *Albanes* had a Dictor (euen *Metius Suffetius*) before the *Romaines* had any. The firſt Dictator authorized in *Rome*, was *T. Largius*, who had formerly been Conſull: but it is not preciſely knowne in what yeare, and vnder what Conſuls. It is well obſerued, that in time of the *Latines* and *Sabines* Warre, and when forty Men had conſpired againſt

The *Albanes* Dictator before the Romaines.

Manilius Octauius Tuſculanus

gainſt the Romaines (prouoked thereto by *Manilius Octauius Tuſculanus*, Son in Lawe to proud *Tarquine*, and who bare him company in exile) that euen then it was ordained, to create a Dictator in *Rome*. This Dignity (among the *Romaines*) was of very great importance, and their auncient Writinges doe teſtifie, that could none appeale from them: but he muſt be a Romaine Cittizen by blood, and (among them) conſiſted the Authority of the whole Common-wealth. All the Kings honours were attributed to the Dictator, and becauſe he had cheefe rule ouer the people, therefore he was ſir-named *Maiſter of the People*. Whence proceeded, that whoſoeuer held any publique authority, as being bred or deriued frō the high *Dictators* office: they were likewiſe called *Maiſters*, as the *Candidi*, of the *Candidati*.

What the Romaine Dictator ought to be, and of his eminency in authority, and all appertaining to him.

At what times they vſed to create a Dictator.

It was not the cuſtome to create a Dictator, except when ſome ſuddaine and vnexpected occaſion hapned, that threatned ineuitable ruine to the Citty. At firſt, it was vnlawfull to create a Dictator, vnleſſe he were a *Patritian*: neuertheleſſe, it fell afterward much lower; for in the Warre which the Romaines had with the *Faliſci*, and with the *Tarquines*; then was created the firſt Dictator of the Common people, named *C. Marius Rutilius*; and then (in like manner) did they elect *L. Plancus*, to be Maiſter of the Horſe, or Cauallery, a *Plebeian* alſo. This Magiſtrates power (being of ſuch greatneſſe) could be endured no longer then ſixe months, and becauſe he ſpake, nominated or elected the following Magiſtrates: therefore (ſaith *Varro*) he was tearmed Dictator, vnder pretence of this or the like authority, *L. Silla* and *Iulius Cæſar* gayned liberty, as coueting (ſo much as in them lay) to ſhunne the odious and infamous name of Tirants.

Dictator of the *Plebeians*.

Varro his opinion of the Dictator.

22 Such as were the Tribunes of the light Horſe, in the Kinges time; the like (with the Dictators) were theſe other Maiſters of the Horſe. And as the Dictator had Iuriſdiction ouer all the people; ſo had the Maiſter of the Horſe ouer all the Souldiers. The firſt that was choſen into this place, was *Spurius Caſſius*, created by *Titus Largius*, the firſt Dictator. To conclude, the Office of Maiſter of the Horſe, was ſuch with the Dictators, as (with *Cæſar*) was that of *Præfectus Prætorum*.

Maiſter of the Horſe, and his office.

23 The occaſion of creating Tribunes, was the deuiſion of the Common people with the Fathers, at Mount *Sacer*. For the Warre (on one ſide) being concluded with the *Volſcians*, and (on the other ſide) with the *Æqui*, and with the *Sabines*; the Common people alſo hoping, that (by a promiſed Law) freedome ſhould bee had from the burden of Vſury, and perceiuing (to their hurt) that the Fathers did but prolong the time: ſuddenly *M. Valerius* was created Dictator, to appeaſe the popular ſedition, and for eaſe of a moſt important war. He hauing begun to intercede for the Common people, and finding both himſelfe and them to be deceiued: hee renounced his Office, and went away from the people; who were not a little diſpleaſed, becauſe the fathers thought, that the beſt way to quiet the peoples mindes (vnder colour of an Oath giuen them by the Conſuls) was preſentlie to lead them forth to Warre. The people taking the matter very ill, paſſed the Riuer *Teueron*, and went thence to Mount *Sacer*, which was three Miles diſtant from *Rome*. This bred ſuch a terrour in the Fathers, not knowing how the Common-weale ſhould be defended (being now deſtitute of all thinges neceſſary thereto) if Warre ſhould be raiſed from any Neighbour Enemy: that they ſent to them *Menenius Agrippa*, (a man dearely reſpected of the Fathers, and no leſſe affected by the people) hee as an Ambaſſador, ſhould comprenize this diſcontentment of the people. He ſpeaking very gruely to them, induced the fable of the members, entring into conſpiracy againſt the belly: which ſo highly pleaſed the people, that they conſented to haue peace with the Fathers. But in the conditions of peace, they obtained; that there ſhould be Magiſtrates of the Common people in the Citty. Whereupon enſued, that the *Plebeians* (from that time forward) were to haue two Tribunes in full authority, *A. Virginius*, and *T. Vetuſius* then beeing Conſuls.

The cauſe why Tribunes were created.

M. Valerius created Dictator, quickly renounceth his Office.

The people offended with the Fathers.

Menenius Agrippa is ſent to the people.

Two *Tribunes* appointed of the common people.

Another time grew the like ſeperation, and then three Tribunnes more were added to the former two: *Appius*

Ten *Tribunes* in ful number, for confirmation of the Senate.

Claudius, and *C. Quintius*, beeing Conſuls. Afterward, fiue other; in the Conſulſhip of M. *Horatius Puluillus*, and *Q. Minutius*: and ſo (in this manner) the *Romaines* came to haue tenne *Tribunes*. The authority of theſe men encreaſed in ſuch ſort, that whatſoeuer the Senate ordained, was of ſure ſtrength, if ſo be it were approued of the Tribunes. They ſtood at the entrance of the place, where the Senate were aſſembled (becauſe it was not lawfull for them to enter into the Temple) and thoſe matters deliberated by the Senatours, were committed to the *Tribunes*, to examine them. If they were for the good of the Common-wealth, they ſhould then ratifie them, changing, or adding whatſoeuer they pleaſed: and in ſigne that matters were confirmed by them, they ſhould ſet (vnder the writing) the Letter T.

The prerogatiue of the Tribunes.

But concerning the power of the *Tribunes*, if I might ſpeake at large thereof; I ſhould then alleadge the iudgment of *Labeo Antiſtius*, that excellent Lawyer, whoſe wordes are theſe, as I finde them ſet downe in *Aulus Gellius*. *Wee reade* (ſaith he) *in a certaine Letter of* Atteius Capito, *that* Labeo Antiſtius, *was of great obſeruation, and very learned in the Lawes; yet was he extreamely enclined to liberty, and there-withall of ſuch courage; that* D. Auguſtus *beeing then Prince, nothing whatſoeuer was allowed to be firme or good, but what he found to be ſacred and iuſt in* Romaine *Antiquity.* Afterward hee ſheweth; that the ſame *Labeo*, being called by a Commander of the peoples Tribune; ſent aunſwere by the ſame Commaunder, bidding him ſay thus to him that ſent him. *Tell the Tribune, that hee hath no authority to call me, or any other: conſidering, that (accordcording to the cuſtome of our Elders) the Tribune hath power to take, but not to call, or commaund. Wherefore, himſelfe ought to come, and then to giue commaund to him who ſhould be taken; otherwiſe, he hath no power to call an abſent man.*

Aul. Gellius ex Labeo Antiſt. Of *Labeo Antiſtius* the famous Lawier.

A bold anſwer ſent to the Tribune.

Aulus Gellius affirmeth, that the very ſame is written by *Varro*, in his Book of Humane things. This *Varro*, being one of the *Triumutri*, maintained; that hee was not to bee called by the Tribune of the people: And when he was *Tribune*, hee gaue no commaund that any Man ſhould be called. Matter of greateſt importance in the Tribune, was; that he went vp and downe (as a Mediator) in ſuites of Interceſſions, to prohibite, that no violence ſhould be done them by other Magiſtrates. His leaſt power alſo, was, in publiſhing the Lawes to the people, thoſe which were called *Plebiſcitæ*. In which Interceſſions, the authoritie of the Fathers making no interuention; they aſſigned ſuch Men as were ſent to the adminiſtration of the Prouinces, in ſtead of the Conſulles: as we may reade in *Plutarch*, in the Life of M. *Cato*, and eſpeciallie in the Tribune-time of *P. Clodius*. I finde alſo recorded, that when all the Tribunes were to agree vpon any matter, if one of them onely varried, and were diſcordant; he might doe more then all the reſt, and eaſily hinder any other that was contrary to him.

Varro in Lib. de Reb. Human. Of the Tribunes power and place.

Plutar. in vit. M Cato.

24 I can finde no matter at all, concerning this Authoritie, vntill (vnhappilie) the Warre was made by the Romaines vppon the *Æqui*, which procured great terrour to the Citty. For the Conſull which remained at that time in *Rome*, for the better muſtering of Men together, and with the more ſpeede, onely to helpe his Fellow-Conſull, who was beſiedged: *T. Quintius* was created Vice-Conſull, *Albus Poſthumius*, and *Spurius Furius* beeing then Conſuls. And becauſe he was to be ſent in ſtead of a Conſull, he was (the rather) called Vice-Conſull. To him, and others in like place, all the enſignes of a Conſull was graunted, onely excepted, that but ſixe Lictors attended on him, in not vſing the ordinary iuriſdiction committed to the Conſull: albeit (not long after) theſe Vice-Conſuls beganne to haue equality in power and authority with the other. For the Confines of the Empire beginning to be enlarged; diuers charges in Warre were neceſſarily required. Whereupon, it was concluded, that they which went foorth of the Conſulſhip at expiration of a yeare; ſhould bee Vice-Conſulles the yeare enſuing, and to them, by lots (deuiding the gouernments) all the Prouinces of the Empire were giuen in charge.

The power of the Vice-conſull.

T. Quintius the firſt Vice-Conſull.

Vice-Conſuls grow equall in authority with Conſuls.

No Vice-Conſull could (of his owne Prerogatiue (exerciſe any iuriſdicti-

on

on out of his owne Prouince, albeit the case concerned and appertained to the Vice-Consuls administration. If the matter (peraduenture) were fiscall or penall, it better deserued reference to *Cæsars* Procuratour or Atturney. If he carried his Wife with him into his Prouince (which were better for him that he did not) hee might chastise her for any euill Act committed. And as he was not to refuse Royall presents giuen him; so ought he also, to obserue a certaine meane in receiuing them: because, as it were very inhumane to receiue none at all; so likewise it sauored of too much couetousnesse, to take all thinges whatsoeuer; but, beside presents sent in free guift, the Vice-Consull ought not to accept of any. Next, he might not buy any thing in one Prouince, to feede on in another. Hee ought not to treate, negotiate, or summarily define any cause, that had neede of further inquisition and examination. But if it concerned diligent enquire in some cases, as the obedience of Children to their Parentes, and (on the other side) what Children or Sonnes were to demaund of their Parents; such matters he might fully consult on, and define. He might also deale with free Seruants, that were ingratefull to their Maisters, or otherwise abused them; and commaund them to bee whipped, without councell of the Ciuill Doctor, or ordinary Iudge. He that wanted an Aduocate, eyther in regard of his pouerty, or powerfull oppression of his Aduersary: hee might, and ought to appoint him one, and take obseruation of the whole businesse, or any other of the like Nature (as in his owne right and lawfull authority) according as all other Magistrates had, to pardon or punish such delinquents. But because the flowing streame of daily occurrences, permitted not the Vice-Consull to attend all occasions: hee was suffered to haue his Legate, of whose office likewise we will speake somewhat briefely.

The Vice-Consuls obseruations in his Prouinces

Concerning Children to their parents, and Seruants to their Maisters.

For poor men oppressed by might.

25 The Vice-Consuls, by the torrent of weighty affaires which continually came vpon them; vsed to send Legates into the Prouinces, who exercised iurisdiction, not as of themselues, or by their owne authority: but as it was committed to them by the Vice-Consuls; nor could they thus appoint them in their sted, except themselues had first bin in those Prouinces. If it happened, that any graue, waighty, or important matter came to the Legate, which required diligent care of the Iudge: the Legate ought to referre it to the Vice-Consull, because he had no authority to shed blood, nor punish by stripes. Neuertheless, he might giue iudgment in occasions of litigancy, and on such as had the tutelage of Orphanes. The Vice-Consul vsed to ratifie arbitrated causes, and he might send no Legate, vntil himselfe were parted out of the Prouince. If peraduenture the Legate died in the Prouince; the Vice-Consull tooke the charge on him, as the Legate in his life time left it. And if the Vice-Consull, (vpon some earnest and important businesse) was to part from the Prouince: hee might referre any cause to the Legate, although it concerned the life of a Man.

Of Legates, or rather Auditors to the vice-Consuls, and what their authority was.

When Legats were to be sent into the Prouinces.

26 I am of opinion, that the *Ædilitas plebei*, was a very auncient kinde of Magistracy, and yet I make some doubt, whether the *Ædiles* were first created, before the Tribunes of the people. I remember, that (the Kings being expelled, and the separation of the people made at Mount *Sacer*) a great part of the Romaine people, remained a long time without any Magistrate in the Common-wealth, by whom it ought to bee defended. We read in *Liuie*, that not long after the Tribunes of the people were created, one of the Consuls dying in a Pestilence, and the other being grieuously sicke: the *Ædiles* of the people, tooke the charge of the Tribunes of the people on them, and the administration of the whole Common-wealth. Yet doe I not heereby inferre, that but (as then) their creation began; for it may be, that they were many yeares before. But the wealthinesse of the people encreased afterward in such manner, that out of their owne body or community, they yeilded Dictators and Bishoppes: yea, & many times (vniting themselues with the Fathers) they obtained of them, that two *Ædiles* of the people might be created.

Of the *Ædiles* of the commō people, and the time of their creation

A great Pestilence in *Rome*, whereof one of the Consuls died.

The *Plebeians* yeelded Dictators and Bishops of their owne quality.

The *Ædiles* being commaunded, to make prouision for publike Plaies and pastimes, and to set downe an agree-

The young *Patritians* against the *Aediles*, craving to be made *Aediles*.

ment for ſollemne daies in the Kalender, both which were referred to their charge, they making deniall thereof: it is ſaid, that the young *Patritians* challenged their aptneſſe to ſuch an Office, in honour of the Gods, and craued, that they might be made *Ædiles*. Their motion being no way miſliked, but rather much commended: the Senatours concluded, that the Dictator ſhould elect two Cittizen *Patritians*, who muſt be *Ædiles*; the Fathers and the *Comitij*, tearming themſelues to bee Authours thereof. Whereupon were created two *Patritian Ædiles*, to wit; *Cneus Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*. Laſt of all, there were two other created by *Iulius Cæſar*; who looking to the prouiſion of Corne, were therefore called *Cereales*. I finde among Authours, worthy of good credit, that the *Ædiles* receiued their name of *Ædes*; which ſignified a ſacred Temple, and their charge was, to be carefull of Temples. And becauſe they were created of the *Patritians*, they had the name alſo of *Curules*; becauſe they were carried, either to the Pallace, or elſe where by Land, in Chariots or Litters. The *Plebeians* and the *Curules* are ſo wel knowne, that I thinke there needes no further report of their condition.

The two firſt *Patritian Aediles*.

How they tooke their name at firſt.

Concerning publicke Feaſts.

The *Ædiles* appointed publique feaſts to bee made, which was no ſmall burthen: becauſe it was ordained, that (according to their Dignity, and State of their Patrimony) ſuch ſhould bee their expences. Concerning this Order, *Cicero* giueth ſufficient Teſtimony, in thoſe Bookes which hee entitled *De Officijs*, where he makes mention of the time, when he himſelfe was one of the *Ædiles*, and of *Pompey* the great. * *Aſconius Pædianus* ſaith, that *Pompey* being created *Ædilis*, hauing (at his own coſt) builded a maruailous rich Theater: beſide the magnificent plaies which were there performed; would needs haue a ſumptuous Chariot alſo, drawne by diuers Elephants. Whereby may further be gathered, that the *Ædiles* were at the charge of the feaſts, & of the arguments of the Comedies; becauſe they carried name of thoſe *Ædiles*, vnder whoſe authority they were made and acted. The *Ædiles* appointed the places for all men to ſit in, with due obſeruation of their

Cicero, in Lib. de Officijs.

* An excellēt expoſitour of *Tullies* Orations.

Of publicke Playes and paſtimes.

quality and degrees. *Valerius Maximus* writeth, that *Attilius Seranus*, and *Lucius Scribonius*, being *Ediles*, were the firſt, that (in ſitting) diuided the Senate from the *Plebeians*. If a Buyer were deceiued by a Seller, in deliuering him a ſicke or weake Beaſt, for a ſound; his helpe was had by the *Ædiles*. They likewiſe had eſpeciall care, that the Conduits for Water ſhould be kept very cleane, and all other buildings neat and ſweete. Finally, if bad things were ſold in the markets, vnder the name of good; and rotten or corrupt wares, in ſtead of honeſt ſufficiency: it appertained to the *Ædiles* to controule.

Attilius Seranus and *Lucius Scribonius Aediles*.

27 It was not lawfull for the Magiſtrates of the Common-weale, to take away the regiment of the ten men, who are ſaid to be created on this occaſion. The common people being daily mooued with new tumults, by electing Magiſtrates among themſelues, to make lawes for freedome from oppreſſion of Vſury; to contract marriages with the Fathers, and for confirmation of their owne poſſeſſions: by theſe means, matters (both diuine and humane) grew to an ouerthrow; and then, nothing was more deſired then Common Lawes, to the end, there might be no lurking corner for enuy; which made them conclude, to deriue (from ſome place elſe) lawes for the City. Hereupon, three Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Athens*, who ſhould bring thence the written Lawes of *Solon*, hauing firſt well obſerued the Cuſtomes and vſage of other Nations. The Ambaſſadours were theſe; *Spurius Poſthumius Albus*, *Aulus Manilius*, and *Publius Sulpitius Camerinus*. Theſe three men, three yeares after their departure from *Rome*; returned thither againe, and bringing with them the written Lawes: which Lawes, in regard they were to bee more fully peruſed, exemplified, & accommodated to their vſe, there were ten men created by the *Comitij* of Centuries, to ouer-ſee them for the Common-weales benefit. The ten men were theſe; *Appius Claudius*, *T. Genutius*, *P. Cæſtius*, *L. Veturius*, *C. Iulius*, *Aulus Manlius*, *P. Sulpitius*, *P. Curiatius*, *T. Romulius*, and *Spurius Poſt-humius*; from whoſe iudgement and cenſure of the Lawes, no man whatſoeuer ſhould any way appleale.

Of ten men created for bringing the Lawes to Rome.

Lawes for *Rome* to be fetcht from ſome other Country.

Three Ambaſſadors ſent to *Athens*.

Ten men created to peruſe the Lawes, and their names.

This

Ten Tables made for the Lawes, that the people might aproue them.

This yeare (therefore) they made ten Tables, and publiſhed them openly, to the end, that the Lawes might bee heard of all the people, with authoritie giuen them: that they might amend, Correct, interpret, and deliuer their opinions; promiſing to be patient in attention, vvhile they were fully read and herd. After they had bin ſufficiently peruſed, they were ſet downe in writing for continuance, openly manifeſted, and the former Magiſtrate quite diſplaced. But a certaine conceit riſing among thē, that if two Tables more were added to them, the *Romaine* Lawes (thereby) would bee made moſt perfect: Heereupon, the *Comitij* were called together againe, euen in the former place of meeting; and there, other ten men wer anew created. Then *Appius Claudius*, to whome the charge of aſſembling the Counſell was committed, contrary to his duty, and againſt the forme of all good vſe: nominated himſelfe for one of the ten, calling theſe alſo to bee his Colleagues, *Cornelius Maluginenſis*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *Quintus Fabius Vipulanus*, *Q. Petilius*, *Titus Antonius* Merenda, *Cætius Dulius*, *Spurius Opius Coruicus*, and M. *Rabuleius*. Theſe men, being verie deſirous to ouer-rule and commaund, made their appearance (the 15. day of May) in the Market place, with twelue Axes each man borne before him, interpreting the ſame to be a matter of the leſſe moment, becauſe they were created without apeale or prouocation. It is ſaid that at their firſt comming into the peoples preſence, they ſeemed as if they had bin ten Kings. And it is a matter (almoſt) exceeding beleefe, what a publicke feare this forme of behauiour bred in the Citty, wherein they were not much deceiued, nor their ſuſpition cauſleſſe.

Two Tables more to be added to the ten.

Ten other mē choſen again, about the two other Tables.

The ten men appear before the people.

The pride and inſolence of the ten men vnto the people.

They began to waxe cruell, and libidinous againſt the people. There vvas no matter heard or handled amongſt them, but it paſt rather by fauour and reſpect, then any Reaſon, Iuſtice, or Equity. They concluded together, that what matter ſoeuer they pronounced in publick, or elſe intended to do; if any man appeald from any one of the Confederates to another: he parted from him with ſuch ſatisfaction as he had bin better not to haue appealed from the former. It was a generall opinion, that they had agreed amongſt themſelues, and confirmed it by oath, neuer to ceaſſe this kind of Counſel, but perpetually to hold this Order of Magiſtracie, with Dominion ouer all the Empire. Vnder this condition paſſed the greater part of the yeare; and vntill the two Tables were added to the ten, there was nothing elſe current, but what paſſed by publication of the *Centuriatæ Comitij*. Matters fadging thus, the yeare being ſpent, and no other tidinges heard from the Counſel: the people (not a litle lamenting their loſſe of liberty) began to mutiny, & moue a tumult. Inſomuch, that newes came, how the *Sabines* and *Equi* raiſed warre againſt *Rome*. Hauing pondered heereon awhile, the ten men aſſembled the people, and ſelecting an Army out of them, went to the Warre. While there they fought with variable fortunes, *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten, who remayned behind for gouernment of the Cittie, became inamored on a *Plebeian* Virgin, and practiſed (by what meanes hee might) to enioy her company.

The *Sabines* & the *Equi* menace warre againſt *Rome*.

The Father of the yong Maiden, whoſe name was *Lucius Virginius*, being abſent from *Rome* at the warre, where hee had a place equall to his worth and merite; had formerly affianced his daughter to a yong Gentleman, named *Icilius*, one of the *Tribunitij*. *Appius* tempting the Virgin with entreats and promiſes, yet no way preuailing to gaine his intent: altered his purpoſe to pride and cruelty, and complotted with one M. *Claudius*, an intimate friend of his, that as he ſat in his Tribunal to liſten cauſes: M. *Claudius* ſhould ſteppe forth, and challenging the Damoſell to be his ſlaue, to demand her in iuſtice, and he himſelfe would puniſh al them ſeuerely, that durſt take on them to approoue her freedome. This luſtfull wretch, taking aduantage of apt-opportunitie, M. *Claudius* had ſeized the Virgin, as ſhe paſt ouer the Market place, calling hir his ſlaue-ſeruant, and the daughter of a ſlaue: commanding her to follow him, and offering to carry her away violently, if ſhe made any reſiſtance.

The Hiſtorie of *Appius Claudius*, and the faire *Virginia*.

The compact betweene *Appius* and *M. Claudius*.

The Damoſell (hauing no other company then her Nurſe) cried out for aſsiſtance, becauſe there were many by, to defend her from *Claudius*. But he told them, that they preſumed ouer-raſhly vpon his right, there was neither time or place (as then) for tumults. But if they miſtruſted what he had ſaid, he entreated them to go with

M. Claudius (by his falſe pretence) ſeazed *Virginia*, and caried hir before the Iudg.

with him to immediate iudgement. *Appius* sitting ready to entertaine the busines, demanded of *Claudius*, the reason of his disquiet, whereto he thus answered. *This Maiden* (quoth he) *was borne in my house, and of a slaue my Seruant: some while after he was stolne from me, and (vnder the name of daughter) conueyed to the house of* Lucius Virginius, *where euer since she hath forcibly bin kept from me. But hauing now seized her in mine owne right; I craue that she may be sentenced, & that she may part hence with hir maister, or else you deserue not the place of a Iudg.* *Appius* perceiuing so good a beginning, to the end it might not appeare, that he was rash in censure before examination; he caused the Maidens defenders to be called, who alledged, that it was a very vniust proceeding, to call the Virgin in question, her Father being absent about the Common-wealths affairs. Adding other cases of like moment, the young Gentleman *Icilius* (troth-plighted Husband to *Virginia*) and *Numidius* his Grand-father, came before the iudgment seat. *Icilius* making a great stir and noise, vsing words likewise very neglect & carelesly, as being of bold and vndanted courage: command was giuen him by a *Lictor* (by Commission deliuered from *Appius*) presently for to make his departure thence. But he resisting, imboldned by a resolued spirit, and the goodnesse of his cause, a great multitude of *Romaines* also being there assembled: *Appius*, to auoide any nouell accident, which might rise frō the people, caused him to giue securitie, that *Virginia* (the day following) should bee presented againe in iudgment. These ill-pleasing Newes were soone carried to her Father, who needed no other Spurre to hast him to *Rome*; where hee himselfe brought his daughter (accompanied with manie worthy Matrons) the next day before the Iudgement seate. With teares and humble intreats, the graue Olde Father desired to haue Iustice; and that the whole case might be publickly discussed; the like did *Icilius* and mournful *Virginia*, assisted by the voices of all the other Ladies.

But *Appius*, whose heat of lust admitted no reason, despising all their woful lamentations, mounted vp to his tribunall, where he gaue sentence, that *Virginia* was the Bond-slaue to *Claudius*. This Iudgement filled all the hearers with admiration; and *Claudius* offering to lay hand on the Maiden, with intent to carry her presently thence: her wofull Father stepped betweene him and the Iudge, and (with abundance of teares trickling downe his White Beard) vttered foorth these speeches:

Heare (O you Romaines) that I haue espoused my Daughter to Icilius, *and not to thee* Appius. *I bred and brought her vp, that she might go vvith a virgins honor to marriage, and not to libidinous rape or defleuring. But if (in a Fathers true affection) my words may seeme offensiue to thee; pardon me, that in thy presence, and before hir face, I may demand of hir nurse, whither she know me to be* Virginiaes *father or no, that truth being acknowledged, I may part hence with the more contented minde.* Then stepping to his Daughter, as if he intended to aske her some priuate question; he drew forth a Knife (which he had purposely hid) and there slew his Daughter, rather then she should be dishonored. The people amazed at this admirable resolution, gaue so loud a cry, that it drewe more people in multitudes thither; and *Appius* perceiuing a strange tumult toward, to secure his life, mufled his face closely, that he might not be knowne in his escape thence. The people taking addantage of this occasion, for their recouery of the City; forthwith entred into Armes, and chose wronged *Virginius* to be their Commander: parting away presently to mount *Auentine*. *Icilius* (on the otherside) drew home his Fathers power of Souldiours; and in example of the *Plebeians*, tenne Militarie Tribunes were immediately created, who (accompanying the other Army) came in verie powerfull manner vnto *Rome*, forsaking Friends, Wiues, and Children, now to redeem the liberty of their wronged countrey.

The ten men, not a little confounded with this sudden alteration; made hast to assemble the Senate, and consult what might be done for safety of the Cōmonwealth. At length, after many and sundry determinations, with very bold reprehensions (by the Senators) giuen to the Ten men, calling them as many *Tarquins*: the Tenne were gladde and faine to submit themselues vnto the power of the fathers, so they might bee freed from publicke Iniuries, and all other doubted Daungers. Concluding withall, that Ambassa-

The false claim of *Claudius* before *Appius*.

The defenders of *Virginia* are called.

Icilius the troth-plighted Husband to *Virginia*.

Lucius Virginius bringeth his daughter to the iudgement barre.

Appius gaue iudgement a gainst *Virginia*

The words of *L. Virginius*.

Lucius killeth his Daughter *Virginia*.

The people take Armes, and make *Lucius* their Leader.

The Ten men driuen into amazement.

The Ten men submit to the Fathers.

Peace sought of the cõmon people.

bassadors should be sent to compound & quiet this great disorder. Heerupon, M. *Horatius*, and *Lucius valerius*, good men, and of great authority, were sent to deale with the people about the conditions of peace. The people demaunded (in their peace-conditions) that the ten men might bee punished according vnto their deseruings: but by faire and gentle language in the Ambassadors, such seuerity was mittigated. They were therefore contented, that their wonted Tribunes should be restored to them againe, and the gouernement returne (as formerly it had done) to the dignity of Consuls. By this means, the ten men renounced their Authority, and the *Comitij* were warned for creation of the Consuls and Tribunes. Thus by this new ordination, the ten mens power was suppressed, and the State came vnto hir woonted honourable kinde of Gouernement.

Consuls again agreed on.

The Præfect appointed for the prouision of Corne.

28. Because wee are discoursing on Offices of authority, I hold it reasonable, that we should say somwhat of the Præfect for Corne, who (in these times) was created out of the woonted order. I find nothing concerning this Magistrate, but that hee was vnder the Consulship of *Appius Claudius*, and *P. Seruilius*, which was the very same yeare, when *Tarquinius Superbus* died, neare to *Aristodemus* the Tirant. It is saide, that about this time, a contention hapned between the Consuls about dedication of the temple of *Mercury*, which finally was concluded with this condition; that he who should dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*, shold likewise be appointed for prouision of Corne. The people gaue the dedication to *M. Pletorius*, Captaine of the chiefe Squadron, not in regard that he deserud it, but as a shame and disgrace to the Consuls, for not carrying themselues vprightly in their Consulship. But not finding this matter so apparant in *Liuie*, I am induced to thinke, that it was their error, who tooke vppon them to write so manifestly; because I find, that not long after, *L. Minutius* was made Præfect for Corne. This office was very expedient in hard times, when Corn wanted, and men sold it very deare. It was his charge to procure Corn from all neighboring parts; and he might command any man (who had more then fitted for his owne House and family) to bring it forth to publick sale (how farre soeuer it were off) and to set a price thereon. By meanes of this Magistrate, the people of *Rome* (being many times in great want of Corne) had present helpe.

The death of *Tarquinius Superbus*, and *Aristodemus* the Tyrant.

M. Pletorius, Præfect for Corne.

Example of *Pompey* the Great, in bringing Corne from *Sicily*.

Pompey the Great, hauing the same authority, & the same Magistracy, as we now speak of, setting forth from *Sicilie*, with a great quantity of Corne intended for *Rome*, the Mariners told him, that it was not good for them to put to Sea in a tempest or storm. Whereto, it is said (in his Countries behalfe) he returned this answere. *It is good and necessary to saile, but it is not necessarie to liue.* The care for Corne (afterwardes) grew into such fauour and authority, that all such persons as were not thoght meet, nor admitted to accuse in any other case: yet in this onely they had free admision, yea, though they were Strumpets (most infamous) and such like persons.

The Præfects power.

29 Through many deuisions of the Fathers, made with the people, who had demanded of them, that (out of their own condition) they might create Consuls, & yet by reason of the wars abroad, the people made no administration thereof: they were faine still to supply the Fathers with men, and giue way aswell to enemies far off, as to contentious Cittizens at home. The first discordancy among the Fathers, was in them, who suppoſed, that if the Tribunes were created of the Common people; it should be but vnder bare pretence of agreement. Whereby ensued, that matters were so caried, as (by the request of *Camillus*) the Fathers permitted Tribunes to be created, who should be in the sted of Consuls; aswell of the Plebeians, as of the Fathers indifferently, not altering any thing from the Consuls. Then were created three Tribunes of the Consuls authority, whom they called Military, & these were ordained by diuers numbers. Somtimes they were twenty; otherwhiles more, and then againe lesse. But the first three of all, were these; A. *Sempronius Amacinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *C. Cecilius*, all *Patritians*; and the people were contented, because it seemed, that their owne desires were obtained. At that time also, some came from the Consulship, to be Military Tribunes, yet of Consull-power: as when M. *Genutius* and P. *Horatius* left their Consuls Office. And next to this Magistracy, was that (the name wherof is not expressed) wherein they were in like authority as the Consuls had; chaunging

Tribunes of the Soldiers, and of the Consulpower.

Camillus perswades creation of the Tribunes.

Three Tribunes of the Consuls power, and who the first three were.

Som left their Consulship to be Militarie Tribunes.

ging only the name, and the people being not thereby impeached.

The Office of the Censors.

30. Many yeares were past in multiplicity of warres, and among ciuill dissentions at home; al which time, the people of *Rome* were not burdened with Tributes, paiments, taxations, or the *Lustrũ*; which was the Collection of Toll or custome euery fifth yeare, and purging the Citty by Sacrifices, acording to the ancient manner. For this waighty burden was not laid on the Consuls, who vnder-went the many important occasions of warre: but was recorded by the Senatours, who thoght fit to create a Magistrate for matters of waight, and yet not appertaining to the Consuls place, to which Magistrate should be giuen the charge of the Notaries, of the Prisons, of the Bookes, of the Tables, of the Lawes, and of the Taxations.

The creation of the two first Censors.

Hereupon, and on better consideration, they created two Censors, *Papyrius* and *Sempronius*, and in regard of the Tribute-collections, they were termed Censors: *M. Geganius Macerinus*, & *T. Quintius Capitolinus* being then Consuls. It was also ordained, that this Office or Magistracy should continue for fiue years. But this long limitation was afterward altred, in regarde of the Censors insolence; and reduced to one man only, named *Mamertius Æmilius*, Dictator, in the Consull-ship of *Iulius Virgilius*, and M. *Appius*. It is wonderfull to consider, how much this preheminence increased in power, being raised out of so weak an Original. It grew to such height, as (in this authority only) consisted the Customes, the *Romain* Discipline, the Senate, the gouerning of the Caualery, the Iurisdiction of priuate occasions, and the taxing of the publick places and people in *Rome*: Alledging in the Senate, electing the Princes of the Senat, gathering the Subsidies, celebrating the fiue yeares Sacrifices, adding good men to the Senate, and commaunding such thence, as were thought vnworthy in his iudgement.

One Censor alone, and not two.

His great power & authority.

Remouing Senators frõ the Senate.

I finde, that *Caius Fabricius*, beeing made Censor, he remooued *P. Cornelius Ruffinus*, a *Patritian*, from the Senat, because he had spent at one dinner at his table, ten pound in mony. *Marcus Cato* also did put from the Senate, the Brother of *C. Flaminius*, because (beeing entreated thereto by a Strumpet) he commanded a prisoners head to be cut off, he being (at that time) Vice-Consull in *Gallia*. What shall I say of the consuetudes of the Censors, in their aduertisements about all other occasions? Such as were corpulent and well-fed Souldiers, from them they would take both Horse and Armour, to the end they might the better breath thẽselus. And if any delighted in sweet smels, or curious apparrell, they accounted it in them as a note of infamy, and therefore remoued them from the army.

The Censors managing of ordinarie occasions.

A *Roman* Caualiero (costly and delicate in Garments, but riding on a Leane and meager Iade, so thinne and ouer-starued, that his bones might easily be counted thorough his hide) chanced to meete the Censors vpon the way. They demanded of him, how he came so neatly polished in attire, his countenance ruddy, and of so good complexion, and yet his horse so euill-fauoured and vnsightly? Whereto he answered; *I my selfe haue care of my Cloaths and diet, but my seruant only looketh to my Horse.* The Censors well regarding both him and his aunswere, without anie shew of humanity or reuerence, did leaue him to his own vanity, worthily condemned of notorious infamy.

Of a Romain Gallant, and his horse.

They obserued likewise another man, who was a Citizen, that vsed to yawne or gape very much, especially in those places, where they sat and gaue audience to serious affaires, and he did it with a very irkesome and vnseemly noise: but when they vnderstoode, that want of modesty was not the cause, but meere weakenesse and infirmity; they cancelled him out of their note of Taxation, requiring onely his absence from such place and occasions.

Of an vnwise Cittizen, that had an offensiue infirmity.

When the Censors went into such places where Weddings wer celebrated, and (according to their custome) demanded of the young men, if they tooke their Wiues with their owne free liking and ful contentment, or no: If they made answere, that they accepted the marriage, because their Parents so commaunded; their company was thence-forward despised, and themselues set downe in the Kalender of infamy. Because they held opinion, that it was much vnfitting for the Maiesty they presented, in open sight of their Censoriall seuerity, that an vnmanly, foolish, or ridiculous answere should be made to them. Many other such matters

Of celebration of Marriages, by their owne liking, or commaund of Parents.

A Cenſor dying, the ſuruiuer to ſerue the place of both.

ters might be ſpoken of; but concerning this argument, theſe may bee ſufficient. Only I may not omit, that they helde it ſomwhat religiouſly, when one of the two Cenſors died, the other was ſufficient to ſerue, both in his owne place, and for him that was dead. I know not how this fauor was admitted, but this I am ſure of, that it was (not long after) apointed: that the one Cenſor dying, the other ſhoulde renounce his Office, and two other men be newly created.

A reaſon deriued from the *Gauls*, concerning the Cenſors.

The cauſe of this obſeruation was thus. In thoſe parts where the *Gaules* ſurprized the City, one of the Cenſors being dead, the other was ſubſtituted in his ſtedde, which ſeemed to the *Romains* to be a ſign of an euil Augury; whereupon, it was ſet downe as a perpetuall Law, that ſuch ſucceſſion ſhould neuer more bee admitted. It was then vnlawfull to create any Cenſors, but onely of the Fathers: yet this grew (euen as all things elſe) to an alteration; and then the election fell to bee indifferent. The Cenſors alſo had authority, that they ſhould limit the taking of Vſury.

Of three men to conduct the Colonies.

31 The *Arcani*, and the *Ardeati*, hauing had many and continuall fights together on their Confines, waxing at the length weary of warre (in regard of great ſlaughters and ruins made on both ſides) committed their cauſe of contention to the *Roman* people, and made them Iudges of either's quarrell. Ambaſſadors being ſent from each City to intreat this fauour, a Counſel was called, & (from the Magiſtrates) the caſe was referred to the people, whereon there grew verie greeuous contention. For three men beeing choſen to vnder-goe the charge of the whole buſineſſe; *P. Scaptius*, a *Plebeian*, aged in yeares, roſe vp and ſaid: *Conſuls, if it be lawfull to talke concerning the Common-wealth, I cannot endure, neither wil I, that the people ſhoulde erre in this matter.*

The words of *P. Scaptius*, in the Counſell.

But the Conſulles laughing (as at a man that doted) would no further heare him. Hee grieuing, and much diſpleaſed, that ſuch a publicke cauſe ſhould be betrayed and ſmothered; was (by commaund) remoued thence by one of the *Lictors*. He appealed from them to the Tribunes, and being brought before them, he began in this manner: *I want not one day of ninetie three yeares old, and I do very well remember, that thoſe Fieldes for which theſe two people contend thus together, belonged neyther to the one or other, but to* Coriolanus, *for I (at that time) was a warre-fellow with him.* Coriolanus *taking theſe fields by fortune of the warre, they fell (by that meanes) to the people of Rome. In which regard (methinks) plain truth ſhould perſwade the people, not to deceiue themſelues in a caſe ſo apparant.*

His appeale and words before the Tribunes.

The grauity and authority of the man, moued not ſo much, as the vſe and commodity of the fields, and ſo highly preuailed the power of the Tribunes, that this cauſe appearing in this forme to the people; a Law was forthwith made, whereby the Fieldes were intereſſed to the people of *Rome*. This act greatly blemiſhed the Maieſty and reputation of the Romaine Common-wealth; and the *Romains* were much blamed and reproued of their neighboring people, and of the Citties confining with them. The Fathers hadde no great liking of the matter, and not long after, a caſe of high iudgement hapning vnto the *Ardeati*, againſt the *Volſcians* in their aide, beeing earneſtly deſirous alſo to cancel ſuch an infamous ſentence, they grew to this deliberation. In regarde that the Citty of *Ardea* (by ciuill warre) was reduced into the hand of a few, and conſiſted but of a few inhabitants, they muſt be written for a Colony, or ſent (for preſent helpe) againſt the *Volſcians*. This concluſion being told to the people, & pleaſing them (much better) to bee Written downe *Rutilians*, then *Romaines*: the *Ardeati* were iudged to bee the chiefe, becauſe their fields (at the firſt) had bin gotten by ſo infamous a iudgement. Then were three men elected to conduct theſe Colonies, to wit; *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Ciuilius Succulus*, and *M. Ebutius Elua*. I denie not, but that this Office or authority might conſiſt of greater perſonnes, becauſe it had ſo high and notable a beginning. It appertained to this place, to deuide the field to new Colonies, to deſigne the Citty, and appoint conuenient places for buildinges, to diſtinguiſh it alſo into wards & ſtreets, ordaining & compoſing the Common-weale, in forme of an excellent, eſpeciall, and well ordered Tabernacle.

While two ſides contend a third (beyond expectation) preuaileth.

The Romans ſeeke to wipe of their diſgrace.

The three men that wer choſen for the Colonies.

32 By continuall ciuill warres and diſſentions, the Fathers being ouercome by the people; and hauing granted them, that one of the Conſuls ſhould bee created

Of the Prætors, and their authority.

ted of the *Plebeians*, they reserued onely this open way to the Consulship, and afforded the people that they might create one only Magistrate of the Fathers, and cause him to be called an appointed *Prætor*; whereof a reason being rendered to them of the land, they termed him *Vrbanus*, of *Vrbs*, which was the Citty. Afterward, such was the Authority of this Magistrate, that in euery priuat and publick iurisdiction, hee had the power to erect new Lawes, and to take away the olde. Last of all, his prerogatiue so largely extended, that whatsoeuer the Prætor commanded, in honour of him, was called an honourable Law. All the regall Ensignes were graunted to the Prætor, and almost all the Consols adornments; but yet, no more then sixe *Lictors*, and the seat called *Curulis*, with euery other thing to them appertaining.

Power to make newe Lawes, and deface the olde.

The Regall Ensigns giuen to the Prætor.

Now, albeit the Prætors vsed but sixe Lictors, yet I finde in *Plutarch*, that *Paulus Æmilius*, Prætor, going into *Hiberia*, had twelue Lictors afforded him. The Prætors rode on White Horses, wearing likewise white Garments, and the *Roman* Footmen going by their Stirrops, were all apparrelled in white also, as *Iuvenall* affirmeth.

Plu in vit. Pau Emil.

Iuvenall.

At length, an infinite number of strangers comming to Rome from all partes; and one Prætor seeming not to be sufficient for the multitude of businesse daily insuing, another Prætor was created, who was called the *Pilgrim*, because he heard the causes of Pilgrims and Strangers. But the Monarchy greatly increasing, the nũber of them likewise so inlarged, that somtimes there were eighteene Prætors, for the dispatch of occasions. And because it was thought inconuenient that Magistrates themselues should be seene publickly in the Night time, fiue men were apointed, who dwelt on each side the Riuer of *Tiber*, to execute the Office to such Magistrates belonging. But after the surprizall of *Sardignia*, *Sicilia*, *Spaine*, and the *Narbone* Prouince, there were so manie Prætors created, as Prouinces had beene taken, to the end, that some might attend the affaires of the Citty; and others also, apply the Prouinces businesses. Within a while after, *Cornelius Sylla*, added publicke tortures for Forgers of Writinges, Parricides, and impoysoners, and added foure Prætors also. *Caius Iulius Cæsar*, appointed two *Prætors*, and two *Ædiles*, who were to haue charge for the prouision of Corne, and (of *Ceres*) they were called *Cereali*; so that then there were twelue Prætors, and six Ædiles. Afterwardes, *D. Augustus* made vp the number of sixteen Prætors; and *Claudius* sought to haue added two more; but *Tiberius* placed one, and *D. Nerua* another, to render a faithful reason of the trust committed to them concerning the Treasuries priuat & publicke. And thus the number of eighteene Prætors was completed for gouernment in the City. All these things also they obserued, when they (as Magistrates) were in *Rome*: but when they went forth on anie voyage, there remained but one only for the businesse, and he was then called the Prætect of the Citty, which Prætect they before ordained.

18. Prætors at one time.

Fiue Officers for the Night time.

Publicke torments for offenders, deuised by *Cornelius Sylla*.

How the number of 18. Prætors was perfected.

Another Prætect was afterward induced, tearmed of the Latines *Feriæ*, who was created yearely, the other Magistrats being absent, for they then being superintendents of the warres, vsed to permit others into their iurisdictions, except the Prætect of the Land, who continued in the Citty onely.

A Prætect created of the *Feriæ Latini*.

3. Thorough the disastrous Fortunes of warre, vsury being buried, as it were, and the *Roman* people quite vndon, by great summes of debts, the Princes of the people likewise many times attempting to remedy such an vnsupportable difficulty: at length, all their minds inclined to concorde, and they (who were then Consuls) concurring heerein, referred the paiment of their debtes, to publicke care.

Of Fiue men called Dispensators or Stewards.

There were therefore elected fiue men, who by their dispensing and dealing with Monies, were termed *Mensarij*, Bankers, or Mony-changers. The notable Equitie, and great diligence vsed by them, deserued worthily, that their names should be honoured in all their Annalles. The men were these, *C. Duellius*, *P. Decimus*, M. *Papyrius*, *Quintus Pompilius*, and *T. Æmilius*, who dealing in so waightie and important matters, supplied (euermore) both the one and others part, with much modesty, and little iniury. And such was their care and hourely respect, as not only they auoided offence to any person, but likewise could no way be complained on, which was wonderful in discharging such a multiplicity of debts.

Bankers and Changers of Mony & what their names were.

Their care & respect admirable.

Of the *Triumvirat*, or three men, for ordinary rule of the Common wealth.

34. *Iulius Cæsar*, being slain in the Senate house by them that accompanied *Cassius* and *Brutus*, and it appearing, that *Anthony* (by all his endeauour) sought to sway the whole State, and becom Prince of the City: proceeding on in his ambitious thirst of rule, hee trod downe *Cicero*, *Brutus*, & all the rest of that faction, that were contrary to him, & compelled them to forsake *Rome*. But *Octauianus* (who had bin set downe as heire in *Cæsars* wil) being returned from *Asia*: *Cicero*, and all other of that faction, ran to ioyne with his power. Whereon ensued, that *Anthony* being constrained to leaue *Rome*, was adiudged by the Senat as an enimy, and (for his vtter ouerthrow) *Hircius* and *Pansa* (being Consuls, were sent forth, as also *Austus* with his followers, who neere to *Modena* put him to flight. *Anthony* being thē in a very desperat condition in most humble maner made his recourse to *Lepidus*. Being then wel backt by his countenance and power, they inforced *Octauianus*, who aspired to the dignity, to make a league with them: by which combination, many murders were concluded, & multitude of great persons proscribed to death: Among whom, *Cæsar* granted *Cicero* to *M. Anthony*, by *L. Cæsar*, Vnkle to the said *M. Anthony*. These men (vnder pretext of pious Magistrats) excercised that bloudy tirany, which was called the *Triumvirat*, or office of three men, for gouerment of the commonwealth. But in short while, their intention was apparantly discouered, hauing brought al occasions (both diuine & humaine) into a hurly burly: for hauing consumed both their own & others treasures, with all their vttermost abilities; at length, *Cæsar* got the vpper hand, and being alone in authority, vpheld the *Triumvirat* for some ten yeares, as we may read in *Suetonius Tranquillus*.

M. Anthonie compelled to leaue *Rome*.

Lepidus ioyneth with *M. Anthony*.

Ciceroes life giuen to *M. Anthony*.

Octauianus Cæsar commaundeth alone.

35 Such as wer the *Tribunes* of the light horse for the King, or the Maister of the horse for the *Dictator*; euen such (about *Cæsar*) were the *Præfecti Prætorij*. They, with *Cæsar* held the second place, and (as Lieutenants) corrected publick disciplin. In such sort increased their authority (hauing at first but a simple beginning) that for a certain time, it was lawfull to appeal from the *Præfectus Prætorius*; but yet the order how the appeale ought to be done, was by censure of the Prince, in granting the appeal from so great a Magistrat. For the Prince held opinion, that such men as attained to this dignity, by their discreete and singular industry (carying due respect of his supreame power), hould giue iudgment as if it had bin pronounced by himself. This authority had another priuiledg, that such of yongest yeares, being sentenced by the *Præfect*, could haue no excuse or defence from all the other Magistrats.

Præfectus Prætorius.

Appeale from the *Præfectus Prætorius*.

The Prince gaue order for Appeales.

36 I find, that there was another kinde of Magistracy, for hearing of matters in the City of *Rome*. For the burden of war-businesses being remoud from the other Magistrats to the *Prætor* only: there were ten men created for hearing of matters, holding the places of *Prætors*, al the while that the other remained abroad, and they were called Magistrats or Iudges of contentions. It is said also, that at the same time, foure other men were elected, who had the charge (as Surueyers) of the high-waies. And three other beside, for care of gold & siluer, atending on the coinage of the Monies, and matters in the Mints.

Of som other inferiour Magistrates.

Iudges of contentions.

37 The famous *Augustus*, reputing that publick welfare and safety appertained to no one person more then to himselfe, ordained seuen troops or squadrons of men in the most needfull places of the City, to the end, that (with all expedition) they might quench fires, or any harms that by fire should happen. And it was ordered, that euery two Regions or Wards of the City, might commodiously be defended by one squadron onely; the *Tribunes* being chiefe of the troops, and yet aboue al, the *Præfect* of the Guard or Watch. And albeit (amongst the ancient *Romanes*) this charge was committed to three Officers for the night, vnto the *Ædiles*, and to the *Tribunes*: yet notwithstanding, there happning (in one day) more mishaps by Fire, then they (appointed for that purpose) could haue care of, as necessity required; *Cæsar Augustus* thoght it very expedient, that a *Præfect* of the Watch or Guarde shold be created. All occasions then concerning fires, thefts, and rapes, were dealt withall before the *Præfect*; except eyther the delinquents personnes were so stubborn, or the facts so famous, that they required reference to the Cities *Præfect*.

Of the *Præfect* of the City, & of the Guard.

Three Officers for night occurrences.

What causes were heard before the Præfect.

And becausse (many times) fires hapned by default in the Inhabitants, they vvere therefore punnished with whipping, becausse they were so negligent of their fire; or else reprooued with seuere admoniti-

Of fires happning thorowe negligence.

ons, if they escaped whipping. If any breach or decay appeared in such part of the house, where the Father of the family kept his thinges of most respect, eyther for housholde seruice, or benefit of the wars abroad: the case was discussed and sentenced before this Magistrate. For so wrote *D. Augustus*, to *Erictheus* his beloued Præfect, saying; *If Garners or Granaries be rotten or wasted, it pertaineth to thy care to see them amended.* Moreouer, it belonged to the Præfect of the watch or Guard, to haue his officers watch the greater part of the night; and beeing armed, and lighted Lanthornes caried with them; to walke all about the streets of the City, remembring the people in their houses, to bee carefull of their Candles and fires. They commanded likewise, that euery one shold haue water ready in their houses; that if any such casualty hapned, it might the quicklier be remedied.

D Augustus, to Erictheus Præfect.

Great care to preuent fires.

3 We had like to haue omitted two Officers (whose charge was to order, settle, and place the Armies) thinking their imployment not to bee of any great importance; but seeing *Liuy* hath recorded them, we may not silently slip them. In the yeare when *Appius Claudius* (who afterward was sur-named blind) was Censor, *M. Valerius*, and *Publius Decius* being Consuls, two offices then began by the peoples gift (as *T. Liuy* saith) both of them appertaining to the Commonweal. One, which (by the *Tribunes* of the Souldiors) was created in the 4. Legions; and being a little before left, fell as a benefite to the *Dictator* & Consuls. These places by the *Tribune* of the people, was giuen to *Attilius*, and *C. Martius*. The other, was an ordination of two men by the same people, to restore, order, and settle the Armies by sea, & referd to the deliberation of *M. Decius Tribune* of the people. Not long after these publick fauors, 3 men were selected forth for night occasions; to whom (as I gather by some obseruations) in the difficult times of war and ciuil dissentions, the charge of the wals was cõmitted in trust, and a Guard for ouer-seeing the soldiers. It was also referd to their fidelity, to preuent all tumults in the night; all idle walking and talking, and that the City might be in absolut quiet. Finally, the seueral duties of such a Magistrate, were granted to the *Præfect*, termed *de Concordia*. The very names of these Magistrats, did declare their offices; and *Liuy*, the Authour of these matters, speaketh of the no further, nor find I other mention made of them.

Of two men, for ordering and placing the Armies.

Two Offices giuen by the peoples full Authority.

Three Officers apointed for especiall occasions.

The Præfect of the *Concordia*.

39 It remaineth now in this last place, to speak somwhat of *Cæsars* aduocats or Atturnies, who was Iudge between *Cæsar* & the people of *Rome*, albeit custome induced, that soueraign greatnes (from whom proceeded the lawes, decrees of the whol Senat, and of the Magistrates) should not be subiected to law, whereof himself was head and president. And because it exceeded possibility to find a greater person the the Emperor, that might in his priuat cases, and other mens actions, yeild a direct proceeding, without the Prince himself, to sit as Iudge in his own proper cause: it was therefore determined, that a Magistrate should be created, who (betweene *Cæsar*, and a priuate person) might sit in iudgment, and to be called *Cæsars* Procurator or Atturny. To this Magistrate was granted license, that whatsoeuer hee dealt in of the Imperiall affaires, was as firmely ratified, as if it had bin done by *Cæsar* him self. But if the Aturny alienated any thing belonging to the Emp. as if it wer properly his own, it was not therefore to be iudged, that the Emp himself had made such an alienation; but it was firmely aliened, whe *Cæsars* consent gaue testimony therof. If he bought or sold, dealt in Donations or bargains, they were not good; because his charge was not to estrange any thing of the Emperours, but to execute *Cæsars* busines diligently. Principally, he was to be carefull, that if a seruant of *Cæsars* was ordinary heire in any Will; hee shold command his succesion in that inheritance, & boldly do it in *Cæsars* name; becaus such matters as a slaue atained to was by the means of his maister. But if he were *Cæsars* heire, and the Atturny made mixture of a richer inheritaunce then his right; he was then no heire of the Emperors. But if the goods fell to *Cæsar*, which could not easily bee found: the Atturney ought to preuent the Emp losse, by diligent inquisition of the will, and due examination of euer party. Thus haue we sufficiently discourst of *Cæsars Procurator*, and al the other *Roman* Magistrats, from the beginning, to the time of noble *Cæsar Augustus*. The name of President was general, because the *Vice-Consuls*, *Legates* of *Cæsar*, and al the *Rectors*, gouerning Prouinces (as the Senators) were called Presidents.

Of *Cæsars* Aduocates, Proctors or Atturnies.

The Prince no Iudge in his own cause

No alienations wirhout *Cæsars* consent

Concerning Heires in wils

The Emperor ought to be no looser.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Rome in her Moderne and later estate, since the Pope name to keepe his Court there, with his Cardinals, and other assistant Officers, &c.

You haue seene *Rome* in hir Infancy and first original, so farre as we could go by our best obseruations. We come now to speak of hir, in another kind of nature, since the Apostolicke See grew to be planted ther, and hir gouernment fell into the Popes preheminence. The authority of the pope, he being the chiefe, dispersed it selfe into so many members, that his Courtiers & followers grew into multiplicity of yeares, before they could well vnderstande that forme of gouernment; yet I will bestowe my pains to discouer the same fully, & as briefly as may be. First of all, there is the most holy and Apostolical Senat of Cardinals, whose head is the chiefe Priest, & therefore called *Maximus*, and the Cardinals are his members: of whom, though in our times there is no definite number; yet I find, that in elder times there were but twelue, after the example of the Apostles. These honorable Fathers vsed formerly, to come altogither (twice in the week) to visit the Pope: but in later daies, important affaires & busines being scanted, they meet once togither only; & this meeting is vulgarly termed in the Consistory, of the word *Consistere*, which is as much to say, as being togither: because on the day of their assembly, they stande firmly togither, for publick negotiations. In this Senat are appointed and ordained such as are elected to Bishoppricks, Archbyshoppricks, to *Metropolitane* and *Patriarchall* churches; when such places are vacant; the election of which men, belongeth to the Chapter, City, Prouince, king, or some other person: or otherwise they are elected by the Pope, and this his Sacred Senate, to whom (by a reserued Custome of al the Popes) this office properly is said to appertaine. Which reseruation, was woont also to extend to certaine Monasteries, which wer found to be taxed in the bookes of the Chamber, and in this sacred Senate were either to be granted, or recommended to apt & sufficient persons; and therfore those Monasteries were cald Consistoriall, because no other disposition was made of them, but by meanes of the Consistory.

The Popes authority diffused into many members.

The pope and his Cardinals.

The meeting of the Cardinals.

What is done in this Holy Senat.

A reserued custom of the Popes to certain Monasteries.

In this place, they discourse on all matters which appertained to Diuine Reuerence, Faith, Religion, and peace of the Christian flocke, also for preseruation of temporal patrimonies giuē to the church of *Rome*. In this Senate (as being the greatest in al the world) al Prouinces, all Iurisdictions, and all Kings were saide to haue their defensiue Fathers, whom they tearmed Protectors: whose charge then was, to propound the election, and other ocasions of their Prouinces in the sacred Senat. He that propoundeth the case, ought to hear (in the election) al contradictions if any hapned, and to seeke out of many, for the fittest person to bee elected, or to take order for the Church vacant, with al things necessary to the said Church, performing the same by way of testimonie. Which inquisition or search, was vulgarly called, proceeding by Processe; wherein all things were orderly set downe, and recited at large by the propounder, he hauing first made his purposed preamble to the sacred Senat. Then was he to vnderstand the Senats answer, which (acording to order) was subscribed, and sealed, and vnder-written, the Apostolicall answere. This answere, by such as gaue attendance for it, was presented to the Vice-chancellor, who framed another Schedule in his name; whereby he faithfully signified to the Officials in all places, that had charge of expedition; what belonged to them to see immediately performed. The relation thus obtained, the Suppliants required and procured to haue a Breeffe, conformable to the Relation; to wit, That it might first be done among the Abbreuiators, next indited in true forme among the Clearkes; and being written, to passe through all the other Offices; then to the Chancery; next, vnto the Apostolicall Chamber, and (sometimes) to be extraordinarily fauoured by the Secretary; of all which Offices we will speake in their due places. Being dispatcht, it hadde the Seale of Lead; and this last expedition, was to be done by the Officials.

Of the sacred Senate in the Consistorie, said to be the greatest in all the world.

Proceeding by way of processe.

The Apostolicall Answere.

A Breeffe answerable to the relation passing thorow many offices.

2 The times haue bin, that most places in the world, made humble intercession

Of the chiefe Penetentiary.

to the Pope, as being perſwaded, that he had the ſelfeſame bleſſings & graces conferred on him, as our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt beſtowed on S. *Peter*, to wit; to looſe & bind in earth, whatſoeuer ſeemed to his beſt liking. This prerogatiue of looſing and vnbinding, reſerued by the Pope to himſelfe, was granted by him to one of the Cardinals, whom we vſe to cal the chiefe Penetentiary; & he, forſomuch heereof as appertained to him, conſonant with the Law Diuine, and his owne ſaluation, did exerciſe this authority (committed to him by the Pope) by diuers Vicars and Subſtitutes; commonly called Penetentiaries, who were diuided into all the chiefeſt Churches in *Rome*; as S. *Peters* in *Vaticanus*, S. *Iohn Lateranus*, S. *Maria Maiore*, &c. But the diſpenſation to bee made in obſeruation of human lawes, was not granted, except vpon ſome cauſe, and by himſelfe, and by generall commiſſion of the Pope. To heare firſt the ſuppliants in ſuch caſes; and after their demand wer known, to ſee if there were cauſe, whereby the deſirer deſerued to be herd, & whither the caſe thus required, were wont to be granted to the Pope, or no. Then hee writes it vnder Apoſtolicall power, and of his Office, and not by the Popes mouth; but by the generall commiſſion affirmed in his letter, and his Commiſsion (authorized to write ſo) from the Popes mouth; and credit heerein is giuen to his aſſertion, as a matter belonging to his office. In ſupplications directed to the Pope, the reſcription was in one of theſe kinds; *Fiat in forma*, *Fiat de ſpeciali*, *Fiat de expreſſo*; by which variety of anſwer back, is declared to the Maiſter of the Taxations, the importancy of his requeſt. And he, according as the Penetentiary hath varried in his forme, ſo doth he direct the other Officers, in taxation of paiment. But now adayes, the multitude of Lawes haue ſo increaſed, both of the Popes, the Counſels, and of Monaſteries, that men (being formerly bound to a certaine rate) do deſire againe their auncient liberty, and are the more humble ſeruants to the Penetentiary. But he, after he hath ſigned the ſuppliants requeſt vnder his hande, the Bull is likewiſe diſpatched vnder his name and ſeale. And becauſe ſomtimes it is not preciſely written yet cleare enough, what aſſertion of the ſupplicant is referred to his Iudge: the cauſe being ſo knowne, the act is abſolued, and he reſtored to his Office againe.

This ſacred Office of the Penetentiarie, hath (for the more commodious eaſe of ſuch as come for expedition) 24. Defenders of the ſuppliants cauſes, who are termed Procurators of the holy Penetentiary. Theſe men, as Aduocates, do declare the extendure of the parties requeſt, and plead the caſe (as it were) to the Penetentiary; from whom they procure to obtain the matter demanded, and to make expedition of the Bull. They vſed alſo, to ſet downe the whole proceedings in Iuſtice, with all the Allegations, *Pro & Con*, on either ſide, in true and faithfull manner. To this Office, belonged diſpenſations for marriages, in degrees prohibited by humain Lawes, Legittimation of Children, Diſpenſation for defect in members of ſuch as had taken orders, or were beneficed. Moreouer, for incompatibilitie of many Benefices, Abſolution for Homicides *in foro de conſcientia*, and for clarkes in both kinds, with retention of Benefices, or diſpenſation to ſome other benefice. The like for Simony, or for banniſhment, for an oath taken voluntarily, for a falſe Oath, for communication of Vowes, and Licence for obſeruation of any humain Law, eſpecially to Regulars, of what Chapter ſoeuer they were; with Indulgences for place and perſon. Beſide infinite Commiſsions, in *forma Iuris*, in declaring a *Nullitie* or *Valliditie* of Matrimony, which they termd *Declaratory*. And in many other matters, much better knowne to them that are practiſed in ſuch iudgments, or in the eccleſiaſtical courts, where they are frequently entercourſed.

3 Continually, ſuit is made for matters ſigned by the Pope, in caſes that come of his owne voluntary, or out of his liberality; as conceſsion of Benefices, and other gracious fauours, which are likewiſe generaly committed to the chiefe Penetentiary. Beſide, there are ſome things concerning Iuſtice, about matters Eccleſiaſticall, in moſt parts of the world, and alſo of the prophaned temporall patrimonies of the *Roman* Church, deuolued thereto by accounts of eccleſiaſticall perſons, or by the remiſsion of princes, or by conſent of other perſons, and giuen to the Court of *Rome*. The Pope for all theſe occurrences, & for the ſpeedier diſpatch of ſuters; apointed two audiences, in which Courts both

The power of binding & looſing.

The churches of the Penetentiaries.

Diſpenſation for keeping of humain Lawes

Of Supplications directed to the Pope, and of their anſwers.

New taxations far differing from the old.

24. Procurators attending on the Penitentiarie, and what was their Office.

Of matters belonging to the Penetentiary Office.

The Warehouſe of Romain commodities.

Of both the Seales or Signature.

Two Courtes of Audience appointed by the people.

both those matters appertaining to grace, are made suit for; and those that do more properly depend on Iustice; for either of which, there is a Court of Audience, and they are termed by seuerall names, to wit; *The Signature of Grace or fauour*, and *The Signature of Iustice*. To each of these Courts of Audience are certaine Lawyers appointed; and to the Signature of grace, do belong all those Cardinals that are Lawiers: for very rarely or sildom are any Prelates thereto appointed, if they be not Lawiers, and they are commonly called *Referendaries*, ordained both for graee and Iustice, by both the Signatures.

The two Signatures.

Their charge and imployment is answerable to their Offices, to regard what is required by suppliants, as also, to ouersee whither the requests made, doe tend to such matters, as vsually were and are to be graunted, which accordingly they insert in the forhead of the supplication, & then signify the same to the Pope: or to the Cardinall appointed to signe it, that the demand may be lawfully granted. But if the suppliant desire any thing, that may be preiudiciall to some other bodye; it is not granted, vntill the other party be first called. If then the case appeare to be important, rarely (in former times) seene to be granted; or else so doubtful, as the Referendary scarcely knowes what to resolue therein: it is then referred to the Court of audience, among other matters of like nature, where the suppliant is sure not to obtaine it, vntill it be agreed on by al belonging to that Signature. Hereupon, and for ease in such serious affaires, the Pope appointed a Cardinal, to attend on both the one & the other Signature, who ordinarily graunteth matters, if they bee light; and great matters also, if they were wont to be granted. The vnder scribing *De Iure*, was vsed by the Pope, but he referred this Office to a Cardinall his Substitute; so that the Pope (very sildome or neuer) vnder-writeth *De Iure*.

The Office of the Referendaries.

For important and doubtfull cases.

A Cardinall attending on either of the Signatures.

The Referendaries attending on the Signature of grace, doe refuse all supplications, containing matter appertaining to Iustice, because it hath much displeased the Pope, that any belonging to the one Signature, should meddle in the others Office, but euery man to respect his owne charge. One day in the Weeke, is appointed for the Signature, wheron the Referendaries do meet togither, & ioyntly consult; whither any matters that haue passed in the Courts of Audience, do require them to bee there present, or not. And hereupon, the (day before that appointed for the Signature) the suters vse to come with their Aduocates, to the Referendaries for either occasions; because sildome (or neuer) any contradiction is disputed on the day, in any cause, be it neuer so vrgent. Vpon the day of hearing, it is the Office of the Referendary, briefely to declare (in the Court) the Suppliants request, which passing the iudgement of the Fathers: he who sitteth as President, graunteth or denieth the suite, according as most or fewest voices do yeilde liking therof. And the Referendaries do obserue it as a Law, that if a request be once denied; they neuer after vrge it any more.

No medling in one and others Office.

One day in the weeke for the Signature

The Day appointed for Audience.

If the Suppliant find himself to be contradicted in his suite, hee cites him that is hinderer, to com before the Referendary appointed for propounding the case, in this maner; *Coram Reuerendo, A. let N. be cited to render reason, why the Supplication or Commission ought not to be signed.* These citations are made answerable to the quality of the request, for appearance before the *Most Holy*, or *Most Reuerend*, because the Signature of grace requireth the presence of his *Holinesse*; and that of Iustice beseemeth a *Reuerend Presence*; where it is lawfull for euery Referendary, to propound what time is expedient for grant, each mans eldership and dignity beeing duely considered. But at the Signature of grace, if it be broght before the Popes presence; two onely haue their authority to propound, as their antiquity appeareth by the Court Roll. And yet in the time of *Paul* the third, very sildom the second man had leaue to speak, so that then (by little and little) matters grewe restrained to one propounder only, especially as the busines increased.

In contradicon of Suites, what Citations are to bee vsed.

Obseruation concerning the Signature of Grace.

The Pope euermore subscribeth in this maner: PLACET, A. when it is a matter concerning Iustice: but if it appertaine to Grace, the Worde *placet* is chaunged, and then hee Writeth; FIAT VT PETITVR A. and this Letter A. signifieth the Popes true Name, as *Alexander*. But if his name be otherwise; then, as *Iulius* the third, he writes I. that is, *Ioannes Maria*; & so from time to time. If at any time the Pope subscribe, not by any suite or entreaty, but as

The maner of the Popes subscribing to petitions, either on suit made, or of himselfe

of himself: then he writes not *Vt Petitur*, but makes this addition, MOTV PROPRIO. But the Cardinal attendant on the Signature of grace, writeth alwaies in one and the same forme, to wit; CONCESSVM IN PRÆSENTIA, D.N. PAPÆ: and then he vnder-writes his own name, PP. CARDINALIS PARISIVS, which hee writeth not in the Popes presence; but this fauour is only granted him to doe it, by vertue of the generall commission he hath. The same words also are vsed by the Prelate of the Signature of Grace, belonging to the said Cardinal, and is his Vicar; but then he addeth (beside the Cardinals name) his own, in this maner: C. EPISCOPVS CESENNAS.

The Cardinal for the Signature of Grace

The Prelat of the Signature

The maner of writing in cases of Iudice.

Now, as concerning the forme of subscribing in cases of Iustice, when it is written vnto the Iudges of the Romaine Court, he settes downe, PLACET. D. N. PAPÆ, and then addeth his owne Name. B. CARDIN. IVDICIONVS. If he Write to the Iudges of the Prouinces, then he saith, CONCESSVM IN PRESENTIA D. N. PAPÆ, B. CARDIN. IVDICC. And sometimes he Writes, *Placet prout de Iure. Placet arbitrio Iudicis. Concessum arbitrio, &c.* Now, to know what is Written concerning Iustice, and to bee sent vnto the Iudges in the Prouinces; they come no otherwise to the Regents hand, but (without any other forme of Signature) are deliuered to the Datary, as likewise those of Grace are, writing onely in them the day of the date. Afterwardes, they are set downe in the Register, where (word by word) they are recorded in publique Bookes, and being first heard, they are then giuen to the Suppliants, or to their Sollicitors, in forme of a Letter for expedition. For speedier dispatch in these affaires, when the case belongeth to Iustice, there are three seuerall waies or meanes, to wit; by the Chancery; by the office of contradiction, vnder the Leaden Bull, or by the Secretary, in forme of a Brieffe, *Sub Annulo Piscatoris*, as cõming from concession, to the rescription. But if the matter be of grace and fauour; it is expedited by the same Chauncery, or by the Chamber, and sometimes by the Secretary extraordinarily.

To the Iudges of the prouinces.

Three wayes for dispatch of businesse belonging to iustice.

4 The Office of the Chancery, hath a Cardinall thereto appointed, who is commonly called the Vice-chancellour, and his degree (by solemne iudgement of all other Officers) is the very chiefest, and before all other belonging to the Court of *Rome*, both for dignity, authoritie, and benefit. This man, in regard of his proper Office, is President and present at the expedition of all Letters (concerning Ecclesiasticall occasions) that passe through the world, and ordereth the expediters, who are a great number of them, as Abbreuiators *de parco maiori* (whose Office is, to endite Letters at request of Suppliants; which enditing is tearmed a rough draught, or coppy of the request) Clarks, Writers, and Abbreuiators also *De parco minori*, whom the *Italians* doo call *Giannizzeri*, Casters of Leaden Bulles, and Registers or Keepers of Records. Al these do attend on the expedition of Letters, in some one or other Negotiation. Next these, there are other Officers, who must be sought after in the time of expediting, for agreement of paiments of Annates, first fruits, and such like, attending on no other charge, but receipt of the said Annats, fruits, and like paiments, they being Clarkes in the *Chancery*, Groomes of the chamber, and Bankers of Monies.

Of the Chancery and vice-Chancellor.

Abbreuiators *de Parco maiori*

Abbreuiators *de parco minori*

The order of expedition is in this maner. After that the Suppliant hath gotten his Supplication to bee signed and Registred, he or his Sollicitor for him, dooth procure amongst the Abbreuiators, *de Parco Maiori*, that there may bee a rough Draught or coppie made of his request; which being in due forme enlighted, it is next drawne amongst the Clearkes in forme of a Letter, and Written in the Chancery among the bench of writers. Then it is taxed or valewed by him that is called the Rescribendarie; and vvhen he hath taxed it, another Officer, termed the *Contatore*, or keeper of the Accounts, sets his hand therto, when paiment of the taxations is made to the Clearkes. Afterward, another draght of the same is made among the Abbreuiators *De Parco maiori*, where another taxation is paide to the Sollicitor, as the sum of fiue * *Iulioes*, and there one of them likewise subscribeth his name. The Abbreuiators *de Parco Maiori*, hauing receiued their fees, they then send backe the Bull to the Abbreuiators, *de Parco Maiori*, at vvhose Bench or seat two Officers (thereto deputed) doe subscribe their Names, vnder the Name of the Abbreuiatour *De Parco Minori*.

The order of expedition, in the Courts of *Rome*.

*About the value of halfe a Crowne.

From

The order of taxations and paiments of Monies in seuerall offices.

From hence, the Letter is carried to the Sollicitors Office, appointed for those Letters, called *Giannizzeri*, where payment is made, according to a taxation of so much in the hundred: for, if the taxation be of thirty Ducats, then two Ducats and two Carlines are deducted for the Chauncery; but if the taxe be vnder thirty, then one Ducat is paid, and two Carlines. From this place, it is afterward carried to another Seat of the *Abbreuiators de parco minori*, where sit the viewers, or ouer-seers, and there the Sollicitor paies a Carline to one of the *Abbreuiators*, who sets his hand to the Letter, a little beneath the subscription of the Clearke Apostolicall. But if the matter therein contained, be such as requireth the Annates paiment; then pay is also made to al the Officers in the Chancery ratably: as to the *Giannizzeri*, or Apostolique Sollicitours, to the Clearkes of the Exchequer, to them of the Chamber, the Groomes and Bankers. The foresaid payments beeing made, the Bull is brought backe with the supplication therein enclosed, to the *Abbreuiator de parco maiori*, that drew the rough draught. He peruseth the Bull, to see if it concord with the Supplication, and if he finde them correspondent; his iudgement passeth so, & then he writes down his name, in signe of approbation, which he testifieth, by casting the Bull, with the Supplication enclosed, from his Seat to the ground, and then the Keeper of the Chancerie, or his seruant for him, taketh it vp from the ground, and looketh aduisedly; whether it be subscribed by all the Officers, according as the cause requireth, and if the date doe agree with the supplications grant of date; which doone, he sends it to the Regent of the Chancery. His authority is, to see by whom it hath been iudged and allowed, which if hee finde conformable to his liking, he sends it to one of the Abbreuiators, to the end it may once more bee ouerviewed; and then deuiding the supplication from the Bull, hee layes it aside where it ought to be kept. If the Bull doe containe grace and fauour, then is it againe subscribed by his hand, and on the right side hee maketh a great text Letter A. and on the left, an I. drawne very large and long. Afterward, it is

The manner of the Bulls approbation by the Abbreuiatour *De parco maiori*.

circumscribed round about with Text Lines, by the Clearkes and Abbreuiators appointed for such Bulles. This being done, it is laid on a certaine Desk, and all the Officers of the Chancerie being finished, the Officer of Lead commeth, and receiueth it from the Regents hand, he carrieth it to his leaden office, where hee fastens a Bull of Lead to it, with a silken little cord. Then the Keeper of the Chancery, perceiuing it to be returned to the Regent; he requireth it at his hand, that it may bee deliuered to the Suppliant; he hauing first paide a *Iulio* to each Man: then passing on by the *Giannizzeri*, there it receiueth finall expedition.

The officer of the Leaden Buls.

5 This Audience became so tearmed, on this occasion. There was a domesticke Audience of the Pope, where he himselfe both heard and discoursed on many matters: Whereupon, for speedier expedition, sixe Domesticke Prelates were made choise of, who were then called Clearks of the Chamber, as men elected to be of the Popes Chamber; because *Cheros* (in Greeke) is as much to say, as elected by lot, by which example they were tearmed Clearkes, they being all elected for diuine seruice. These Men were Domesticall Councellours to the Pope, with whom the Pope vsed to discourse on all thinges that belonged to him, and deuided from the sacred Senate; as gouerning of the Cittie, the whole Temporall Estate, and the accounts of the Exchequer. Heere the Pope elected Magistrates, and there (to this day) an oath is receiued by them of the Chamber, for faithfull behauiour in their Offices. Heere, the contracts and bargaines are handled, of such matters (on the Popes behalfe) as concerne publique dealing by his disposition. Heere, expedition is vsed in Letters of Benifices, euen as well as in the Chancery; when Suppliants make choise of this way, for quicker speede, or in regard of the businesse; or because such matter belongeth not to the Chancery; but requireth the expresse commaund of the Pope. Heere, Malefactors are sentenced for punnishment, be they Ecclesiastical or Temporall, according to the persons qualitie, or manner of the offence. Heere, the causes are heard, concerning Toules and

Of the Audience in the Apostolicall Chamber.

Domesticke Councellours to the Pope.

Matters handled and dispatched in the Apostolicall Chamber, according to their quality and nature.

and Taxes, and such like publike occasions appertaining to the Church, in all places of the World, or to the Temporall Estate of the Church, be it between priuate persons and a Generality, or priuate men and the Exchequer. Heere finally, concurrence is made, by way of appellation, or otherwise, for all such as are molested, in behalfe of the vniuersall Temporall State of the Church; as by a supreame and proper Audience of the Pope. But *Romaine* businesses ouer-abounding, both in Negotiations and other causes: the Pope (easing himselfe by little and litle from this burden) commeth now very sildome into this Audience; except it bee on important affaires, concerning eyther the Treasury, or slow expedition of his Buls. He vseth likewise (now a-daies) separatelie to expedite some of the fore-named matters by himselfe, without the chamber Audience; as election of Magistrates, and other causes most importing, which he thinkes fit to dispatch alone: in execution whereof, he calleth to him such as are his Familiars, who also are tearmed Houshold Secretaries.

The ouer-abounding of Romaine businesses.

Matters dispatched by the Pope himselfe.

6 The Chamberlaine vseth, on behalfe of all the rest, and sometimes euen of himselfe, to write *De Iure* to the Iudges, as of all profane matters appertaining to Magistrates, of the Temporall Estate of the holy *Romaine* Church. And abroad also, for paiment of renths, of Fruits, of Benefices, of spoiles, of dead Clearkes, and of other causes belonging to the Apostolique Chamber. He writeth alwaies, as by Commission, from the Popes owne mouth, and is credited, as occasions really appertaining to his Office; the forme of his writing beeing tearmed, Letters from the Chamber. The expedition of these Letters are in two kindes; the one, close signed and sealed; the other open, and deliuered vnder the Chamberlaines Seale.

Of the Chamberlaine, and the seauen Clearkes.

Letters from the Cnamber.

7 Next to the Chamberlaine, the Treasurer is the cheefest, in regard of his office: and he is called Treasurer, because hee is put in trust with all the Monies, that are brought into the Apostolike Chamber, where his charge is to receiue it, keepe it, and lay out for expences, as occasion requireth. For some certaine yeares, not long since, they vsed to bring the Money to some worthy Marchant, who (by Commission from the Treasurer) receiued it, and paide it forth again as his Cashiere, being tearmed the *Depositarie*. Whereby the Treasurer hauing the lesse encombrance, vsed to passe diuers things vnder his hand, which (in their owne nature) appertained to other Officers. Especially in those occasions, that (else) were dealt withall by the Commissarie; as payments, bargaines, of buying and selling, Fruits and Rentes, and demises graunted from the Chamber; yea, almost in all other matters, only through weakenesse and simplicity in some, that scarcely knew how to manage their offices.

Of the Treasurer, and his Office.

The Treasurers Cashiere called the *Depositarie*.

8 Next to the Auditour of the Chamber, who is appointed for spirituall causes; the Gouernor hath his place, and he pnunisheth Offendours with the temporall Sword: for, being the main power of the secular Arme, he decideth causes of strifes, compacts, assurances, breach of peace, quarrels of vassals against their Lordes, although they extend forty miles about *Rome*. He heareth and defineth causes of Hire or wages, without any iudgement Seat, summarily, without Writing, according to the forme of the Romaine Statutes, and common reason; when there is no particular Statute to the contrary. In all the recited occasions, he euermore preceedeth the Senatour, because the first recourse is made to him: but if all the parties be present at an instant, then the case is referred to the Senatour. And yet the Gouernour cannot excommunicate, or threaten any Ecclesiasticall censure; because it belongeth to the peculiar charge of the Auditour of the Chamber. Finally, this man (as Vice-Chamberlaine) is appointed to all the Law-businesses, and offices in the cittie, & by reason of his precedency, attedeth for the peace of the Cittie, and Court of *Rome*, being assisted by all other Officers of the Citty, and of the Court, in matters appertaining to the peace and quiet both of Court and Citty; which is much furthered by his help and fauor. But if you read the Chapter of *Sixtus Quartus*, and the Bull of *Iulius Secundus*; there you shall more amply bee satisfied in the Gouernours authority.

Of the Gouernour, and his office in temporal matters

The Gouernor not allowed to excommunicate.

Vice-Chamberlaine.

Peace of the Citty and Court of Rome.

9 After

The Presidēt of the Apostolique Chamber.

9 After the Gouernour, followeth another Officer, whom we call Presidēt of the Apostolicall Chamber; whose charge is, to attend the affaires of the Treasury, and receiue the accountes of euery person, that is admitted entrance into the Apolique Chamber, eyther from the Citty, or the Prouinces. And there they sit as *Censors*, and confer in the Chamber Audience.

The aduocate for the poore, and priuate persons.

10 Becausē (in former times) some matters happened, betweene the Exchequer and priuate persons, in the Chamber Audience: it was concluded, that priuate persons should haue an Aduocate in this Audience, at publique charge, there to defend priuate causes, but especially the poore, in this Audience, against the Aduocates belonging to the Exchequer, or the Atturney generall.

The Exchequer Aduocate.

11 Then followeth another Aduocate, who maintaineth the Exchequer causes, not onely in this Audience; but likewise abroad, among the Iudges of the *Romaine* Courts; where he answereth by an Oath, for the Exchequer affaires, and he is one of the Conciſtorial Order.

The Atturney of the Exchequer.

12 Next to this Aduocate, the Procuratour or Atturney of the Exchequer hath his place in this Audience: and he discourseth, oppugneth and defendeth the Exchequer businesses, in this chamber of Audience, and among the other Iudges of the *Romaine* Courts. Exchequer causes are such, as concerne liberty, or publike Monies. This Office is very conuenable, to bridle euill Customes, and to preserue peace and quietnesse in any Christian Commonweale. In the Court of Rome it is of no meane power and authority, importing also very much, that both Princes and priuate persons should respect it, and to aduance a man of good learning and practise thereto. This Man sits as an assistant for the Exchequer, in the Chamber Audience, among the Fathers and other Iudges. Out of this Audience, he is acquainted with secret causes, hearing and ordering them after his owne will; giuing his voyce in all thinges, or councell at least, although he be no Iudge himselfe. He is allowed also to come into the publique Conciſtorie, and by his publique Office, may require and plead, as well as any of the Protonotaries, to haue a publique Instrument made by any of them, in perpetuall memory of thinges publiquelie done, and to continue in the Commonwealth for publike Testimony thereof: as, of obedience yeelded to the Pope by any Prince, or in matters doone of the like Nature.

Of the Commissary of the Apostolicall Chamber.

13 Next to the Exchequer Atturney, sitteth the Commissary of the Apostolique Chamber, who handleth, dealeth, and executeth the Negotiations of the Chamber, that tend not to cases of Iudgement. He is appointed for Exactions, Toules, looking to the Mint and Corne, beside other businesse belonging to the Chamber, and this charge (of his owne Nature) was wont to be no way vulgar. Yet in our times, it hath been much debased: becausē the Gouernour, the Treasurer, the Presidēt, and the Exchequer Atturny, haue vsed the same authority belonging to the Commissary.

The Clearke of the Colledge of Cardinals, resident in the Apostolike Chamber.

14 Last of all the rest, a place is allowed in the Apostolicall Chamber, for him that defendeth the arguing, and entrances assigned to the Cardinals, and for what matter soeuer is to be discoursed on there, appertaining to the Cardinals: And he is called Clearke of the Cardinals Colledge, resident alwaies in the Apostolique Chamber.

Of the same Chamber audience, and of the Iudges of either banke.

15 Seeing we haue spoken sufficiently of the Members of this Chamber; let vs not omit to say somewhat concerning the maine Body. This Audience was wont to meete together three times each week, and in the same place, called the Apostolique chamber; where they discoursed on publique affaires, as already we haue declared, and heard what causes came before them there; as also committed abroad, and partly referred to other Ministers, as we haue else-where more at large dilated; to wit, vnfit expedition of Bulles by the Chamber; or controuersies among publique Magistrates, or Toules, and other publique entrances, for matters Eccleſiasticall in all partes of the World, and Temporall businesse also, concerning the Temporall estate of the Church, among the Offices in the Romaine Court, to whom assignement was made by the greater part, or among

The conueniency of this Office.

Of the publike Conciſtory.

mong the Toule-gatherers, Receiuers, Collectours; or concerning them with persons priuate or vniuersall; or betweene those priuate vniuersalities; or finally, about any businesse of the forenamed Treasury. Beside these matters, heere were determined all causes of Merchandizes, which were brought from Sea by the Riuer of *Tiber* to *Rome*, or from the Mountaines, being termed *Water-side occasions*. For this businesse, two Iudges, Vicares, were appointed, attending at the Water side continually; one of them, being President for Sea-Merchandizes, comming farre off on the Riuer, and from beneath the City. He alwaies is called Chamberlaine of the Bancke, and this Office euer belongeth to a Cittizen borne of *Rome*: whose election and gouernment (euen of all the rest of the Audience abroad) was aunciently committed to the Romaine people, whom the frequent vse of Merchandize most imported. The other was appointed for Merchandizes which were landed on the Water side, and comming from those parts beyond the Mountaines; and he, as by a different name (from the other) was called the Banker.

Merchandizes being brought to *Rome* by the Riuer of *Tibor*

Two Vicare Iudges for the Water side.

Now, if any Offender (in these matters (would appeale to the Chamber, or be heard by these men, for his most commodious and speediest expedition: he commiteth his cause to one of the Fathers aside by himselfe, and heereupon grew their seuerall Names, of President and Banker. This charge hath bin sometimes giuen (euen for euer, as it were) to one Man alone, he being the ancienteſt Deane: but now a-daies it commeth to men by Order of Courtrole, and all the actions done by them, are written in the publike Bookes, called Apostolicall. Which Bookes are kept in a publique place, and in the Chancery, whereto the Notaries may goe at their owne pleasure. And they are keepers of that place, and there they Register the Apostolike Letters, which are expediated from the Chamber, by the other Bookes of the Chancery, and were for this intent purposely ordained.

The appeale of offendours, concerning Marchandizes.

Apostolicke Bookes.

16 The number of Iudges in the Romaine Court, being very great, and many Offendours in the Prisons, who were to be heard each man by himselfe: it often hapned, that by want of Iudges, who were otherwise imployed, and (many times) very seriously; that matters were longer delayed, then the quality of the cause required, and to great annoyance of the Prisons. Heereupon they tooke another course, that the Fathers, as supreame Iudges, and Vicegerents to their Prince, piously vsed to visite the Prisons sundry times in the yeare; to wit, euery month each Prison. And yet, not all they that had place in the Audience Chamber, did meete together for this visitation: but hee that was Vice-gerent to the Chamberlaine, and (well-neere euer) one of the seauen Fathers, Clearkes, and with them, all the other Ministers of the Chamber formerly named, except the Treasurer and the President. All these, on the day appointed, went to sit in a publike place of the Citty (for some space of time) neere to the Prison; where calling the Prisoners before them by forme of order, they might be heard, if themselues were so pleased. The Fathers hearing the guilty, and vnderstanding the merit of their causes, by graue discretion of Iudges, invred to such matters: by power of their office, according to the condition of the cause, the time endured of imprisonment, and nature of the offence; doe eyther determine on deliuerance, or louger debarment of liberty; or otherwise on expedition, eyther for death, or other kind of punishment, which (by meanes of the Fathers) is tempered with pitty and mittigation, in this manner. If any man, for a case of ciuili debt, shall be long time detayned in Prison, and hath had testimonie (in the Audience) of his pouerty: the Fathers vse to speake for his release, comforting the Creditor (according to his faculti) that the poore man may haue some further dilation, to make payment after such a rate, & with some security; sometimes vnder punishment in the Gallies, and losse of goods, if no security can be giuen.

The Chambers view or surnay of the Prisons.

Visitations of the Prisons.

Seauen Fathers Clearks

The manner of visiting the Prisons, and hearing the causes of offendours.

For matters of debt, betweene man and men.

Sometimes, when the parties pouerty is plainely apparant, and he (dispayring of all meanes of payment) will rather voluntarily yeelde his goods: the Fathers do (of themselues) admit the debter to the benefit of simple cession of his goods,

In cases of plaine and apparant pouerty.

goods, and Faith beeing made, for demonstration of the goods; the partie is foorth-with deliuered. From hence ensues it, that Creditors, at the instance of any imprisoned Debter; is vigilant, and euermore present at these visitations, and labour (by all their vtmost endeuour) for the poor mans deliuerance. This Office of the Fathers is very pious and pittifull, and with them are ioined some others (at liberty out of the Audience Chamber) by the Popes will and appointment; especially the Vicare in the Cittie, and in the Popes Dioceſſe.

Marshall Iudges of the Citty, at *Corte Sauella*, and the Iudge of the *Soldano* of *Rome*, at this day called *Torre de Nona*

17 With the two Keepers of the Prisons; to wit, of *Torre de Nona*, and *Corte Seuella*, certaine inferiour Iudges, called *Pedanij*, haue their abiding; who haue their names of the places, because one is called Iudge of *Torre de Nona*; and the other, of *Corte Sauella*. The appellation of these Iudges, was wont to come from the Gouernours Court, concerning that of *Torre de Nona*, and that of *Corte Sauella*, from the Auditour of the Chamber. These Men, as ordinary Iudges, by this Appellation and their owne faculty, do so heare and descide matters done, as the Gouernor may also intermit them in Appellation of the Iudge-Marshall: but the other, in regard it belongeth to the Auditour, is one of those Iudges called *Curules*, inferior to a Superior, because this Iudge of the *Curules*, is a Iudge ordained of an inferiour degree, who makes his abyding at *Corte Sauella*, and attendeth on all them that follow the *Romain* Court; but not to excepted persons, or them that are of more humble condition, who haue also an ordinary Iudge for them. The Whoores and common Strumpets of the Stewes, doe yearelie pay to this Man a certaine Rent, which they tearme a tribute, and it hath had so long a continuance to this day, as no other reason appearing to the contrarie; it is gathered as by prescription, euen of them that are most vnwilling, and they are compelled to pay it.

Iudges Curules, called also *Pedary*.

A Tribute paide by the Whoores.

18 Beside the ordinary Court, there is in *Rome* another Generation of Romaine Cittizens, to whom the Pope hath giuen a *Prætor*, and them wee call Senators. These men commonly dwell in *Campidoglio*, and (by ordinary authority) heare the causes of *Romaine* Cittizens. They haue three Vicares substitutes, two whereof, beeing Presidents in priuate Iudgements, are called *Collaterali*. These men are different in degree; because one is called the first; another, the second; and the third is called Iudge of cuill actions. If a Man do appeale from any one of these, there is a Iudge beside in *Campidoglio*, who is ordinarily for all Appellations, whose sentence, if it bee conformable to the first Iudge; the party cannot by Lawe, (belonging to the Burgers of the Citty, which forbiddeth it) vrge any other appeale. There are also certain Tribunals, where all Arts or Trades (which are noted downe in little Tables, hanging in diuers Porches) are to be righted. Vnder all the Mysteries are to be read, and election made of Maister work-men, who render account (as Ouer seers) for others of the same Society: and yet the party offended, may appeale from their sentence, to certaine men cald *Conseruatores* of the citty; that haue their abiding also in *Campidoglio*. This iurisdiction of *Campidoglio*, was confirmed by Pope *Iulius* the second; *Leo* the tenth, and last of all, by *Paule* the third.

Senators of the Citue.

Three Vicars Substitutes.

Diuers Tribunals for trades and occupations.

19 There is yet a third kind of persons, who are Priests, to whom the *Pope* (as a matter proper and appertaining to himselfe) hath graunted a Vicare. This Man (as well in *Rome*, as in the whole Dioceſſe) hath the same authority in all things, as the Pope hath: for all Priestes are subiected to his iurisdiction, and he heareth Clearkes causes, in matters belonging to the Church, and the Ecclesiasticall Courtes. Hee imposeth also the forme of pennance to Penitentes, conferreth the Sacraments of the Church, and (by law of the Dioceſſe) calleth Congregations, visiteth Churchess and regulare Monasteries, where there is no exemption by especiall reason. Beside this, he hath some charge of his Ordinary, though it cõmeth not by his general deputation: as to enquire, correct, punish, remoue, and to giue Benefices. Hereuppon, Popes vsed to graunt the fore-laide matters, onely by his permission, concerning Benefices that were abroad. And by vigour of this permission, the Vicares iurisdiction extended to all Lay-

The Vicare of Rome, and his authoritie equall with the Popes.

The Vicares power ouer

Lay-men and strangers, and ouer the *Iewes* in Rome.

Lay-people and Strangers, that by reason of some confraternity, or dwelling, or seruice in Hospitals, or in Monasteries, or in other holy places; seemed to follow Religion. Likewise, ouer all *Iewes* in the Citty, Widdowes, Orphanes, and other miserable Christian people, accounting them within the bosome of the Church: and among all these persons (by ordinary authoritie) he dealeth in causes, as ordinarie Ecclesiasticall Iudge of the Citty, and of the Diocesse, for what summes soeuer.

The Vicares authority out of Rome, in diuers occasions.

Abroad also, beside the fore-named power, his authority extendeth (by the same dispensation) to causes, wherein no speech is made of propriety, but of Rents; and pensions out of those rents; remission of paiments; and in cases concerning Villages, Hamlets, Fieldes, Houses, Vineyards, and all kinds of wages. But in other mattets, where question is made of proprietie of thinges; he can proceede no further, but to sixty Ducates of Gold of the chamber. Now concerning the fore-named causes, his authority stretcheth forty Miles out of Rome, and in those occasions hee dealeth of his owne ordinary power, and within the summe of sixty Ducates limitted. The Pope hath likewise giuen him all those Pontificall priuiledges, which euery Ordinary exerciseth in his Diocesse, which come not in generall within his Vicares deputation, & which cannot bee committed to their Vicare without dispensation, and Licence of Faith: As to consecrate prophane places; reconcile vnhallowed matters; promote to sacred Orders; elect any Bishop in times prohibited; and to punish the delict of any Body (in respect of the Church) out of Cleargy; as blasphemy, vsury, periury, incest, and such like. When the Visitours doe goe to the Prisons, the Vicare is one with thē. If there bee question of any offence, wherein corporall punishment is requiquired: he alone (as the Eccleſiasticall Iudge) sendeth the guilty person to the Gouernour, or to the secular Iudge. For all which matters, hee hath foure Notaries, or publike Scriueners appointed to attend him, and two Vicares substitutes. One of them heareth priuate and ciuill causes; the other, publike and criminall: who, vnder the value of sixty Ducates, make a quicke dispatch by demaund onely; but if it exceede the limitation, it is pursued by processe, according as other ordinary causes are.

How far out of Rome his power is limited.

Marters out of the Vicares authority.

The Vicare is one among the Prison visitants.

Two Vicares substitutes.

Of the Popes Chaplainse, and Auditour of causes in the sacred Pallace.

20 After that matters in *Rome* grew to such height, that all parts of the World had recourse to the Pope, as well for accounts of Benifices, as diuers other occasions beside: all suiters, not onely priuate persons, but Princes and Kinges also, had their causes questioned in the Court of *Rome*; eyther by disposition of reason, nature of the action, weakenesse in the Prince, or verily, by consent of the offendour. And such was then the deuotion of our forefathers, that they voluntarily excited people from all parts of the World, to make their remorse to *Rome*, onely to be esteemed most holy Trauailers. All therefore recited causes (prouided that they wer not Conciſtorial) were heard by the Pope, and he himselfe, deuided from the Senate, heard thē in his Chappell, & then (for their expedition) cald none but Lawiers: whereupon, they are now at this day called Chaplaines, and serue in the Chappell for diuine seruices. But the Byshops easing themselues by (little and little) from this businesse granted: that they should haue all suiters a part, and their causes, and therefore (by a new name) they became to be termed Auditors of causes in the sacred Pallace, and according to their relation, the Pope ordered his sentence. These men, as they haue admittance into this Order: haue authority to heare causes, by this most auncient delegation granted them by Popes.

The Pope heareth matters alone by himselfe.

CHAP. III.

¶ *A breefe Collection of the Originall and Progresse, of the Knightes of the worthy Order of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, who were afterward called Knightes of Rhodes, and Knightes of Malta: Likewise, their exploits in Warre, vnder the conduct of their Great Maisters, from the yeare* 1099. *vntill this present.*

1099.

THE Military Order of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*, had her birth and first origi-

The Orders first beginning in *Ieruſalem.*

originall in the holy Citty of *Ieruſalem*, and paſſed there her first yeares of Infancy, with a great part of her adoleſcency: When as the *Sarazins* were Maiſters of the holy Citty, and of the Country all about the ſacred Sepulcher of our Lorde, which was ruined about the yeare of Saluation, 1012. by the commandement of *Equin, Califfe* of the *Sarrazins*, and continued ſo ruined, vntill the time of *Conſtantine Monomachus*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, who, at the intreaties of the Chriſtians which then dwelt in *Hieruſalem* (with the conſent of *Bonenſor Elmonius Stenſabus, Califfe* or *Soldane* of *Ægipt*) built it againe at his owne charges, in the yeare 1048. About which time, certaine Gentlemen and *Italian* Marchants of the Citie of *Melphes*, frequenting the Portes and Maritime Cities of *Syria* and *Ægipt*, and bringing good Marchandizes into thoſe Countries; won themſelues much loue and liking, not onely of the Cities Gouernours, but alſo of the *Califfe* of *Ægipt*. And being well diſpoſed Chriſtians, they would oftentimes goe to *Hieruſalem*, to viſite the holy memorable places: and hauing no place of retirement in the Citty, they obtained fauour and permiſſion of the *Califfe*, to build there a Church and a Pallace, for their owne vſe and habitation, as alſo for others of their Nation, in that quarter of the Citty, where the Chriſtians might dwell neere to the holy Sepulcher. There they erected two Monaſteries; one, in honour of the bleſſed Virgine *Mary*, called S. *Maria de la Latina*, (differing from the *Greeke* Churches which were in Hieruſalem, and placed there an Abbot of *Mont-Caſſina*) & was built to lodge Chriſtian Pilgrims therein. The other, was dedicated to S. *Mary Magdalen*, as a place of entertainement of all ſuch women, as ſhould aduenture thither in Pilgrimage, they beeing alſo religiouſly gouerned. Not long after, they builded an Hoſpitall, wherein to lodge as well all ſickly Trauailers, as any other Pilgrimes of honeſt diſpoſition, with a Church alſo thereto belonging, beeing both dedicated to S. *Iohn Baptiſt*. Theſe Monaſteries, Churches, and Hoſpitals, were long time maintained by the care and coſt of the *Amalphitanes*, who founded them: and vntill

Conſtantine Monomachus.

A church and Pallace builded in Ieruſalem by Merchants, and two Monaſteries.

An Hoſpitall for ſicke Trauailers and Pilgrims.

ſuch time as the Citie was conquered by the Chriſtians from the Infidels, and that *Godfrey* of *Bullen* was there elected King, which was in the yeare 1099.

1099 The firſt Rector and Gouernor of S. *Iohns* hoſpital.

1 THE Citty being thus won, *F. Gerard* was the firſt Rector or gouernor of the Hoſpitall of Saint *Iohn*, who, when the Citty was beſieged by the Chriſtians, was very ill dealt with by the Infidels, and was long time (by the) kept captiue Priſoner, becauſe they diſtruſted, that he had ſome ſecret intelligence with the Chriſtians, which beleagered the Citty. But after that the Chriſtians were Maiſters thereof, hee was deliuered out of Priſon, and gouerned both wiſely and charitably the hoſpitall of Saint *Iohn*, perſwading and inducing Chriſtian Kings and Princes, to entich & endow it with their liberality; which (indeede) they did in bountifull manner; ſo that in *France, Italy, Spaine*, and other Prouinces of Chriſtendome, the Hoſpitall of Saint *Iohn* found good Benefactours, and attained (in ſhort time) to great reuennewes and poſſeſſions. In the yeare 1113. Pope *Paſchall* the ſecond, receiued *F. Gerard*, and the Knights of Saint *Iohn* vnder protection of the Apoſtolique Seat, and graunted them great priuiledges; ordaining, that after the deceaſe of *F. Gerard*, they ſhould proceede cannonically, to the election of another Rector or gouernor: who was afterward cald Great Maiſter, of the Order or Military Hoſpitall of Saint *Iohn* of *Hieruſalem*, a name which continueth yet to this preſent, after fiue hundred yeares from the beginning thereof.

Bounty and liberality from Chriſtian Princes.

1113

The Rector called by the name of great Maiſter.

1118

2 IN the yeare 1118. *F. Gerard* departed out of this life, in the Papacy of *Geluſius* the ſecond, and when as the order of the Knights Templers began. After his deceaſe, there ſucceeded him by election, *F. Raymond de Puy*, who was a profeſſed Knight of the Order: Albeit, ſome holde opinion, that *F. Roger* ſucceeded deceaſed *Gerard*, and gouerned the Hoſpitall of S. *Iohn*, from the yeare 1118. vntill the death of *Baldwin*, ſecond of that name, King of Ieruſalem, who dyed in the yeare, 1131. *F. Raymond* (in a generall Chapter, aſſembled in Hieruſalem, with aduiſe of the other

The beginning of the Knights Templers.

Knights) made Statutes for the Order, formed and inſtituted a rule of life, which all the following Knightes were to obſerue. He was called Great Maiſter of the Order, and yet he qualified that Title, by calling himſelfe Seruant vnto the poore of Chriſt Ieſus, and Guardian of the Hoſpital of Ieruſalem. This Great Maiſter, perceiuing that the Reuennewes of the Hoſpitall did daily increaſe, and that hee could not better imploy ſuch wealth, then againſt the Infidels, by making war vpon them: he made offer to the King of *Ieruſalem*, of himſelfe, his ſtrength, and all his Knightly Brethren, who bare in their Streamers and Enſignes, a Croſſe Argent, in a field Gules. And thence forward, theſe religious Brethren were diſtinguiſhed into three degrees: for one company were Knights, another Captaines, and the thrid Seruants, not hauing (from the beginning) any other difference among them, but that ſome were Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and the other Layickes. And from that time forward, there was not any enterprize in *Paleſtine* againſt the *Infidelles*, but the great Maſter was preſent therat in perſon, with his religious Knightes: who were firſt called Knightes Hoſpitallers, or of the Hoſpitall of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalē*, afterward Knightes of the *Rhodes*; and laſtly, Knights of *Malta*. They grew into ſo great credit and reputation, that they were imployed in the mannaging and guiding all affaires of chiefeſt importance. Among others, *Gerard Gebert*, Knight of this Order, was ſent by *Foulks* King of *Anion* into *England*, to treat on the marriage of *Conſtance* (Princeſſe of *Antioch*, Neece to the Queen *Meliſenda*, and Daughter to Prince *Boemond*) with *Raymond*, Sonne to the Earle of *Poictiers*, who was then in the Court of *Henrie* King of England. In like manner (this marriage being thus concluded, by the ingenuity of this Knight) at the ſame time, *Raymond Berengarius* Earle of *Barcelona*, and Prince of *Cathalonia* (who had conquered the Iſles of *Maiorica* and *Minorica* from the *Moores*, and in ſingle combat) defended the chaſtity and honour of *Mahauld*, Wife to the Emperor *Henry* the fift, againſt two *Allemaigne* Knights, that had falſely accuſed her of adultry) to ſhut vp the concluſion of his

Seruant to the poore of Christ Ieſus.

The Armes of Saint *Iohns* Knights.

Three degrees of this Order.

Knights Hoſpitallers of the hoſpital of S. Iohn of Ieruſalem: became afterward to be Knights of the Rhodes and laſtly, Knights of Malta.

The honor of chaſt Ladies defended.

daies, reſolued to take the habite of this famous Brother-hood, and in that ſacred profeſſion, he perſeuered all his life time after, which was in the year 1131. 1131.
Not much differing from this time, it is reported, that three Knights of this Order, being natiue French-men of *Picardie*, and detained then by the Soldan of Ægypt in Captiuity, were admirablie deliuered and tranſported out of *Egipt*, with *Iſmeria*, Daughter to the ſaid Soldane, to the place where (at this inſtant) is the Church of *Noſtre Dame de Lieſſe*, and this happened in the yeare, 1139. In the yeare 1153. *Raymond* the 1139
Great Maiſter, cauſed the ſiedge to bee yet ſtill continued before the Cittie of *Aſcalon*, which the Infidelles had defended againſt the Chriſtians more then fifty yeares: and at length, it was yeelded to the ſaide Maiſter, the 12. day of Auguſt 1154. which was in the tenth yeare of King *Baldwine* the third. In acknowledgement of a prize ſo ſignale, & beneficiall to all Chriſtendome; Pope *Anaſtatius* the fourth, gaue and granted very great priuiledges, to the Order of theſe Knights of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*, the firſt day of Nouember, in the ſame year, exempting them from the iuriſdiction and controle of the Eaſt Eccleſiaſticall Prelates, which was the cauſe of great troubles, betweene the Byſhops of the Country there, and the Knights of this Order: albeit the Pope and his Cardinals maintained them ſtil ſtoutly. Some haue held, that this Great M. *Raymond* was a *Florentine*, but the moſt credible opinion is, that he was a French-man, a Natiue of *Daulphine*, iſſued of a verie Noble Houſe, called *Du Puy*: whereof, namely, *Iacques Boſius* the *Italian*, (who hath amply written the Hiſtorie of this Order) is an ingenious witneſſe. He dyed in the yeare 1160. with this reputation; that he had beene a Man of good and vertuous life, fearing God, valiant, wiſe, and aduiſed in the affaires of the World, and one well approued in warlike exerciſes.

The Cittie of *Aſcalon* yeelded to the great Maiſter.

Great priuileges granted to this Order.

Iacques Boſius, an *Italian* Author.

3 AFter that *Raymond* was deceaſed, there ſucceeded in the Maiſterſhip and gouernment of the Order, *F. Auger de Balben*: of whom there is found nothing deſeruing Memory: but that (in his time) died King *Baldwine* the third, 1160

who

Death of King *Baldwine* the third.

who was not onely much bemoaned of the Christians, but likewise of the Infidels, who said: *That the Christians had iust cause to lament for the death of Baldwine, because they had lost a Prince, that had not his equall in the World.* This Great-Maister *Auger*, after hee had gouerned his charge in peace and repose about three yeares, dyed in the yeare 1163.

1163

4. *Arnold de Comps*, was next elected Maister in his place, who was a Man of great Spirit, valour, and councell. And in short time after his election, he entred into *Ægipt*, with *Amaulry*, the new King of *Hierusalem*, who made warre vpon the *Califfe* of *Ægypt*; because he refused to continue and pay the annuall Tribute, wherein hee had bound himselfe to King *Baldwine* the third, for a perpetuall payment to the Kings of *Ierusalem*. *Arnold*, after he had (with great wisedome and courage) gouerned the Hospitall of S. *Iohn* about foure yeares, he dyed in the yeare 1167. and then succeeded him

Amaulrie K of Hierusalem warred on the *Califfe*.

1167

5. *Gilbert d'Assaly*, or *de Sailly*, who was of stout minde, and so liberally; that he flowed in bounty, especially to his Souldiers, so that he fell into great expences, and wasted the whole Treasure of the house. Insomuch, that he was enforced to borrow Money at interest, with condition; that if hee tooke from the Infidels the Citty of *Belbeis* (aunciently called *Pelusium*) hee should stand acquitted to his Brotherhood (as indeede hee did) and victoriously performed his promise, the third day of Nouember, 1168. In which yeare he held a Chapter generall in Hierusalem, where perceiuing that hee was greatly indebted, and had charged the Hospitall, with more than an hundred thousand Crownes of meere debts; being also much grieued, that his attempts found not equall issue to his desires: he determined to renounce his great Maistership, which he did in the yeare 1169.

Mony borrowed at interest for maintenance of the Order.

The Maystership resigned.

1169

6. BY his resignation, or renunciation rather, another Knight was chosen Great Maister, named *F. Gastus*, or *Castus*; of whom there is nothing found, that makes to any purpose of this our breefe History. And the breuity of his time of gouernment was the cause, by reason he was not a full yeare in the charge, but dyed in the very same yeare of his election, and had

1169

7. *F. Ioubert*, a very religious Man, for his Successour, who in the yeare 1176. ioyned himselfe with *Phillip* Earle of *Flaunders*, that was then come into *Syria*, to assist King *Baldwine* the fourth against *Saladine*, who had a very powerfull Armie, miraculously vanquished by the Christians, that were but few in number, in the Moneth of Nouember, 1177. at which time the Emperour *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*, and Pope *Alexander* the third were reconciled together. At length, *Saladine* withdrew himselfe from the Country of *Damas*, in the yeare 1179. And then dyed *Ioubert* Maister of the Hospitallers, a Man very charitable to the poore, and sickly. It is said, that meere conceite of greefe, to behold (so manifestlie) the ruine of Christian affaires in *Syria*, with the shamefull and damageable truce, made betweene the King of Ierusalem, and the Earle of *Tripoli* (by his example) with *Saladine*; was the onelie cause of abridging his daies, hauing gouerned the Order of S. *Iohn*, about ten yeares.

K. *Baldwine* the fourth warred against *Saladine*

Saladine forsaketh the Conntry of *Damas*.

1179.

8 IN his stead was elected *Roger de Molins*, a Man of high discretion and courage. In his time happened a great dissention betweene the Prince of *Antioch*, and the Patriarch of the said place: and this *Roger* was chosen to be Mediatour of peace and agreement betweene them, which followed in the yeare 1181. This *Roger* (with *Heraclius* Patriarch of Hierusalem, and *Arnold de Trogo*, Maister of the Knightes Templers) was sent by the King of Hierusalem (in qualitie of an Ambassadour) into the West, to require ayde of the Christian Princes. These Ambassadours were kindly entertained by the Emperour, King *Phillip Augustus*, *Gods Guift*, Sir-named the Conqueror, the Kinges of *Scicilie*, *England*, and *Hungary*: they returned backe againe into *Syria*, all but the Maister of the Templers, who died by the way. In the yeare 1187. the Earle of *Tripoli* being leagued

Dissention betweene the Prince and Patriarch of *Antioche*.

Ambassadors sent for the aid of Christian Princes.

gued and confederated with *Saladine*; graunted him passage, and relceued his Army with victuals. And *Saladine* hauing besi dged the Citty of *Pto'omais*, the Knights of Saint *Iohn* and the Templers (ioyning together) disordered the whole Army, and *Roger* the Great Maister, fighting valiantlie, there dyed, with the fall of his Horse vpon him, and smothered in his Armour, as also beeing much troden on with the Enemies Horses. His body being afterward found among the dead, was buried with great woe and sorrow. And notwithstanding this losse of the Great Maister; yet the Knights of Saint *Iohn* and the Templers, won the day of battaile against the *Turkes* and *Sarrazins*; of whom dyed then in the fielde about fifteene thousand, the first day of May, in the yeare 1187. After whom

9 F. *Garnier* of *Naples* in *Syria* (which was the auncient Citty of *Sichem* in *Canaan*) was elected Great Maister. In his time was a bloody battell fought betweene the Christians and Infidelles, wherein the King of Ierusalem (named *Guy de Lusignan*) was taken Prisoner, with the very cheefe Lordes of his Kingdome. It is saide also; that the Christians had then the true Crosse in the battell, but it was taken from them by the Infidelles: and almost all the Knights of *Hierusalem*, and the Templers, were one part slain in the battaile, and the rest beheaded in cold blood. F. *Garnier*, after hee had fought verie manfully, yet being mortally wounded in many places of his body; by the goodnesse and swiftnesse of his Horse, escaped into the citty of *Ascalon*: where ten dayes after, he departed into a better life, the foureteenth of Iuly, hauing beene great Maister but two months and sixe daies.

10 THe twenty day of the said month of Iuly, 1187. the Knights that were in Hierusalem, chose F. *Ermingard d'Aps*, to be their Maister. The second day of October, in the same year, the Citty of Hierusalem was submitted to the power of *Saladine*: 88. yeares two months and seauenteene daies, after that it was deliuered (by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*) from the hands of the Infidels:

Saladines besieging of *Ptolomais*.

1187

Guy de Lusignã King of Ierusalem taken Prisoner, and his cheefest Lords.

A great and wofull losse to the Christians

1187

Ierusalem yeilded to the power of *Saladine*.

Fredericke the first, sir-named *Barbarossa*, then holding the Empire of the West, and *Isaac* the *Angell*, that of the East, at *Constantinople*, *Vrbane* the third being Pope of *Rome*, and *Phillip* the second, called *Augustus*, *Gods Gift* and Conqueror, raigning in *France*. Then were expulsed out of *Hierusalem*, the Knightes Hospitallers, Templers, and all the *Latine Christians*, of which Christians, the Hospitallers redeemed from captiuitie of the barbarous, to the number of two thousand with their Money. All the Churches of the Citty were then polluted and prophaned, except the Temple of the Resurrection: which was bought with a great summe of Money, by the Christians of the East. After the losse of *Ierusalem*, the Knightes Hospitallers were continuallie in Armes, faithfullie assisting the Christian Princes, that had put on Crosses, for the recouery of the holy Land, and did actions (of high desert) at the siedge of *Ptolomais*: which, after a long siedge of three yeares, was regained from the Infidels by the Christians, the twelft of Iuly, 1191. And in that Citty, the Knightes of Saint *Iohn* kept then their ordinary aboad and residence. And in the very same yeare, the Christians wonne a notable victorie against the *Barbarians*, and *Saladine* their chiefe: wherein they were worthily assisted by the Knightes Hospitallers, and Templers. The yeare following, beeing 1192. in Winter, dyed *Ermingard d'Aps* the Great Maister, in the citty of *Ptolomais*, and then was chosen in his place

11 G*Eoffrey de Duisson*. In his time there was truce taken for fiue yeares, betweene the Christians that were in the holy Land, and *Saladine*; by which meanes, many Lordes and Gentlemen of diuers Nations, who had worne the Crosse, and gotten great store of goods and possessions: returned home to their Countries, and gaue their goods to the Brother-hood of S. *Iohn*, which greatly did augment their reuennewes. And after the death of *Henry* Earle of *Champaigne*; the Hospitallers and Templers remained Gouernors, and Administratours of the Kingdome of Ierusalem: howbeit, that (by the fewer number of Christians there abiding)

The Knightes expulsed out of Ierusalem.

Temple of the Resurrection.

Ptolomais regained from the Infidels. 1191

1192

Truce betweene *Saladine* and the Christians.

Amaury de Lusignan, King of *Cyprus*.

abiding) election was made of *Amaury de Lusignan*, who had succeeded the king of *Ierusalem* in the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, with consent of the Patriarch, the Prelats and Barons of the Realme, in the yeare 1194. when soone after dyed *Duisson* the great Maister, and then succeeded him, by election

1194

A Royall *Portugall* Great Maister.

12 F. *Alphonso* of *Portugall*, a Knight of the Order of Saint *Iohn*, and of the Royall House of *Portugall*, though it doth not appeare certainely, to what King he was Sonne. Hee made very worthy and commendable Statutes, whereof (to this day) there are some inuiolablie kept. But because hee was of too Stiffe nature, ouer-rough, surlie, and seuere: hee encurred the hatred of the greater part of the Knightes Hospitalers. Which was the cause, that he renounced his Maistership, and shipt himselfe for returne home to *Partugall*, in the same yeare of his election: But hee dyed the first day of March, in the yeare 1207.

1194

Death of *Saladine*.

13 THE same yeare that *Alphonso* renounced the Great Maistership, to wit; in the yeare 1194. *Geoffrey le Rat*, who was Graund-Pryour of Fraunce, was chosen Maister: And *Saladine* then dying, his Sonne *Noradine*, (Lord of *Alepo*) succeeded him. About this time, *Simon*, Earle of *Montfort*, was sent by King *Phillip Augustus*, with an Army into *Syria*; where finding much disorder, he tooke truce for ten yeares with the Infidels, in the yeare 1198.

Difference betweene the Hospitallers and Templers

In the time of this tranquile estate, there chanced a great difference, betweene the Knightes Hospitallers and Templers, grounded on this occasion. The Hospitallers complained, that the Templers had enterprised too farre vpon their Iurisdiction, with much contempt, and violation thereof. Which quarrell (after many rough encounters and skirmishes) was appeased and accorded, by the interposition of King *Amaury*, the Patriarches of *Antioch* and *Ierusalem*, and other Princes and Christian Prelates, who comprimitted this difference, in the Name of *Innocentius* the third, which fell out very successiuely. For, after that GOD (the onelie Staffe and stay of all affaires in the Holy Land) had permitted this friendlie vnity, betweene these two Millitarie Orders of Knight-hood, King *Amaurie* of *Lusignan* so preuailed, that the Great Maister and Knightes of Saint *Iohn*, might liue with him in the Isle of *Cyprus*, where hee graunted the Gouernment of the Kingdome to them. In the yeare 1205. King *Amaurie* dyed, so did Queene *Isabell*, who appointed her Daughter *Mary* (which shee had by *Conrade* of *Monferrat*) to be her Heire, and he left her to be tutored and guided by the Knights Hospitallers and Templers.

Cyprus gouerned by the Knights of S. *Iohn*.

In the yeare 1260. *Geoffrey le Rat*, the Great Maister died, and then succeeded him

1260

Lyuon King of *Armenia*.

14 G*Verin de Montagu*, of the Language of *Auuergne*, who (with the Knights of this Order) ayded *Lyuon* King of *Armenia*, against the *Turkes* and *Barbarians*, that had intruded into his Kingdome. In recompence whereof, hee gaue them the Citty of *Salef*, with the Castles of *Camard*, and New Castle, and their dependances. Hee likewise recommended his Heire and Kingdome, to the Knights of the Hospitall of Saint *Iohn*; which guift was confirmed by the Pope, the fift of August, 1209. Then were *Iohn de Brienna*, and *Mary* his Wife (Heire to the Kingdome) Crowned King and Queene of *Ierusalem*.

King and Q. of Ierusalem.

At length, in the yeare 1230. *Guerin* the Great Maister dyed in the Citty of *Ptolomais*, and during his time, all the Christians affaires in the Holie Land, depended (very much) vpon the knights Hospitallers and Templers: who albeit they had many contentions betweene them, yet did they still agree together, (in all matters) against the Infidels. After him succeeded

1240 This is mistaker, for this was K. *Richard* the first himselfe.

15 ONE *F. Gerin*, of whom no other name is found remembred. *Richard* Duke of *Cornewall*, and Brother to *Henry* (then King of England) arriued soone after in *Palestine*, with any Army of forty thousand Men, and did many worthy actions there. The Great Maister also, and his Knights with him (bearing him company) fought valiantlie against the *Corasmine* Infidelles. There the saide Maister was taken, and sent as a Prisoner to the *Soldane* of Ægypt, where he dyed, and in his place, the Knightes of Saint *Iohn* elected (in the Cittie of *Ptolomais*) for their great Maister

1345

16 *BErtrand de Comps*, in the time of Pope *Innocent* the fourth, and when the Generall Counsell was called at *Lyons*, 1245. This Great Maister was present in a furious battaile, fought against the *Turcomans*, that wasted all the Countrey about *Antioch*, in the Month of August, 1248. where, hauing receiued sundry deadly Woundes, he ended his daies: And in the citty of *Ptolomais*, on the 24. of August, was elected as Great Maister.

Turcomans spoiled the Country of *Antioch*.

1248

17. *PEter de Villebride*. In his time, *Lewes* King of *France*, called Saint *Lewes*, tooke on him the Crosse against the Infidelles, with many Princes and Prelats of *France*, who went and besieged *Damieta*, where they were ayded by the Knights hospitallers and Templers, and the citty was soone after surrendred ro King *Lewes*, in the yeare 1250. Then did the *Soldane* of *Ægypt* giue battaile to the Christians, wherein King *Lewes* with his Brethren, *Charls* and *Alphonsus* the King of *Cyprus*, as also the Great Maister, and many Knights of the Hospitallers and Templers, were all taken Prisoners. Which surprizall, caused an attonement betweene King *Lewes* and the *Soldane*, and the Hospitall Knightes lent Money to King *Lewes*, to pay his ransome. In the yeare 1251. *Villebride* the Great Maister died in the Cittie of *Ptolomais*, and succeeded by election

Damieta besieged by the Christians, but with ill succesfe.

1251

18. *GVillaum de Chasteau-neuf*, or *De Castelno*, of the speech of *Auuergne*. He was a great obseruer of Iustice, and Pope *Alexander* the fourth, gaue to the Knightes Hospitallers, the Castle and Landes of *Bethania*, in the yeare 1256. In his time, the Christians lost their vtmost hope, of any succour from the Princes of *Europe*: and in the yeare 1280. the Great Maister of *Castelno* died, when as the Hospitall Knights of Saint *Iohn* elected in his stead

The Princes of Europe send no more succor.

1260

19. *HVgues Reuelle*, or *Reuel*, in the time of Pope *Vrban* the fourth, who gaue to the Knights of Saint *Iohn*, *Mont-Tabor*, 1261. and in *Anno* 1262. they bought the Castle of *Assur*, but in the following two yeares, they tooke from the *Sarazins* a castle named *Lihon*, whereupon, the *Soldane* of *Ægypt* concluded, to worke the ruine of the Knights Hospitallers, & (as an instance) he forcibly tooke from the said Knights (in the yeare 1265.) the Castle of *Assur*, at the surprizall whereof, there were slaine to the number of 90. Knightes of S. *Iohn*, which greatly abated their power and repute. And in the yeare 1267. the Knights Hospitallers and Templers were assailed, and much confused in battaile by the *Sarazins*, neer to the City of *Ptolomais*, for they wasted & spoiled all the Country there-about. In the yeare also 1270. the Knights of S. *Iohn* lost the Castle of *Cracquo*, which was assaulted by the Soldane, and all the Knightes within it, were put to the sword. It is likewise said, that this great Maister *Reuel*, assisted King *Lewes* in the voyage to *Tunis*, where the saide King dyed of the Plague, and that in the ende, about the yeare 1278. the Great Maister *Reuel* ended his daies, hauing held fiue Chapters, or assemblies of the Brother-hood of S. *Iohn*, wherein many notable Statutes were made, for gouernment and reformation of the Order.

1265

Knights of S. *Iohn* assayled by the *Soldane*

1278

20 *AFter his decease, Nicholas Lorgus* was chosen Great Maister, who, not to swerue a iot frō his Predecessor (well knowing, that nothing sooner procureth the ruine of common-weals, and comminalties, then discord and dissention) took such paines, to reconcile the Knights *Hospitallers* with the *Templers*, that he drew thē to accord, & made them good Friends. In the yeare 1282. the

Hospitallers and Templers reconciled.

A famous victory against the Sarrazins

the Knightes of S. *Iohn* woon a famous victory against the *Sarrazins*, who proudly came to besiege the Castle of *Margate*, their verye principall Fortresse: which was very manfully defended by the Hospitallers; and in the end, quitted (at composition) by the Knightes, who returned (with their Ensignes displaied) to the City of *Ptolomais*. And in the yeare, 1288. *Lorgus* the Great Maister died, with very griefe, because hee saw the Christian affaires in the Holy-Land, daily to fal from ill to worse, without any meanes or hope of remedy.

1288

21 IN the same yeare, *Iohn de Villiers*, a Frenchman born, was created Great Maister of the Order. In his tie, the City of *Tripoly* was taken from the Christians, by the Infidelles, as (in like manner) were the Cities of *Sidonia* and *Baruth*, in the yeare, 1289. all which, were ransacked, ruined, and burned, and the Citty of *Tyre* brought vnder the Soldans subiection, whereon the christians of *Ptolomais* were glad to seeke their owne peace. During which time, the Great Maister went to *Brunduſium*, with the Great Maister of the Templers, to sollicit the christiã Princes of the *Croisade*, and the Soldan came to assaile the Citty of *Ptolomais*, which was vertuously defended by the Knightes of the Hospitall and Temple, with manie braue sallies forth vppon the besiedgers. Especially the Great Maister *Villiers*, who was sore wounded, with long sustayning the whole charges of the *Barbarian* Infidels, the Knights Barricadoing themselues in a quarter of the Citty, which yet was afterward taken on Friday, the 18. of May, the same yeare, 1292. With this great losse, the christians were driuen out of the Holy land, 191. years ten months, & 3. daies, after it had bin conquered by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*. The Great Maister, with the rest of his Knights, fled (for safety) to the Isle of *Cyprus*, where they were very kindly entertained by the king of the Island, who assigned vnto them and the Templers, the Citty of *Limoſſon*, which was a Port Towne or Hauen on the Sea. There did they inhabit; and there did the Great Maister assemble two generall Chapters, one in December, 1292. and the other in October, 1293. making therin diuers good Statutes for the Order: and in the yeare, 1294. he died at *Limoſſon*, and then succeeded him

Tripoly surprized from the Christians.

The Citty of *Ptolomais* taken, and the Christians driuen out of the Holy-land.

Limoſſon assigned to the Hospitallers, and Templers

22. F. *Odo des Pins*, borne in *Prouence*, in the time of Pope *Boniface* the eight. He incurred the hatred and disgrace of the knights of his Order, by reason of his negligence and couetousnesse. And there was a purposed determination to depriue him of his Great Maistership; but it was impeached by the Pope, to auoid scandall, and at length hee was cited to appeare at *Rome* in person, to answere the complaintes of the Hospitallers, and thitherward he trauailed. But before hee could see *Italy*, he died by the way, in the yeare, 1296. hauing (in the precedent yeares) held two generall Chapters at *Limoſſon*. He carried also a long with him, a Manuscript Chronicle, wherein he had appealed certaine Letters of the Popes, containing Excommunication, whereby he pursued and releeued his owne Appeale.

1294.

The Great Maister hated for his Couetousnesse.

A Manuscript Chronicle.

23 THe Knights hearing the death of their Great Maisters *des Pins*, elected (at *Limoſſon*) the 24. day of March, 1296. F. *Guillaume de Villaret* to succeede him; who was of the same Countrey of *Prouence*, and Prior of S. *Gilles*, where he was at the time of his election. But hauing intelligence therof, he trauelled immediatly to the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, and gouerned in his charge very prudently. In his time, *Vſan Caſſanus*, King of the *Tartars*, became a Christian, and recouered the Citty of *Ierusalem*, where hee placed the Knightes Hospitallers and Templers in Garrison, in the yeare, 1300. He tooke the Citty of *Damas* likewise, but it was quickly regained by the Infidels, and the Hospitallers and Templers returned then to *Cyprus* againe, where the Great Maister departed out of this life, in the yeare, 1308. hauing held fiue generall Chapters at *Limoſſon*, and seen the vtter ruin of the Knights Templers.

1296.

Vſan Caſſanus K. of the *Tartars* became a Christian.

Vtter ruine of the Knightes Templers.

24 THe great Maister being dead, *Folquet de Villaret*, of the same Nation of *Prouence*, was elected in his room. He was a man of liuely spirit and corage, and seeing that hee had attained to this Soueraigne dignity, he resolued to put in execution a matter, which (in his predecessors daies) had often beene intended; but could not any way be effected (viz:) to depart

1308.

The knightes depart frō *Cyprus*.

depart from the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and to get a dwelling ſome where elſe, which he very happily performed. For, in *An.* 1309. the very yeare of his election, hee made a voyage to *Conſtantinople*, and afterward, into *France*, wher the Pope gaue him the Iſle of *Rhodes* (if hee could get it) which with his Knights he conquerd, in the year 1309. and ſeauen other Iſlands neere adioyning. So that thither was the reſidence of S. *Iohns* Knights transferred, and then they were afterward called Knights of the *Rhodes*, yet keeping the name of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem* ſtill. Not long after, *Otthoman* firſt Emperour of the *Turkes*, came and beſieged *Rhodes* with a potent Army: but it was releeued by *Amadis* the 4. Earle of *Sauoy*, and *Ottoman* was compelled to raiſe his ſiege. After which time, the Earls of *Sauoy* wore on their Armors a Croſſe Argent, in a field Geules, in memory of the helpe they had giuen to the Knightes of the *Rhodes*.

The beginning of the Knights of the Rhodes, who held their firſt name of Saint Iohns knights ſtill.

The order of the Templers (hauing bin vtterly ſuppreſſed, in a generall Counſel holden at *Vienna* in *Dalphine*) the greater part of their goodes was giuen to the Order of the *Rhodes*, and confirmed by Pope *Clement* the 5. one thouſand three hundred & twelue. In the year, 1314. the Knights of the *Rhodes*, conquered the Iſle of *Lango*, with other Iſles in the *Archipelagus*. And in the yeare, one thouſande three hundred and ſeauenteene, *Folquet* the Great Maiſter (pleaſing his owne Humour ouer-much in his Victories and Conqueſts) beganne to grow haughtie, proud, and inſolent, which brought him into contempt of his Companions. Whereupon, the Knights reuolted from him, and if he had not ſaued himſelfe in a Caſtle, they had ſeized his perſon. But in regard they could not get him, they depoſed him from the dignity of Great Maſter, and in his place, elected

The Iſle of *Lango*, & other Iles conquerd

The Great Maiſter depoſed from his Office.

1317 25. *Maurice de Pagnac*, whereof Pope *Iohn* the twenty two, beeing aduertiſed, he was greatly offended thereat, and ſent two Prelates to the *Rhodes*, to informe themſelues of the fact, with command to cite the great Maſters *de Villaret* and *de Pagnac*, to appeare at *Auignon* in perſon, *Gerard des Pins*, being appointed Lieutenant Generall in the meane while. At this inſtant time, *Orchanes*, Emperour of the Turkes, came boldly and beſieged the Iſle of *Rhodes*. But the Knights had an admirable victory againſt him; for there were then tenne thouſand Turkes hewne in pieces. In this interim, *Maurice Pagnac* died at *Montpellier*, Anno, one thouſand three hundred twentie two, and *Folquet de Villaret*, was re-eſtabliſhed in the dignity of Great Maiſter. But he perceiuing, that it was againſt the liking of his fellow Knightes, renounced his Great Maiſterſhip, in the year one thouſand three hundred twenty three, and liued as a priuate Knight, vntill the firſt day of September, 1327. when hee died, and was buryed at *Montpellier*.

Orchanes Emp. of the Turkes beſieged *Rhodes*, but to his foile.

26 THe ſame yeare that he gaue ouer his dignity, the Knightes of the *Rhodes*, choſe *Elion de Villeneufue*, borne alſo in *Prouence*, and Priour of S. *Gils*. In the year 1343 a league was made between the Seigneury of *Venice*, the K. of *Cyprus*, and Knights of the *Rhodes*. And the great M. hauing won the name of an hapy Gouernour, died the twenty ſeauen of May, at *Rhodes*. In his life time, hee had enclоſed the Great Maiſters Pallace with wals and Towers, and diuided the Languages, *Bayliwicks*, and other dignities of the order. 1327.

A League of peace and amity concluded.

27. AFter the deceaſe of *Villeneufue*, *Deo-dono*, or *Gods guiſt*, (a Natiue of *Prouence*) was elected Great Maiſter. About foure yeares before hee was promoted to this dignity, he had fought with an horrible and monſtrous Dragon, that greatly afflicted the Iſle of *Rhodes*. And hauing killed the Monſter, hee was therfore ſo highly honored and eſteemd, that his memory yet remaineth renowned to poſterity. In the yeare, 1347. he aided the king of *Armenia* againſt the *Soldan* of *Egipt*. Pope *Clement* the ſixt, held the Knights of *Rhodes* in ſuch eſteem, that almoſt all the Forts in *Italy* (belonging to the See) were gouerned ſeuerally by one of them. In the yeare, 1351. *Conſtance* K. of *Armenia*, became a Brother-Knight of *Rhodes*. And in the yeare, 1353. the ſon to *Iohn Canta-cuzen*, Emp. of *Conſtantinople*, came and required aid of the Great Maiſter of *Rhodes*: who after he had gouernd this Order of S. *Iohn* 7. yeares, 6. months, and ten daies, died the 7. of Sept. in the ſaide yeare, 1353. and was buried in the Church of *S. Iohn* of *Rhodes*. He builded Milles 1346.

A Dragon afflicted the Iſle of *Rhodes*.

Conſtance King of *Armenia*, a Kni. of *Rhodes*.

Church of S. Iohn, in the Iſle of *Rhodes*.

Milles in the Citty of *Rhodes*, and engirt the Subburbs with wals, making them very strong on the Sea-side.

1353. 28. NExt succeeded him by election, (as Great Maister) *Peter de Cornillian*, Prior of *S. Gilles*, born also in *Prouence*. He was Maister but one year, eight months, and seuenteene dayes; for, falling into a grieuous sickneſſe, hee died in the city of *Rhodes*, the 24. of auguſt, 1355. He was a man of very exemplary life, and ſo ſeuere, that he was ſur-named the *Corrector of Cuſtomes*. Hee held a generall Chapter at *Rhodes*, 1354. wherein manie good Statutes were made.

Corrector of Cuſtomes.

1355 29 AFter the Great Maſter was deceaſed, according vnto accuſtomed forme, *Roger des Pins*, borne likewiſe in *Prouence*, did next ſucceed him. In his time, the Pope perſwaded the Knights of *Rhodes*, to buy the Principality of *Achaia*, of *Iacques de Sauoy*, Prince of *Piedmont*, and the Knights of *Rhodes* made a generall aſſembly in the Citty of *Auignon*, to effect the treaty of buying of the ſayde Principality of *Achaia*, and to reforme ſome abuſes, crept into the Order. For their Statutes were nowe traduced into the Latine tongue; & to all Princes were ſent authenticall Coppies or Volumes of them, by appointment of the great Maiſter. And in the yeare, 1359. the Great Commaunder, and the Marſhall of the Order, were ſent into *France* (in qualitie of Ambaſſadors) to be viſiters and reformers. There was an aſſembly of the Knightes, called at the Citty of *Carpentras*, but it could not holde in regarde of the great Maiſters death, who died the 28. of May, 1365. and was much lamented, but by the poore eſpecially, to whom he was a great and charitable Almoner.

A generall aſſembly in the City of *Auignon*.

Great Commander, and Marſhall of the Order.

1365. 30. R *Aymond Berengarius*, of *Prouence* alſo, was next choſen great Maiſter, who had bin before the Commander of Caſtle *Sarrazin*. In his time, the King of *Cyprus*, and the Knightes of *Rhodes*, made a league together, & tooke (perforce) the Citty of *Alexandria* in Egypt, which they ranſackt, ſpoylde, and burnt. The *Armenians* being expulſed by the *Sarrazins* out of their dwellings, were charitably entertaind by S. *Iohns* knights, in the Iſle of *Lango*: and at the ſame time the Citty of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, was taken and ſacked by the King of *Cyprus*, and the Knightes of the *Rhodes*.

The Citty of *Alexandria* ſpoild and burned.

In the year, 1371. the Great Maſter was (by the Pope) elected *Nuntio* from the Apoſtolicke ſeat, to appeaſe the tumours & diuiſions which were then in the Kingdome of *Cyprus*: whether he went in perſon, and both by his Authority and wiſedome, he ſoone ſeaſed all the trobles and moleſtations. The Great Maiſter hauing gouerned his Order about 18. yeares and an halfe, departed this life, in the yeare, 1373.

The great M. elected *Nuntio*.

31. IN the ſame yeare, *Robert de Iuliac*, or of *Gulich*, great Prior of *France*, was choſen Great-Maiſter, who (at the time of his election) had the charge of his Priory: but vnderſtanding the newes, he went forthwith to *Auignon*, where he was receiued with great honour, an aſſembly general of this Knightly order, being then there held, and the Great Maiſter had the gouernement of *Smyrna* impoſed vppon him, vnder paine of excommunication. At his comming to *Rhodes*, he quallified all the contentions which had hapned in the time of his abſence. At this time went the Pope, to hold his ſeat at *Rome* againe, which he and his predeceſſors had kept at *Auignon*, for the ſpace of ſeauenty one yeares, 1376. In which yeare, the 9. of Iune, died the Great Mayſter, and then

1373. *Robertus Iuliacenſis*.

The Great Maiſter made Gouernor of *Smyrna*.

32. IN his place came *Iohn Fernandes d'Heredia*, a Natiue of *Arragon*, in the citty of *Valentia*, who was Priour of *Cathalognia*, and *Caſtillian d'Empoſta*. Twice he had bin married, and (chaunced to be a Widdower) hee was made a Knight of *Rhodes*, in the time of *Villeneufue*, who was then Great Maiſter. Beeing then but a ſimple Knight, hee went to viſit the holy Sepulchre, and other memorable places in the Holy land. He was alſo Ambaſſadour from Pope *Clement* the ſixt, to the Kings *Phillip* 6. of *France*, and *Edward* the third of *England*, and did very good ſeruice to king *Phillip*, in the year 1346. For he being diſmounted from his Horſe, on a day of battel againſt the *Engliſh*, he gaue him his owne horſe, whereby the King eſcaped to a place of ſafetie. In like manner, hee fortified the Baſtions and new wals of *Auignon*, whereof he was made Gouernour by the Pope. Beeing great

1376.

The Great Maiſter reſcued the King of *France* againſt the King of England.

great Maister, he took his way to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1377. and being required by the Generall of the *Venetians* army, to vnite their forces together: they went to *Morea*, in the year, 1378. where they besiedged the Citty of *Patras*, and tooke both it and the Castle. The Great Maysster (fighting man to man with the Gouernor of *Patras*) slew him manfully. Afterward, in an Ambuscado of Turkes, he was taken prisoner, by reason hee was too well knowne to them. Whereuppon, to worke his liberty, *Patras* and other places (which had bin won from them) were redeliuered to the Turks. And yet notwithstanding, they would needes carrie him with them into *Albania*, where they kept him as a slaue three yeares. In the yeare, 1381. the great Maisters freedome was bought with mony; and hee returning to *Rhodes*, the Ambassadors of *Smirna* came to desire succor of him. In the yeare, 1391 *Baiazeth* Emperor of the Turkes, made some preparation to besiedge *Rhodes*: Whereupon, *Phillebert de Naillac*, Prior of *Aquitaine*, was sent by his fellow-Knights to *Auignon*, with Letters to the great Maister, to require aide against *Baiazeth*. *Naillac* returning to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1396. *Heredia* the great Maister died, & was buried at *Cassa*.

The Citty of *Petras* besiedged and taken

Patras redeliuered to the Turkes.

Baiazeth prepared a siege against *Rhodes*

1396.

33. NEwes being brought to *Rhodes*, that *Heredia* the Great Maister was dead, *Phillebert de Naillac*, Graunde Priour of *Aquitaine*, and born in *France*, succeeded in his roome. At the Spring time, he was inuited by *Sigismond*, K. of *Hungaria*, to come and assist him with his Knights, against *Baiazeth*, which hee did in person, in the yeare, 1397. And then was a battaile foughten at *Nicopolis*, where *Baiazeth* had the victory, the King of *Hungary* beeing glad to saue himselfe, and (with the Great Maister) retyred to *Rhodes*. Thither also did the Emperor of *Constantinople* send all his precious Iewels, to be kept by the Great Maister, fearing least *Baiazeth* should surprize *Constantinople*. But hee was disappointed by *Tamburlain*, who ouercam *Baiazeth*, and kept him captiue in a Cage of Iron, so long as he liued; and the siedge of *Constantinople* being raised, the Great Maister sent home againe the Emperors Iewels. After the foil of *Baiazeth*, the great Maister, *de Naillac*, sailed with an armie into *Caria*, and there builded an inexpugnable fortresse, which hee named Saint *Peters* Castle, in the yeare, 1399. vnder the raigne of *Charles* the sixt K. of *France*. In the yeare, 1403. there hapned warres betweene the King of *Cyprus* and the *Genewayes*; which was pacified and ordered by the wisedome and authoritie of the Great Maister: to whom the Souldan of Egypt sent an Ambassador, for request of peace.

Sigismund king of Hungaria.

Tamburlaine hindereth Baiazeths siege at Constantinople.

Warres betweene *Genowayes*, and the K. of *Cyprus*.

In the yeare 1409. the Great Maister gaue his personall assistaunce in the Counsell of *Pisa*, assembled to quench the Schismes which were then crept into the Church; and the guard of the Conclaue was committed to the Great Maister, when *Alexander* the fift was elected Pope. The saide Maister was likewise at the generall Counsel of *Constance*, where three Popes were deposed, and *Martine* the fift elected, Anno. 1414. the gard of the Conclaue beeing then againe giuen to the Great Maister. Trauailing into *France*, he held a general assembly of the Knights at *Auignon*, afterward at *Florence*, and last at *Ancona*: whence returning to *Rhodes*, *Anno* 1420. he held there a generall Chapter, & in the beginning of Iune, 1421. he died.

Three Popes deposed in the Councell of *Constance*.

1321

34. AND then in the deads place, *Anthony de Fluviano*, or *de Riuers*, reported to be a Natiue of *Arragon* (but more say of *England*) was created Great Maister. In his time begarne the general Counsel of *Basile*, 1430. And not long after, the Soldan of *Egypt* (puft vp with the victory which he wonne at *Cyprus*) brake the Truce, and prepared a great Armie, with intent to besiedge *Rhodes*. But when he heard, that the Great Maister was prouided of sufficient strength to withstande him; he left off his determination, and so the Order that way remained in quiet. This Great Maister founded and endowed a chappel in the City of *Rhodes*, which (afterward) hee made a Church for his Knights. And the 25. of October hee died, after he had gouerned (in his place) with much wisedome, 16. yeares and an halfe.

This *Anthonie de Riuers* was sent for to *Rhodes*, he being then chief Commander of the Brotherhood, at Saint *Iohns* of Ierusalem, in S. *Iohns* street.

35. THE sixt of Nouemb. in the same yeare, 1437. *Iohn de Lastic*, borne in *Auuergne*, was elected Great Maister, albeit he was absent at his election, & remai-

1437.

mained in *Auuergne*, wherof he was Priour. Before he would go to *Rhodes*, hee made a generall assembly of his Knightes at *Valentia*, in the month of December, 1438. When he cam to *Rhodes*, he began to build the new Hospitall for sicke people, which the precedent Great Maister, (by his will) had appointed to be done at his expences. In his time, Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, was deposed by the Counsell of *Basile*; and *Fœlix* the fift, created in his place, who was held at Rome to bee an Antipope. In the yeare, 1440. the Soldan of *Egypt*, being come neer to the Port of the Isle of *Castel le Rouge* (which apertained to the Knights) and from thence turning towards *Rhodes*, he was put to flight by an army of the Knights, who had but eight Gallies; and in the Souldans armie there were eighteen; and there were slain about 700. *Sarazins*, beside a great number that were wounded. This foyle did so highly offend the Soldan, that he leagued himselfe with *Amurath*, Emperor of the Turkes, with intention to make himselfe Maister of the Isle of *Rhodes*, and to kill or expell thence, that famous Order of Knight-hood.

A generall assembly at *Valentia*.

The So'dane of Egypt put to flight.

Heereupon, in the yeare, 1444. hee came and besiedged *Rhodes*, which vvas vertuously defended by the *Rhodian* Knights; and in the month of September the same yeare, a generall assembly was held at *Rhodes*, to helpe the ensuing necessitie of the order. So the yeare following, the Great Maister (by aduise of the Pope and the King of *Cyprus*) made peace with *Amurath*, and helde a generall Chapter at *Rhodes*. At which time, the D. of *Cleues* passed by *Rhodes*, in his returne from *Ierusalem*, where he had visited the Holie places. In the yeare, 1451. a generall assembly was made at *Rhodes*, wherein, the administration and gouernement of the Treasure, and whole fraternity, was giuen to the Great Maister: who in Anno 1452. after the death of *Amurath*, renewed the peace with *Mahomet* the seconde his son. And yet the yeare following, *Mahomet* became Master of the City of *Constantinople*, the 29. of May: when (being not a litle proud of this fortunate succes) he sent to the great Master of *Rhodes*, that he should pay him yearely, two thousand Ducats, in name of a tribute, otherwise, he purposed not to hold (any longer) the peace sworne betweene them. Whereunto the Great Maister made a courageous answere, to wit; *That neither his religion, the Isle of* Rhodes, *nor himselfe were Subiects to any, but God and his Church; that he would neuer pay Turk any tribute, being rather resolued to dye (both he and all his Knightes) then to endure Christian Libertie, (which euer had bin free) to come nowe (by his meanes) into thraldome.* Whereupon, he sent Ambassadours to the Pope and Christian Princes, to entreat supply from them, against the periured Mahomet. And in the yeare, 1454. the xix. day of May, he died, hauing valiantly gouerned his Order sixteene yeares, six months, & thirteene dayes.

A generall assembly helde at *Rhodes*.

The death of *Amurath*.

Constantinople won by Mahomet.

The Great Maisters answer to Mahomet.

36. IAcques de Milly, borne in *Auuergn*, whereof he was Prior, succeeded as Great Master, the first of Iune, 1454. being in his Priory when he was elected, & his Nephew *George de Boisrond*, brought him first tidings thereof. Whereupon, he immediatly went to *Rhodes*, and helde a generall Chapter the same yeare, in the month of Nouember. In the yeare, 1456 the Isle of Rhodes was greatly afflicted with pestilence and famine, whereby it became halfe desert, and to re-people it againe, many generall citations wer sent abroad to all the Knights, to meete there at a certaine time. The yeare 1457. Mahomet besiedged the Isle of *Lango*, & the Castle of the Isle *des Singes*: but hee was couragiously repulsed, the Knightes hauing a very happy and singuler victory against him, which caused *Charles* the 7. King of *France*, to send the Knights (as a guift) sixteene thousand Crownes. The Bayliffes, Commanders, and other Officers of the Order, beeing then enioyned (by a generall Chapter) to come to Rhodes, for the more secure defence thereof. The xvii. of August, 1461. the great Maister died, hauing (with much prouidence) gouerned his charge in harde & troublesome times, seuen years, two months, and sixteene daies. He was greatly lamented, because he was very benigne, affable, and humaine, desirous to preserue peace and vnity among his worthy Brethren.

1342.

A great plagu and famine in *Rhodes*.

The Isle of *Lango* besiegd by *Mahomet*.

The bountie of the King of *France*.

37 PEter Raymond Zacosta, born in *Aragon*, and *Castilean d'Emposta*, was created Great Master next, he being then absent in *Spaine*; but at his comming to Rhodes, by a generall Chapter there holden,

1461.

The eight language admitted into the Order.

den, the eight Language of *Castile* & *Portugall*, was then admitted into the order. For till that instant, there were but seuen Languages there before; to wit, three of *France*, *Auuergne*, and *Prouence*; one of *Italy*, one of *Arragon*, one of *England*, & one of *Allemaigne* or *Germany*. The yeare 1464. the *Venetians* army besiedged the Citty of *Rhodes*: but the siege was soone raised, and the *Venetians* returned home to their Countrey, the war being appeased by the wisedome of the Great Master, who caused the Tower of S. *Nicholas* to be built, at the mouth of *Rhodes* Port, in the very same place, wher (in elder times) the great *Colossus* of the Sun (numbered among the seuen wonders of the world) had stood. As a helpe to this building, *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundy*, gaue ten thousand Crownes of Gold. The yeare 1465. the great Turke sent Ambassodours vnto *Rhodes*, to mediate a peace between him and the Knightes Hospitallers: but they worthily refused it; and in presence of the Ambassadors, denounced warre against the Turke. The generall Chapter being then transferred from *Rhodes* to *Rome*; & the Great Master being present in person thereat, he died there the 21. of February, 1467. and was buried in the Church of S. *Peter*.

The Tower of S. *Nicholas* builded.

The Duke of *Burgundies* Liberality.

The generall Chapter transferd to Rome.

1467. 38. *Baptista Orsino*, Prior of *Rome*, an *Italian* by Nation and Tongue, succeeded the Great Maister *Zacosta*. No sooner was he come to *Rhodes*, but he receiued intelligence, that the great Turke prepared a puisant army, purposing to be siedge either *Rhodes* or *Negropont*: wherfore, hee sent for a great number of the Knights, that were then absent, to come forthwith for defence of the Iland. Moreouer, he leagued himselfe with the *Seignury* of *Venice*, against the Turke. Neuertheless, in the yeare 1470. *Mahomet* forcibly tooke the Citty of *Negropont*, the last day of Iuly, committing verie great and horrible cruelties, killing (in colde blood) all the *Latines* there to be found, and (by sound of Trumpet) he proclaimd open war against the Knight of Rhodes; which enforced them to seeke all meanes for their best defence, prouiding euerie way to withstand the Turkish Army. But in this time of preparation, the eight day of Iune, the Great-Maister died of a long lingering disease, which had afflicted him a whole year together: and after him succeeded

Negropont take by *Mahomet*.

Horrible cruelties of the Turkes.

39. *Peter d'Abusson*, born in *Auuergn*, Priour there, and Captain of the Citty of Rhodes. He being chosen Great Maister, solemnly took his Oath (according to custome) to keepe the statutes of the Order. Hee visited the whole Isle of Rhodes, and made very great prouision to defend it against the Turks army, sending for all Knights and Commaunders appertaining to the Order, to repaire thither for defence of the Isle, and renewing peace with the Soldan of Egypt. The same year, King *Lewes* preuailed to haue a Iubily in *France*, in fauor of the knights of Rhodes; taking order, that the monies thereby arising, should soly be imployed for their defence. And by this Iubily cam great store of Money, wherewith Castles and fortifications were builded in the Ile. Truce also was taken, betweene the Knights, and the King of *Tunis*, for thirtie yeares; and the Knights of the Sepulcher at *Ierusalem*, were ioyned with the Rhodians of S. *Iohn*. In the yeare, 1479. *Mahomet* the second, Emperor of the Turks, helde a solemne counsell, that Rhodes should be besieged with a powerfull Army, as indeed soone after it was. In which siege, many sallies forth were made, and the Turkes daily repulsed and chased; albeit they were an 100000. fighting men, and the army consisted of 160. saile. The Great Maister; was much succoured by *Messire Antoine d'Aubusson* his Brother, Viscount of *Montelis*, who was a great Warrior, and a most skilfull Captain, he was elected Captain Generall for the besieged. In few daies, the Turkes gaue 3700. shot with the Cannon, against the Citty wals, and a maruellous assault was made of 40000. Turkes, who neuertheless were valiauntly resisted, albeit the Great Maister receiued (in this fight) fiue great wounds, one whereof was thought to be deadly. In the end, so worthily were the assaylants withstood, that they were enforced to raise their siedge, hauing lost a great number of their Souldiers, & the Army of Turkes returned (with mightie shame and disgrace) to *Constantinople*, after they had besiedged the Citty, for the space of 89. daies. After this siege, *Mahomet* the second, concluded to come in person to *Rhodes*: whereupon, a generall assembly

1476.

A Iubilie in *France*, for the Knightes of Rhodes.

Knights of the Sepulcher ioyned with them of *Rhodes*.

The great power of the Turks against Rhodes.

The Turkes compelled to raise their siedge.

assembly of the Knights was made. But the death of *Mahomet* hindered this deseigne, and his Sonnes *Baiazeth* and *Zizime* performed the warre, after the decease of their Father, which gaue some breathing time of rest to the Knightes of *Rhodes*. And yet *Zizime* (in person) came to assist the Great Maister, withdrawing himselfe to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1482. wher he was receiued with great honor, and from thence conducted into *France*. In the time of this Great M. *D'Aubusson*, the statutes of the Order were reformed, and brought into one Volume: Peace being concluded betweene the Knights and the Great Turke *Baiazeth*. The great Maister, was made a Cardinall by Pope *Innocent* the eight, and Legate also into *Asia*, with honour of Legate, and generall of the legued Army against the Turk. Finally, he died at Rhodes, Anno 1503. the third day of July, full of honor and reputation, and was interred with great funerall pompe. He had liued 80. yeares, three months, and 4. daies, and gouerned the Order 27. yeares, and xvi. daies.

Mahomets death gaue some respit to *Rhodes*.

Peace concluded betweene *Baiazeth* and *Rhodes*.

1503

40 THere were 387. Knights assembled at *Rhodes*, when the Great Maister *D'Aubusson* died, who elected for his successor, *Emery D'Ambois*, Brother to *George D'Ambois*, Cardinall and Legate in *France*, Arch-bishop of *Rouen*. He was a French-man by birth, & great Prior of *France*, at the time of his election, *Guy de Blanchefort* comming into *France*, to accompany him in his voyage to *Rhodes*, wher he was receiued with much applause and reioycing, because the Kinges of *France* and *Spain* had written verie fauourable Letters on his behalfe, to the Knights of the order. He was no sooner there arriued, but he held a general chapter, wherein was concluded, that a sumptuous Tombe of Brasse should be made, for the deceased Cardinall Great Mayster. In the yeare following, they obtained a very famous and nauall victory, against the Soldane of *Egipt*, vnder the conduct of *Phillip de Villiers*, of the Isle *Adam*, a French Knight of the order, & afterward he was Great M. But this Maister *Emerie D'Ambois* died at Rhodes, An. 1512.

A great assembly of Knights at Rhodes.

A Nauall victory against the Soldan of Egypt.

1512

41 AND the same yeare, 410. of the Knights were assembled at Rhodes, where they chose *Guy de Blanchefort*, borne in *Auuergne*, and Nephew to the deceased Maister *D'Aubusson*, to be great maister. In his time, the generall *Lateran* Counsel was holden at *Rome*, where *Fabritio Carretto*, Admirall and Procurator for the order of Rhodes, was Captaine of the Guard to the said counsel. This great M. *de Blanchefort*, embarking himselfe at *Nicea* in *Prouence*, to make for Rhodes, was surprized (by the way) with a dangerous sicknes, whereof hee died the 24. of Nouemb. a yeare & two daies after his election.

The generall *Lateran* counsell at Rome.

42 IN his sted, *Fabritio de Caretto*, born in *Geneway*, and an *Italian* by Language, was created Great M. in an assembly held at *Rhodes*, the xv. of December, 1513. where were then present 550. Knights of the order the said *Carretto* hauing formerly bin Admiral of Rhodes. In the yeare 1516. peace was made between the Knights of S. *Iohn*, and *Tomombeus* Soldan of Egypt, successor to *Campson Gaury*, who (but a short while before) was slaine in a battaile, wherein *Selim* (Emperor of the Turks) had the victory against him. And *Tomombeus* was as vnfortunat, for in the yeare, 1517. he was taken, and strangled at one of the Ports of the great *Cayre*, by the appointment of *Selim*. And this was the cause, that the great Maister fortified the Isle of *Rhodes*, to his vttermost power, sending Ambassadors to the Christian Princes, to let them vnderstand the great victories of *Selim*, the sooner to take order for sending succour. But *Selim* dying, his son Sultan *Solyman* succeeded him: and in Ianuary, 1521: the Great M. *Carretto* finished his daies at Rhodes, leauing great prouision and munition for warre, which soon after did seruice to his successor.

1513.

550 Knights, altogether at Rhodes.

Tomombeus Soldan of Egypt.

The Isle of Rhodes strongly fortified.

43 PHillip de Villiers, of the Isle *Adam*, great Priour of *Fraunce*, and there borne, where because he also was at the time of his election, *Gabriel de Pomereux* great commander, was chosen Lieutenant to the Great Maister till he came. The very same yeare of his election, the xxii. of Ianuary, 1521. *Sultan Soliman* resolued to besiege the Isle of Rhodes, executing the last Will of his Father *Selim*: whereof the Great Maister being aduertised, he made his preparation (by al possible meanes) to withstand the Turkes enterprize.

1521

Sultan *Solymã* executed his Fathers *Selims* will.

War betweene the Emperor *Charles* the 5. and *Frances* the 1. King of *Fraunce*.

Dilligently did he ſtrengthen the City of *Rhodes*, ſending for ſupply into Chriſtendome, which as then hee coulde not haue, by reaſon of the Warre hapning betweene *Frances* the firſt, K. of *Fraunce*, and the Emperor *Charles* the fift. In the month of Iune, 1522. began the memorable ſiedge of the Citie of *Rhodes*, which was beſiedged with an army of two hundred thouſand Turkes; and afterwardes the army encreaſed vnto three hundred thouſand men. The beſiedged defended themſelues moſt couragiouſly, and verie worthy exploits of war were there performed, eſpecially by the Great Maiſter, who (during the ſiedge) did neuer put off his Armour. The aſſaylants were in many attempts repulſed, and in one of them, twentie thouſand Turkes remained dead in the place: *Soliman* hauing then a purpoſe to raiſe his ſiege, but that there were ſome cloſe Traitours, who hindered him from ſo dooing, and yet they did not eſcape vnpunniſhed.

The loſſe of Rhodes, to the great griefe of all Chriſtendom.

At length, the Great Maiſter (receyuing no ſuccour) was enforced to ſurrender the Citty, vpon compoſition, the 24. day of December, 1522. the Turkes hauing loſt more then an hundred thouſand men. *Solyman* would needes ſee the great Maiſter, and when he beheld him, teares iſſued from his eyes, in meere compaſſion of him. So the firſt day of Ianuarie, 1523. the Great Maiſter (with fiftie ſaile) departed from *Rhodes*, and tooke his way towardes *Candie*: after that the Iſle of *Rhodes* had been in the power of the Knights Hoſpitallers, for the ſpace of two hundred and thirteen yeares, to wit, from the yeare, 1309. to the end of the yeare, 1522. After this loſſe of Rhodes, the Great Maiſter, and his valiant Religious Knights, had not any aſſured place of abiding, vntill the Iſle of *Malta* was giuen them by the Emperor *Charles* the fift. For they departed firſt into *Candy*, from thence they went into *Sicily* and *Italy*, where the Pope lent them the Citty of *Vitterbo*, and where they held a generall Chapter. Afterwardes, thy ſoiourned for ſome ſmall time, at *Cornetto*; then at *Villefranche*, and at *Nicea*. While they remaind at *Nicea*, the Great Maiſter made a voyage into *England*, and from thence to *Fraunce*; where being at *Lyons*, a great ſickeneſſe tooke him: but after his recouery, hee went to *Cambray*, to holde the Baptiſme

How long time Rhodes was in the Knightes keeping.

Malta giuen to the knights by the Emp. *Charles* the fift

The Knights of S. Iohn becam Knightes of *Malta*.

Font for *Phillebert Emanuel*, Sonne to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. Afterward, comming with his Brethren-Knights to *Malta*, on Wedneſday morning the ſixte of October, 1530. he cauſed a Pallace to be there erected, for the abiding of him and his ſucceſſours, calling it *Caſtel Angelo*, building another Pallace alſo in the olde Citty of *Malta*. VVhen he had gouerned his order thirty yeares, and ſeauen monthes (being aged ſeauenty yeares) the xxi. of Auguſt, 1534. he died at *Malta*, and was buried in a Chappell, which hee had builded neere to *Caſtel Angelo*, and then ſucceeded him by election

A palace built at *Malta*, cald *Caſtel Angelo*.

44 *Pierrin du Pont*, a Natiue of *Aſt*, and an *Italian* by language. Before the taking of Rhodes, he was Gouernour of the Iſle of *Lango*; & after the loſſe thereof, he departed (with all the Knights vnder his gouernment) and ioyned his power in *Candie*, with the army of the order. In his time, *Charles* the fift, Emperor, attempted to go in perſon to the Kingdom of *Tunis* in *Affrica*, where he was aſſiſted by the Gallies belonging vnto the Order, and the Knightes alſo, who performed there great exploits of armes: eſpecially, in the ſurprizing of *Goletta*, which vvas held to bee a Fort vnconquerable. This war being ended, the Great M. aged 72. yeares, died; hauing gouerned only xiiii. months, and xxii. daies, and was buried by his predeceſſor *Villiers*.

1534.

Gouernor of the Iſle of *Lango*, made great Maiſter.

Goletta taken by the Emperor & Knights

45 *Deſire*, or *Didier de S. Iaille de Tolon*, borne in *Prouence*, and Prior of *Tholoſſa*, was next made great Maſter: when lifting vp his eies to heauen, he vſed theſe words: *O my God, if thou thinkeſt me fit for this great charge, I will not refuſe the paine and labor*. In his trauailing towards *Malta*, being very aged, ſo ſoone as he arriued at *Montpellier*, hee fell into an extreame ſickneſſe, whereof he died, the 26 of Sept. 1536. and was buried with much ſolemnity, in the church of the *Commandery* of *S. Gilles*, without the gates of *Montpellier*. VVhen the Knights were aduertiſed of his deceaſe, the xviii. of Octob. in the ſame yeare, they proceeded to the election of

1535.

The words of the Great M.

46 *Iohn d'Homedes*, a natiue of *Arragon*, who being then in *Spain*, made haſt to *Malta*, wher he was ioyfully receiued.

1536.

ued. Albeit he was discontented that they had not sent some of the Gallies, nor the great *Carrack* of the Order, for his conduct thither; wherefore he disarmed and destroyed the Great *Carrack*, which caused many complaints against him. Verie often would he discourse of the siedge at *Rhodes*, because he gaue generall notice thereby, that there he had lost one of his eies. He made a goodly Parke of Deare, and a very beautifull Garden in the Isle of *S. Michael*, and there would hee spend the greater part of the day, which raysed occasion of murmuring against him, that he was slacke in his publick gouernment, and no way carefull to prouide the Isle of *Malta*, of needefull supplies against the Turkes forces, for he trusted too much in the strength of *Castel Angelo*. In his time, the citty of *Tripoli* in *Barbary* was lost by the knights of the order, & taken by the Turks, which droue him to no litle fear & amazement. In the year, 1552. *Leo Strozzi*, an especial Commander of the order, made an attempt vpon the Isle of *Zoara*, which had very harde successe, because many Knights were then slaine of all Nations, especially manie *French*, *Auuergnacs*, and *Prouenceals*. It being declared to the Great Maister, he grieued extraordinarily thereat, and saide; *That a greater losse had not happned to the Order, since the surprizal of Rhodes*. He builded the Castles of S. *Elme*, and *S. Michael*, and being eighty years old, died the 6. of Sept. 1558 hauing gouerned xvi. yeares, x. months, and xv. daies, and was buried in the great Maisters Chappell.

A great Carrack belonging to the order.

A Parke of Deare and a goodly Garden in the Isle of S. *Michael*.

Tripoly in *Barbary* taken by the Turkes.

The Isle of *Zoara*, manie kn ghts slaine there.

1558. 46 C*Laudius de la Single*, borne in *France*, was next created Great Maister, and his election, there were then present at *Malta*, aboue foure hundered Knights of the Order. Hee Gouerned verie discreetly, by Counsell of siue Worthy Knightes his Officers and Attendants, (to witte;) by his Steward, Maister of the Housholde, Maister of the Horsse, the Treasurer, and Secretary. So that the Order was in great happinesse, during the time of his Maystershippe, hauing obtained the priuiledge of Neutrality, of King *Henry* the second, and *Charles* the fift, Emperor, who made warre against him.

Foure hundered Knightes assembled at *Malta*.

Priuiledge of *Neutralite*.

Hee was verie Valiant, Religious, and a most profitable Administratour of the Orders reuennues, in whose Treasury he left aboundant store: dying of a *Catarrh*, which had much suffocated him, after he had attained to the Climacteriall yeare, 63. of his age.

47 F*Iohn de Valette*, borne in *Prouence*, succeeded next as Great Maister, and his election was verie pleasing to all the Order of Saint *Iohn*, because he was generally beloued of all the Nations, and vniuersally desired, as most Woorthy of that charge and Dignitie. In lesse space then two yeares, he was generall of the Gallies, Bayliffe of *Lango*, Great Commaunder, Priour of Saint *Gilles*, and Lieutenant to the great Mayster, and nowe at length Great Maister also. 1561

Seuerall dignities in little space.

Hee did so affect his Knightes and Order, that, after the day hee first entered into it, he would neuer more returne into his Counttey. So that by making continuall residence there with them, he passed thorough all the Degrees and offices of honour in the profession: appearing still (in all his actions) to bee of rare iudgement, perfect integrity, & incomparable valour. So soone as he was aduanced to this Soueraigne dignity, he resolued to builde a new Cittie at *Malta*, vpon the Mountaine of Saint *Elme*, knowing that all the other Fortes were not sufficiently munited, to endure the batterie of a potent enemy: yet this disseign was deferred till a further time. He fortified the Castle of the Isle of *Gozo*, and forsaking his abiding at the Castle of S. *Angello*, came and dwelt within the town of *Malta*, which hee defended most valiantly against the siege of the Emp. Sultan *Soliman*, when he was grieuously wounded in his leg, in the year 1565. But the siege being raised, to the shame and confusiō of the Turks; he greatly strengthned the Isle of *Malta*, and began to build the new City, which was called *Valette*, according to his sur-name, and whereof himselfe solemnly laid the first stone, on monday the 28. of March, 1566. And by the sollicitude of the Great Maister, the building thereof, continued on still, eight thousand persons beeing daily employed therein; and siue hundered thousand Crownes monthly paid to the workmen. At length, the one & twentie of August, 1568. the Great Maister died, on the like day as hee was promoted vnto his place, ha-

A new Cittie built at *Malta* on S. *Elmes* Mount.

The Turkes receiued shame by raising their siege.

Building of the new Citty of *Valette*.

hauing gouerned eleauen yeares, fullie compleat.

1568. 48. After the obſequies of *Valette* the Great Maiſter, they proceeded to elect a new ſucceſſor, which was *Pedro de Mente*, an *Italian* borne, and Priour of *Capua*. Immediately after his promotion to the Maiſterſhip, hee cauſed his predeceſſors bodie to be carried into the New Citty, and to bee honourably buried in the Chappell of our Lady of Victory, for he worthily deſerued to be ſurnamed the Father of Souldiers, the Shield and Defender of the Catholicke faith, and the great perſecutor or queller of proud Infidels. This new Great Maiſter, before he attained vnto ſo high degree, had made good proofe of his wiſedome and valour, in ſundry other honourable and woorthy Offices. For hee was firſt, Patron of the Gally, which was Captain or Commander of the band. Next, Lieutenant Generall of the Gallies, *Caſtillion* or Gouernor of the Caſtle. *S. Angello* at *Rome*; he was then Admirall, next General of the whol Fleet, and Ambaſſador for the Order to the Popes *Pius* the fourth, and *Pius* the fift. He came from Rome to *Malta*, when he was choſen Great Maiſter, and followed his charge ſo effectually, that the new Citty was finiſhed, and thither hee purpoſed to transfer the dwelling of the Order. For the good Old man, thought it as great honour, to dwell in the New Citty, and make it habitable; as it was for his predeceſſor *Valette* to build it. In his time, the memorable Nauall battaile of *Lepanto* was fought, and victory obtaind againſt the Turkes, wherein the Knights of the Order did many woorthy actions of armes. The Great Maiſter deceaſing at *Malta*.

Titles giuen to the deceaſed Great M. & his buriall.

The new City finiſhed.

The Nauall battel of *Lepanto*.

1572 49 *Iohn*, Biſhop of *Caſſiera*, borne in *Auuergn*, did next ſucceede him, in the yeare, 1572. Before his election vnto this Office, his Vertue had appeared in diuers waighty charges. For, at the enterprize of *Zoara*, he was Enſigne-bearer to the Order, and defended the Standarde very worthily, bringing it backe with him to *Malta*, when both it and himſelfe were ſmitten into the Sea, yet both of them ſaued by a Gally belonging to the order, after he had a long time fought vndantedly againſt the Infidels. Soon after, he was choſen Captaine generall of the Horſemen: Commiſſary of the fortifications, then Marſhall of the Order, and now laſt Great Maiſter, wherein he liued very vertuouſly, not letting any day paſſe him, without ſome eſpeciall piece of Seruice; and feeding with his own hands, thirteen poore men. With his owne Money, hee builded the great Church dedicated to to S. *Iohn Baptiſt*, in the new City of *Valette*, endowing it with a 1000 Crownes of annuall Reuennues, erecting alſo a goodly Sepulcher, for interring therein the bodies of the Great Maiſters his predeceſſors. There happened ſome diſcontentment betweene the Knights and him, which ſhortning his daies, he died.

Honorable actions performed by the Great Maiſter before his choiſe in that Office.

The Church of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, built at the Great Maſters charge.

50 And the twelfth of Ianuary, 1582. *Hugues de Loubenx Verdale*, born in *Prouence*, was elected Great Maiſter. He was but a yong Knight, yet both learning and Military knoledge ſhined clearly in him. For he was in the attempt at *Zoara*, where he declared himſelfe to be truly valiant, and had many honourable offices impoſed vpon him. He dying, 1582

51 *Martin Garzes*, a Natiue of *Arragon*, ſucceeded him next as great Maiſter. Hee quallified the diſcontentments amongſt his Brethren-Knights, & tooke away thoſe Taxes which had beene impoſed, and interdicted (for a time) the Officers of the Order, to giue a newe forme to his owne Gouernment, and to the good liking of all the Knights. He did expreſſely prohibit, that not any Knight, (nor the Great Maiſter himſelfe) might particularly haue any ſhip on the Sea, to vſe any Piracies for his owne profit. Hee died alſo at *Malta*, and lieth buried in the Sepulcher of the Great Maiſters. 1595.

Diſcontents pacified amõg the Brethren.

52 The Knights aſſembling for a new election, the tenth of Febr. 1601. *Aloph de Vignacourt*, borne in *Fraunce*, was created Great Maiſter. In the yeare, 1566. he comming to *Malta*, with great ſtore of other French Gentlemen; vpon a flying rumour that the Iſle was likely to be beſiedged againe by the Turkes army, they all entred into the order, vnder the Great Maiſter *Valette*, receiuing (afterwardes) ſundry great Charges, wherein his wiſedome and man-hood was euidently diſcernd, hauing bin captain of the Citty 1601.

Citty of *Valette*, and not long after, great Hospitaller of the order. He yet continueth in the Office of great Maister, a great comfort (we hope) to Christendom, and a terror to the *Ottomans* Empire, whensoeuer they shall attempt the hurt of the Isle of *Malta*, where the famous memory of that ancient Order of Knight-hood of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem*, is still kept and maintained.

The Great-Maister that yet liueth.

CHAP. IIII.

The seuerall Orders of Knight-hoode, both Ecclesiastick and Secular; as they haue beene, and are yet honored in this Christian World.

Ecclesiasticall Orders.

Knights of S. Iames of Compostella.

1070. IN the yeare, 1070. this Order of Knight-hood began in *Spain*, after that *Ramirus* had won the most famous victory, in the Prouince of *Compostella*, against the *Moores*.

At first, their number consisted but of thirteene, and it was lawfull for them to take wiues. There was a chiefe man chosen of this order, by the name of Great Maister; who (together with the other 13.) had power to elect other knights.

The badge or note of honour of this Knight-hood, was a Red Crosse, carying the forme of a downe pointed sword. At the Feast of *All-Saints*, was their meeting appointed, that they might confer about their affaires. Many years haue they continued, with many priuiledges, & scarsely any but they (called *Augustines*) holde any such lawes.

Knights of Saint Iohns of Ierusalem, who were afterwardes knights of the Rhodes, and at this day are called Knights of Malta.

1099. IN the yeare, 1099. the Cittie of *Ierusalem* being recouered against the impulsions of the Infidelles, by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, Duke of *Lorraine*. About that verie time, a certaine Hospitall was erected by the Christians in *Ierusalem*, consecrated by the name of S. *Iohn Baptist*, for the entertainment of Pilgrims. Soone after, was this Order of Knight-hood instituted, and the first Rector or Ruler vvas called *Gerrard*, and the next after him, *Raimond*. These Knights wore a Blacke Garment, with a Crosse Argent, in a field Gules, vpon their breasts.

In the yeare, 130⁸. beeing enforced from their former abiding by the Turkes, and the Isle of *Rhodes* granted them by Pope *Clement* the fifte: they were (in that regard) called Knights of *Rhodes*. 1308.

In the yeare, one thousand fiue hundred twenty three, *Rhodes* being wonne from them, *Malta* was affoorded them; whereon to this day, they are called Knights of *Malta*. 1523.

The duty of this Knight-hoodes Order, was, to fight for the Christian faith, to releeue the oppressed, to defend Widdowes and Orphanes, &c. Nor was anie one to be admitted into this Order, that was descended of a Moore, Iew, Mahumetist, or any such ignoble race.

Knights Templers, or Knights of the Temple.

ANno Dom. 1117. *Gotfredus Aldemarus Alexandrinus*, and *Hugo de Planco de Paganis* (*Godfrey* Duke of *Lorraine*, and King of *Ierusalem* being dead, and *Baldwine* then raigning) this order of Knight-hood first began, and a seate was granted them in the temple of *Ierusalem*, whereuppon, they were called Knightes Templers, or Knights of the Temple. 1117.

By entreaty of *Stephen*, Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, Pope *Honorius* brought in this Order, and confirmed their Society, giuing them a White Garment, whereunto *Eugenius* the third, added a red Crosse on the breast.

The charge of these Knights, was, to guide trauailers on the way of *Ierusalem*, and to entertaine strangers.

Anno Domini, 1310. *Clement* the fift (who then held his See in France) by perswasion of *Phillip* King of *France*, gaue order for the vtter subuersion of this Knight-hoods Society, and all their Colledges, throughout our Christian Worlde, whersoeuer they were builded: in regard of a most abhominable trechery, by them intended and ratified. 1310.

Knights Teutons, or Knights of Allemaigne.

1130. SOne after that *Ieruſalem* was regayned from the Chriſtians, one *Teuto* a Nobleman, and abounding in Riches, inſtituted this Society of Knight-hood, building an houſe (for their entertainement) at Ieruſalem, called, *Hoſpitium Virginis Mariæ.*

Among this Order of Knight-hood, neither Knight of *Malta*, nor any other, except a *Germain* (and he likewiſe to bee Noble by birth) could be receyued into their degree. Their garment was White, and a Blacke Croſſe figured vppon their Breaſts.

In the yeare, 1184. theſe Knights (the Citty of *Ieruſalem* being ſurprized by the Sarrazins) *Ptolomais* was graunted them: but beeing likewiſe driuen from thence, they came into their Countrey of *Germanie.*

In the yeare, 1220. they intreated *Fredericke* the ſecond, Emperour, that hee wold ſuffer thē to take Arms againſt certaine fugitiue Idolaters in *Pruſsia*: who beeing by them ſubdued, they obtayned there a new ſeating, and their Dition or Lordſhippe of *Liuonia* was then added to them.

Calatrauian Knights, or Knights of Calatraua.

IN the yeare, 1130. this order of Knight-hood was inſtituted by *Sanctio*, King of *Toledo*, in imitation of the order of Saint *Iames.*

Theſe Knights, tooke the name of *Calatraua*, which was a place graunted vnto them, where (in former times) had ſtood a Church, that belonged to the Knightes Templers: And when the Sarrazins were ouer-powerfull for them, thoſe Knightes were conſtrained to ſurrender this place vnto them.

Theſe Knights did were a black Garment, with a red croſſe vpon their breaſt, and were ſaid to be of the *Ciſternian* Order, holding in Spaine large poſſeſsions.

Knights of Alcantara.

1250. THeſe Knightes, held their name of a Citty in *Caſtile*, called *Alcantara*, and were of the *Ciſternian* order.

They had a goodly Temple neere to the Riuer *Tagus*, where they helde very ample poſſeſſions.

Their Enſigne or Badge was a Greene Croſſe.

Knights of the Redemption.

IN Anno Dom. 1212. this order was inſtituted by *Iames* King of *Arragon*, who Conquered the Iſlands called *Baleares* or *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, in the Spaniſh Sea. 1212.

It was the Office of theſe Knights, to redeeme captiues: whereupon, the Title of Redemption was giuen them: they wer alſo called Knights of *Mary.*

Theſe Knights Order was confirmed by *Gregory* the ninth, Biſhoppe of Rome. And they wore a white Garment with a blacke Croſſe vppon it.

Knights of Monteſia.

THis order was inſtituted much about that very ſame time, as the Knightes of *Calatraua* were. 1150.

They deriued their name from *Monteſia*, in *Valentia*, where was their place of abiding.

The Enſigne of theſe Knightes, was a red croſſe.

Knights of the Holy Sepulcher.

THeſe Knightes (who deriued their name of *Chriſts Sepulcher*) did weare two Red croſſes. This order (at this day) is quite extinct, or (as ſome do imagine) the Order of the Knights of *Malta*, is ſaid to be ſomewhat neare it. 1219.

Knights of Chriſt.

IN Anno Dom. 1320. this order was inſtituted by *Iohn* the 20. Biſhop of *Rome.* The place of theſe Knights abiding, was in *Portugal.* 1320.

A Black Garment, & a double croſſe, were the Enſignes of this Knight-hoodes order.

Knights of S. Mary, the Mother of Chriſt.

CErtaine Noblemen of *Bolognia* and *Modena* in *Italy*, being much trobled and 1261.

and moleſted by perturbations among the Princes, deſired of *Vrbane* the fourth Byſhoppe of *Rome*, that they might be ſuffered to begin ſome kind of Societie. Whereupon, this Order was graunted them, to holde in free and peaceable manner.

A little red Croſſe, reflected with Gold, they wore vpon their Breaſts.

Theſe Knights did weare coſtly Garments, and fared delicately: whervpon they were vulgarly cald by the *Italians*: *Frati Gaudenti*.

They might not were any gilt Spurs, or vſe any Gold on their Horſes Furniture.

¶ *Knights of Saint Lazarus of Hieruſalem.*

1048 THis Order was confirmed, or (as ſome will haue it) reſtored by *Pius Quartus*. And yet the Knightes of this order (are ſaid to be) in the times of *Baſilius*, and Pope *Damaſus*, when *Iulian* the Apoſtata raigned, & then they flouriſhed, as ſome do affirme.

The Enſigne or Impreſſe of this Order, was a greene Croſſe, worne on the left ſide of the breaſt.

A man twice married, might not be admitted into this Order.

Knights of the round Table.

The Secular Orders. IN *Anno Domini* 516. *Arthur*, a worthy and warlike King, raigning in the Iſle of *Brittaine*, the Countrey beeing infeſted and troubled with Armies of *Saxons*, &c. was yet (by him) very valiantly ſupported, and his fame out-ſtretched to the remoteſt Regions. Afterward, when peace was eſtabliſhed, that other knightly mindes might bee inflamed with the like glorie: this Order he inſtituted, which continued (with others) in long and honorable obſeruation.

The Order of theſe Knights was (eſpecially) in the Citty of *Winchester*, as ſome haue recorded; and their yearelie meeting was there, at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, or Whitſontide.

Knights of the Garter.

1349. IN the yeare 1349. *Edward* the third, King of England, hauing had great victories againſt the French, and other neighbouring Nations, did inſtitute this Order, and conſecrated it to Saint *George*.

The King appointed a Garter to bee the Enſigne of this Order, wrought richly with Golde and precious ſtones, which ſhould circle the leg beneath the knee, and on it to haue theſe words apparantly diſcerned:

HONI. SOIT. QVI. MAL. Y. PENSE.

The number of theſe Knightes, are twenty ſixe, whereof the King himſelfe is the chiefe.

The time of this Societies meeting, is the Feaſt of S. *George*, and celebrated at *Windſore*.

Theſe Knights do weare the Enſigne of Saint *George* (fighting with a Draggon) faſtned to a rich Chain or Collar, which weighed or valued, neither more or leſſe, then eighty pounds of Engliſh Money (as hath beene ſaide) in former times. Their Garments is Purple, with a red Croſſe.

Knights of the Starre.

1350 ANno Dom. 1350. *John* King of *France*, being much mooued with the glory of *Edward* the third, King of England; did inſtitute this Order of Knighthood, entitling it by thoſe 3 *Magi*, who (going from the Eaſt to honour Chriſt) were guided by a Starre.

The Enſigne of this Order was a Star, ſet eminently in the Hat: and the words were

Monſtrant Regibus Aſtra Viam.

The founder of this Order, beeing much moleſted with the difficulties happening in warre; could not perfect what he had inſtituted. And therefore (within a ſhort while after) this Order ceaſed.

Knights of the Band.

1367. IN the yeare 1367. this Order was inſtituted by *Alphonſus* King of *Spaine*, the Son of *Ferdinand* and *Conſtance*.

Theſe Knights did wear a certain red ſcarffe or Band, of three fingers bredth, which (like a Stoale) was faſtened on the left Shoulder, and ſo came vnderneath

derneath the right Arme, thwart the body.

Into this Order, younger borne Brethren onely (of Noble descent and Family) and none of the elder, might bee admitted.

Many Articles (belonging to this Order, and to bee obserued by these Knights) are at large set downe by *Sansouino*.

Knights of the Annunciation.

1409 ANno Dom. 1409. *Amades* or *Amadeus*, as some write, the sixt, Sirnamed the *Greene Earle of Sauoy*, deuised this Order, who were tearmed Knightes of the *Virgine Mary*, and for this reason instituted: because *Amades* the first Earle of *Sauoy* (with wonderfull fortitude) defended *Rhodes* against the Turkish powers, in his memory it was thus celebrated.

A Chaine or Collar (such as Knights vse to weare, made of Gold and Siluer Plates, and fastned together with little Linkes) each Man had about his necke, with these Letters engrauen thereon, F.E.R.T. that is; *Fortitudo eius Rhodũ tenuit*. Thereat hung also (by another small Chaine) the Picture of the Virgine *Mary*, with the Angels salutation.

Knights of the Golden Fleece.

1429. IN the yeare 1429. *Phillip*, Sir-named the good Duke of *Burgundy*, instituted this Order, and dedicated it vnto Saint *Iames*.

The number of these Knightes were twenty four, whereof the Duke of *Burgundy* was the chiefe.

They vsed to weare the Picture of a Golden Sheepe, affixed to a Chaine, inter-wouen like flames of Fire.

Charles the warlike Duke of *Burgundy* (who also is said by euery one, to bee the first Founder of this Order) added thereunto these words: *Ante ferit, quam flamma micet.*

But now at this day, the Knights haue these words:

PRETIVM NON VILE LABORVM.

Knights of Saint Michaell.

1469 IN the yeare 1469. *Lewes* the eleuenth, King of France, instituted this Order at *Amiens*, and dedicated it to Saint *Michaell*.

The beginning of this Society, consisted of a Band of Men, to the number of thirty sixe, the very cheefest and noblest Peeres of the Kingdome, beeing Knights cleere from all detection; and the very cheefe of them was the King himselfe.

At this day, there are a great number of these Knights, and the Kingdom of *France* is not now so respectiue in their election, as at the first.

These Knightes weare a Chaine of Gold daily, wouen like little shels, valewing two hundred Crownes: And thereat hangeth the Picture of Saint *Michaell* fighting with the Deuill, the words being these; *Immensi tremor Oceani.*

These Knights did vse to meet euerie yeare, at the Feast of Saint *Michaell*, in the Church of Saint *Michaell* on the Mount.

Their Garments by *Henry* the second, King of *France*, were appointed in very honourable manner.

Knights of Saint Stephen.

IN the yeare 1561. this Order was instituted by *Cosimo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, and the same confirmed by *Pius Quartus*. 1561.

The Ensigne of these Knights, was a Red Crosse, worne on a blacke Garment.

The Statutes of this Order, doe not much differ from thē of *Malta* Knights: and they were allowed to haue Wiues.

The Duke of *Florence*, is alwaies the chiefe of this Order, and it is not to be censured by any of the religious degrees, but properly it dooth hold a freedome in liberty.

Knights of the Holy-Ghost.

IN the yeare 1578. *Henry* the third, King of *France*, instituted this Order, and named it of the Holy-Ghost: the memory whereof, was to be celebrated in the time of Pentecost: vpon which day, the King was borne, and succeeded also in the Kingdom. These Knights are an hundred in number, and the king himselfe is President. 1578

This

This Feast is celebrated yearely the first day of Ianuary, in the *Augustines* Church in *Paris*, by the *Parisians*.

The Ensigne of these Knights, is a Doue (in which forme the Holy-Ghost appeared) in midst of a Crosse.

The last or lowest degree of Knighthood, is theirs, who (as reward of their Vertues) haue Golden Spurres put on their Heeles, and vulgarly are called Knights.

Concerning Knights Bannerets, who had that Title giuen them by the Kings of England in Warre, Knights of the Bath; And Baronets last of all deuised, they being also created by the Kings of that Kingdome: because they are of another Nature; I passe them ouer, without vsing any further speech of them.

CHAP. V.

Of a strange Custome (though scarsely commendable) vsed by the People, in the Kingdome of Cathay, for marriage of their Daughters, when they want means of Wealth and dowry.

Concerning the seatage of *Cathay*.

SOme Geographers doe place the Prouince of *Cathay* in *Asia*, and others in the higher *India*: but it matters not much to me, in what part soeuer of the World it is scituated; for I am not a little ashamed, to read the manner of their daughters marriages, when they haue no meanes to bestow Dowries on them, which I finde to be thus related. Their Daughters hauing attained to the able yeares of marriage, and they wanting means whereby to aduance them: they bring them into a publike place, where making a noise; by beating two boards one against the other (which may bee heard almost as audibly, as the sound of a good Bell or Trumpet): the people thereupon assemble together. The appearance being made to generall liking, the Maid that then is in question of mariage, must be mounted on some Piller or ascent of Stone, where best she may be seene: and there, by commaund of her Parents (hauing Garments made for the purpose) she vnlaceth and openeth all her nakednesse backward, and so suffers her selfe to be seene for a long space before them. Hauing laced her Garments againe, shee makes the like shew of her naked fore-partes, hauing first taken away her hairy excrements, if of such there bee any: And then, whosoeuer best fancieth her, and shee him; they are allowed to be Man and Wife, prouided that he haue meanes to cloath and keepe her.

A dishonest fashion in marying Maids.

For my selfe, I condeme this custome as sauage and brutish, and hold the *Cathayans* to be very grosse people; albeit, they both say and beleeue, that the whole World (beside them) dooth see but with one eye, and they directlie with both. I confesse them to be of great spirit, in matter of Architecture, for (in all the World) are not to be seen more beautifull Temples, nor so richly elaborate Pallaces, Bridges, & other buildinges, then in that Country. Neither can any where else be seene, more goodly fashions of silken Cloathes, fine Linnen Cloathes, Cloath of Golde or Siluer, workes of Gold-Smitherie, Painters, and other ingenious Artificers. People for knowledge in Phisick, the Mathematiques, and Astrologie, they are not to be equalled. But in matter of ciuillity and pollicy, I protest they vnderstand iust nothing: in regard they compell their Daughters to discouer those partes, which ought to be with care concealed, and brute Beastes themselues doe obserue it. I am of the minde, that they should do much more honestly (notwithstanding their Custome) when they would haue their daughters to become wiues; to be contented with sight of their naked armes & Breasts: for if those parts do appeare to good liking, the rest of the bodie must needs be answerable. In like manner, it would be more ciuill and commendable, to follow the Law of *Licurgus*, who prohibited any guifts or dowries to be giuen to Maidens: to the end, that poore Mens Daughters might speede as well as the Rich do, and not blush to be seene as well behinde as before.

The Authors opinion concerning this bad Custome.

The *Cathayans* are people of great Spirit.

Learned Phisitions, Mathematicians and Astrologers.

The Law of *Lycurgus* concerning mariage.

Licurgus made another Law beside, that Maids should go to publike playes and daunces, starke naked, except little

cut

Lycurgus his Law, for Maids to com naked to publike pastimes.

cut Buskins onely, which they wore on their Legges: and this he did for diuers reasons, whereof I will alledge some. The first was, because he noted, that many young Men were so enamoured of Maides and Women; that they became vtterly lost in iudgement, and forgot all man-hood, appearing rather to be brute Beasts, both in desire and heat, then any way endued with reason or gouernment. Such immoderate Amouristes, would euermore be present (he supposed) at such assemblies, their to behold their naked Goddesses, and seeing their vnsightly partes, so neere neighbouring to the receptacle of all vncleannesse and loathsome conuayance of the Bodie: they would distast and abhorre such slauish affection, and declare themselues of more manly carriage, and that such a wretched shape deserued no such torments, forbearance of Meate and Drinke, and many Night sleepes losses. Another reason was, that Maides should not bee ashamed of those partes which Nature had bestowed on them; but feare to commit any foule Act with them. For he vsed to say; that Maids and Women should blush rather to commit any sin, then to shew the necessary parts of their bodies.

Lycurgus his second reason

The follie of Maides and Women now adaies.

There are some Maids and Women now a-daies, who (I think) are perswaded, that Men doe desire they should haue great and fat Thighes, as the *Cathayans* did; because, they labour to ground this perswasion in Men, by their spacious, huge, and round circling Verdingales. Moreouer, they exceede the *Cathayans*, who onely were naked vnder their garments: but our Women can haue close Breeches or vnder-slops, not of meane matter; as of fine Linnen, Fustian, and such like; but of Sattin, Taffata, Veluet, Cloth of Gold and Siluer, though they openly shewe them not. For by our lawes, we hold and account them as infamous persons, that freelie, or without cause, doe shew such secrecy. Me thinkes it were more seemly for those *Cathayans*, to were close breeches of such rich stuffes, to adde thereby a grace and alluring to those parts, and so prouoke men the rather to seeke after them for mariage: then that they should be vsed by any Women among vs (in manner as I haue formerly said) not suffering them to be seen, much lesse to be toucht. I know not, whether they wear them for pride or profit, but this I am assured, that it hath giuen occasion to many men, to iudge strangely of such women, & to repute them scarse chast.

Women vsing to wear vnder breeches.

Aduise to the Maides and Women of *Cathay*.

Let vs then moone a question; to wit, whether women doe attract and allure more Suiters and Followers, rather by their nakednesse, then when they are seemly cloathed? For my selfe, I couet not to determine any thing, except by plurality of opinions; yea, of Men of good iudgment, who haue bin in those Regions and Countries, where Men and Women do vsually go naked; as in many places of *Affrica*, almost throughout the *Indiaes*; the Land of the *Caribes*; and in all the *Brasiliane* Territories (containing more then sixe or seauen hundred leagues) in which Countries are more goodly Women, and better formed, then are among vs. For ye shall finde none there, either corrupt in body, crooked, lame, or otherwise deformed. And yet they neuer knew that cruel law of *Lycurgus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, which was; that euery Infant, Male or Female, appearing in birth to be mishapen, was presently put to death.

A pretty question mooued and answered

Countries where are very goodlie Women.

A cruell and bloody Law of *Lycurgus*.

All those Spaniards, Portugalles, French-men, Flemmings, and Englishmen, beside diuers others, that haue beene very conuersant in those partes, where the people goe daily naked, they haue affirmed: that such manner of going, is neither sightly nor pleasing, and that nothing makes a Woman to bee more dispised and contemned, then to behold her ordinarily naked. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Cathayans* are not to be imitated, that so freely discouer their parts of shame, onely thereby to gaine Husbands; nor the *Affricanes*, *Indians*, *Caribes*, or *Brasilians*, who goe naked, not for ostentation, but by Custome, either in regard of the countries great heate, or by not being acquainted with the vse of Garments: but rather wee ought to cloath and conceale those partes, which Nature her selfe hath placed so farre off, both from the sight of our selues and others. As expresly is discerned by the wordes of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, commending Charity aboue all thinges: in giuing meanes

The opinion of many, concerning the nakednesse of Women.

The Authors Conclusion, pertinent to his purpose.

meanes to the poore, whereby to cloth them, not only for their defence againſt heate, cold, raine, ſtormes, and byting Flyes; but alſo to hide their partes of ſhame.

CHAP. VI.

Of a good Cuſtome among the Locrenſes, *or* Locrians, *that he who would be the Authour or maker of any new Law (if it were not allowed for good and profitable) muſt preſently be hanged.*

THere were ſometimes a people, commonly called *Locrians*, and the Metropolitane Citty, was tearmed *Locris*, or *Locros*, ſcituate in the Countrey of *Greece*, neere adioyning to *Beotia*. This people, while liued vertuouſly, and admitted no innouation among their Countrey Lawes, but carefully kept them of their Predeceſſors; their Common-weale continually flouriſhed, and neuer could they be ouer-awed by Tyrants, where-with they were enuironed, and very much enuied, but rather made themſelues much feared and admired.

The Citty *Locris* neere to *Beotia*.

And to preuent, that no man ſhould be ſo bold, as to induce any nouell laws among them, whereby to vrge alteration of them ſo long embraced; they made an Edict, and thereby (according as *Demoſthenes* recordeth) ordained: That euery Cittizen, that ſought to bring in any new kind of Law, muſt come with an Halter about his Necke, and deliuer his Law publikely before al the people; to the end, that if the New Law were not receiueable, and highlie profitable to the Common-wealth; he might preſently bee hanged, as a condigne recompence for his haſty forwardneſſe.

The new law maker, muſt declare his Law, with a Halter about his necke.

Ariſtotles rule for well ordered Societies.

In all well inſtituted Societies (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) and by Lawes well ordained, it behoueth to vſe very diligent regard, not to diminiſh or change any thing, (how little ſoeuer it be) of the Lawes, and warily to fore-ſee matters, that (by little and litle) may intrude themſelues. For if (then) reſiſtance bee not vſed, it will fall out as in a diſeaſe of the bodie, whereto, if at the beginning of the ſickneſſe, prompt remedy be not applyed: the diſeaſe ſo increaſeth by ſlow degrees; that that which (at firſt) might eaſily haue beene holpen, becommeth (by negligence) quite incurable.

A good Similitude.

The firſt ſigne to be obſerued in an Eſtate, tottering towardes ruine, is, when we behold vnbrideled liberty, and facility in diſpencing with good ordinãces; nothing being daily more liſtened vnto, then flying nouelties, tales, and rumours: becauſe Law is a ſinguler reaſon, imprinted and ſtamped in Nature, commaunding thinges which ought to be done, and prohibiting the contrarie.

The euident apparance of a loſt Eſtate.

Ethnickes more obſeruant of lawes, then Chriſtians.

The Ethnicks were much more conſcientious in keeping their Lawes, then Chriſtians; for, if we would looke into many Lawes of the Emperours and Chriſtian Kinges: we ſhould finde no meane ſtore of Nouell Lawes, forged in fauour of ſome one; and them of more Antiquitie, to be either quite cut off, or much modified. Following the opinion of *Machiauell*, who hath left written: That a Prince may make laws, contrary to them of auncient ſtanding, prouided, they be for his owne profit.

A wicked aduiſe of *Machiauell*.

It was demaunded of *Archidamus*, Sonne to *Zeuxidamus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, what were they that preſided and commaunded in the Citty of *Sparta?* He made aunſwere, that they were the Lawes. Surely, his reply was to good purpoſe, for in a well gouerned Common-wealth, chiefe authoritie is to be referred to the Lawes: for it is not permitted to any Magiſtrate, either to attempt againſt, or decline from the Lawes. Another, named *Pauſanias*, and likewiſe King of *Sparta*, beeing asked; whether it were any great offence, to ſwerue from the auncient Lawes, and leane to them new made: replied, that it was a very great crime. *For* (quoth he) *it behoueth that Lawes ſhould haue authoritie among men, and not men among Lawes.*

The anſwere of *Archidamus*.

The aunſwer of *Pauſanias*.

Chilo, one of the Wiſe-men of *Greece* ſaid: *That all Men were bound to obey the Lawes; and Princes themſelues ought not to be exempted from them.* *Cræſus*, King of *Lydia*, demaunded of *Pitacus* the *Mitilenian*; *Where was the beſt and cheefeſt Gouernment*, who anſwered. *It is in that*

The ſaying of *Chilo*.

The anſwere of *Pitacus* to *Cræſus*.

that place, where the Lawes haue Soueraign authority; for there Tyranny (how little soeuer) could gaine no admittance. Agisilaus, King of the *Lacedemonians*, said; *That the multitude of Lawes, resembled the multitude of Phisitians, who, where they abounded, the like abounding of Diseases was found.* In like manner, *Where were plenty of Lawes, there likewise was the greater store of Vices.*

The saying of *Agesilaus.*

Heraclitus the *Ephesian*, said: *A Man of Honour ought (no iot lesse) to hazzard his life for the Lawes, then for the Walles of his Country: Because* (quoth he) *a Cittie may subsist without Walles, but not without Lawes.* At this day, Lawes seeme to litle purpose in *France*; for the good haue no need of them, and the wicked or vicious care not for keeping any one of them. By the precedent discourse, and sententious sayings of many worthy men, it plainely appeareth, that for the best conseruation of any Common weale, and to keep it in continuall flourishing; the ancient lawes ought strictly to be obserued, and no easie admittance of any new, because it giues way to euill disposed persons, first to decline from them, and then (afterward) to trouble the quiet of the State.

The saying of *Heraclitus.*

Lawes vtterly vnprofitable in France.

CHAP. VII.

Of the strange life of Diogenes, the Cynick Philosopher; with a breefe repetition of some of his witty sayings, propositions, and answeres.

FInde among good and credible Authors, that there were fiue seuerall Men, all of them bearing the name of *Diogenes*, and each of them, both for his vertue & singuler learning, wel deserued report to posterity. Howbeit, omitting all the rest, our present purpose is, to speake onely of *Diogenes*, the *Cynick* Philosopher; whose learning, life, and rare qualities, though they seemed strange and vnimitable, yet their foundation was vertue and goodnesse. He liued continually in voluntary pouerty, exposing his body to all toil and trauaile. In Summer, his lodging was on the Sand, in the sight and heate of the Sun; to arme him with patience against violent warmths. In Winter, he would embrace huge Statues of Snow and Ice, for better inuring himselfe to the extreamity of cold. His feeding was on grosse Viands, and none of the best neither; to the end, he might neuer perish for want of sustenance. He neuer had any certaine place, where hee might determine his absolute abiding: but whersoeuer hee came and stayed; there he fed, dranke, and slept. He would neuer speake, except cause required, and looke what Garment he wore all the day, the same was his Couerlet likewise all the night season. He had a certaine Scrip or Wallet, wherein he kept all his Victuals together; and a Staffe, which serued him as his Horse, when he felt himselfe sickely or weary. A Woodden Dish was his Cup to drinke in, whersoeuer he trauailed: but, beholding a Boy (one day) drinke Water in his hand, he brake his Dish in peeces, saying; *Why should Art finde me a Vessell to drinke in, when Nature hath bestowed one much better on me?* The like did he by a Woodden Trencher; seeing another Man make vse of one made of bread, and did eate it afterward, to piece out his dinner.

Diogenes refused all things whereof he had no neede.

This Philosopher spent the most part of his dayes in *Athens*, which hee had made his retirement, beeing banished from his owne Countrey. A Tun or great Tub (open at the one end) a long time was his House and dwelling; all things else being contemptible to him, but Vertue onely, and great was his feare to commit any sin. As for riches and honour, he counted them as nothing; but helde them in like slight regard, as he did them that enioyed them. It was an vsual saying with him, that he did not a little admire Mens vanity, in quarrelling and killing one another, for Dignity on the way, or taking the wall: neuer beholding any contention in them, who should excell each other in vertue. A rich ignorant or vnlearned Man, he alwaies compared to a golden Sheep; that had a goodly fleece, but no goodnesse else. And when he demaunded any thing that was needful for him, he said, he did it not in begging maner, but

Diogenes liued in *Athens*, and dwelt in a tun.

His contempt of Riches.

His comparison of an ignorant rich man.

Fiue seuerall Men named *Diogenes.*

The life of *Diogenes* in willing pouerty, and his prouision against all extremities

but as asking due reſtitution; for that the goods of rich men, were properlie gathered to be the poores inheritance, becauſe they wer gathered of the poor.

How *Diogenes* inſtructed Beggars to get an Almes.

He had a certaine behauiour, which (in outwad apparance) ſeemed to ſauor of folly, and yet it had a miſterious and concealed vnderſtanding. Many times he would reſort to Images and Statues of ſtone or wood, and make an humble requeſt for an almes; as if he had ſpoken an liuing perſons, & his reaſon was: that heereby hee learned patient ſufferance, becauſe men would as ſoone deny poor men charity, as thoſe dumb Images did when he deſired an Almes, he made no exception of perſons, but vſed theſe words. *If thou vſe to giue any charity to the poor, thē let not me paſſe without ſomwhat; for I am the neediest of all other. But if (as yet) thou haſt neuer giuen to any man, begin with me, and it will teach thee how to beſtow on others.* Comming (on a time) into a certaine mans houſe, who ſometimes had beene wealthy, but his eſtate was now very poore: he found, that he had nothing to ſup withall, but a poore Sallet of ſower herbs; whereupon, he ſaid to him. *Had thy former diet beene no better, thou hadſt been ſure now of a better ſupper.* Whereby he gaue him to vnderſtand, that his riotous and lauiſh waſt before, made him now to vſe neceſſitie as a vertue. Being demaunded at an other time; what biting of any Beaſt was moſt dangerous? He anſwered. *Among wilde beaſts, the ſlanderer and backe-biter: & among the tamer ſort, the flatterer.* One asked of him; for what cauſe Gold looked ſo pale and wan complexioned? *Becauſe* (quoth he) *all men (like Theeues) lie in waite to ſurpriſe it.* Another man aſked him, if he wanted a Seruant; and he told him no. Who ſhall then bury thee (quoth the other) when thou art dead? *Mary he* (ſaid *Diogenes*) *that will dwell in my houſe.* Some were deſirous to know of him, when was the fitteſt time for marriage; and he replied: *Young Men may marry at all times for leaſurable repentance; but old men may tarrie, for little is their need*; inferring thereby, that marriage (in neither age) required ouermuch haſtineſſe.

His own kind of begging an Almes.

To a prodigal man falne into pouerty.

For Backe-biters and Flatterers.

For the complexion of Gold.

A fit time for marriage in young or old.

Thus, as *Diogenes* was free both in life and behauiour, ſo was he likewiſe in any words paſſing from him. For, as on a day he went thorow a ſtreet, and beheld a goodly houſe, belonging to a Lord of very diſhonorable life; looking theron more aduiſedly, hee perceiued (in faire Carracters) engrauen ouer the Gate, theſe words: *No diſhoneſt perſon hath here any entrance.* Turning himſelfe ſuddenly about, to ſuch as then paſſed by him, he ſaid: *if this Inſcription be true, which way doth the Lord and Maiſter enter into his owne houſe?* Not long after, trauailing into the Country, he came (by chance) to a little Village, altogether as poore, as fillily peopled: yet the gates thereof were extraordinarily great & ſpacious, whereat, falling into a loude laughter, he ſaid. *Be wiſe ye Inhabitants, and ſhut vp your wide Gates betimes, or elſe all your Towne will run out by their meanes.* He chanced to paſſe by a company of Archers ſhooting in Croſſe-bows, among whom there was one very meanly practiſed, for ſtill he ſhot faire and farre off from the marke; which when *Diogenes* noted, euer as that man ſhot, he would enter in, and ſtand directly before the But, and beeing demaunded why he did ſo? He anſwered. *Heere is my ſafeſt ſtanding, when this man ſhooteth, for here (I am ſure) he meanes not to hit me.* Looking on a young Lad, very well proportioned of body, but wicked in qualities: *Alas my Boy* (quoth he) *why doſt thou tary ſo bad a ſword, in ſo ſeemely a Scabberd?*

Of a faire and goodly building.

Of a little Towne with great Gates.

Of an vnskilfull Archer.

Of a fair Boy with foule conditions.

There were diuers, who commended a man that had giuen a ſmal gift to *Diogenes*, to whom he ſaid: *Why do ye not much rather commend me, that deſerued it, before he had the wit to giue it?* Vnderſtanding thereby, that it is better to deſerue a fauour, then to performe it vpon due deſert. He neuer vſed to aske Money, as a guift from any man, yet (contrary to his cuſtome) he once required a great ſum of Money of a prodigall Companion; who being offended thereat, ſaide: *Why doſt thou vrge me in ſuch an vnreaſurable requeſt?* Whereto he anſwered. *I aske of other men reaſonably, as hoping often to ſpeed with them: but my demand is thus liberall to thee, becauſe I intend to moue thee no more*; taxing (heereby) his immeaſurable expences. Whence proceedes it (quoth one vnto him) that men more gladly giue their Almes to the Lame, Blinde, Gouty, diſeaſed and diſmembred, then to Philoſophers and Men of learning? Whereto his anſwere (in my

Of a gift giuen to *Diogenes*.

In asking a great ſumme of Money.

Neglect of Philoſophers and learned men.

conceit) was apt and excellent, saying: *Such is their bounty, because they fear to become sooner diseased like them, then any hope they haue of euer beeing Philosophers, or so much as louers of learned men.* The sayings and wise answeres of this Philosopher, were almost infinite, and I may the easier passe them, as being well knowne to the whole world.

He was very iudicious, discreet, and deeply learned in al the Sciences; for he was Scholler to *Antisthenes*, in the life time of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and dispised all Arts that were vnprofitable, & them that studied them, more for curious knowledge, then the exercise of vertue. He reproued Astrologers, that gazed on the heauens, and regarded not what they held in their hands. He would tell Musitions, that they could better tune their Instruments, then temper their owne disordered affections. When he heard an Astronomer argue skilfully of the Stars, he demanded of him; *When he came last out of heauen?* To a *Logitian*, that (by Sophisticall Arguments) laboured to disproue all motion; he scorned to make him any other answere, but walking vp and downe before him, saide. *What, is this motion, or no?* The renowne of this Philosopher did extend it selfe so largely through the world, that *Alexander* the great comming to *Athens*; desired to see and confer with him, of diuers matters concerning vertue. At length, *Alexander* said vnto him. I perceiue *Diogenes*, that thou art poore, and standest in need of many things: wherefore, demaund what thou wouldst haue, and I will giue it thee. To whom *Diogenes* replied. *Which of vs two dost thou thinke is in most necessity? Either I, who desire nothing but my woodden dish to drinke in, and the least morsell of bread: or thou, that art king of Macedon, and yet exposest thy life to multitudes of perils, onely for further extent of thine Empire, insomuch, as the whole world suffiseth not thine auarice?*

Diogenes on a time, was surprized by certain *Athenian* Pirats, yet his hart and speech neuer faild him in prison, but being brought to a place, where he should bee sold to him that offered most for him: a Merchant comming thither, demaunded of the Trumpeter, who had the charge to sell him, by what authority he exposed him to sale, and whether he were a bond man or no? Whereupon *Diogenes* said to the Trumpeter: *Tel this man, that thou wilt sell him a Seruant, that knoweth how to commaund and gouerne his Maister.* *Aulus Gellius* and *Macrobius* doe affirme, that he made this answer to *Geniades*, who was the man that bought him, and brought him to his Inne; *Diogenes* said to his new Maister. *Take heede Geniades, for now it stands thee vpon, to be obedient to whatsoeuer I shall councell or command thee.* Whereto *Geniades* replied, that it were against all reason, for the Seruant to commaund his Maister. *Diogenes* answered. *If a sick man do chance to buy a wise skilfull Phisition: shall not hee doe well to obey, and follow his councell? In like manner, if an vntutored Mariner (for his safer conduct) happen to buy a cunning Pilot, will not his passage be the freer from perill? If this appeare to be profitable, in cases of sicke and bodily infirmity, or preseruation of life from infinite dangers: how much more then is his merit, that knowes how to order and direct the Soule, being respected but as a wise and vnderstanding Philosopher?* All these sayings were well obserued by *Geniades*, for hee vsed the aduise of *Diogenes* in all his businesse, and made him Maister of his Children, to their no little benefit and aduancement. In this manner, and with such exercises, *Diogenes* liued the space of ninety years.

Some hold opinion, that he died by by the byting of a Dog. But others doe affirme, that when he saw himselfe to be old and feeble, without strength, or any longer desire of life: containing still the same constancy and courage wherein he had formerly liued: he caused his owne death, the very same day that *Alexander* the Great dyed. A little before he yeelded vp the Ghost, his Schollers perceiuing him so neere his end, desired to know, where he intended to be buryed? He replied, that hee would haue them leaue him in the open fieldes vnburied. They marualing hereat, told him, that therein he was not well aduised, because, beeing left in that manner, the Birdes and Beastes would feede vppon him. *Why then* (quoth he) *lay my staffe by me, and I will keepe the Birdes and Beastes from comming neere me* At this answere they fell a laughing, saying; it were in vaine to do so, because the dead do neyther see nor feele. *Why then* (quoth he) *trouble*

Diogenes was the Scholler to *Antisthenes*.

For Astrologers.

For Musitions

For Logitians

Alexander the Great visiteth *Diogenes*, and their conference together

Diogenes taken by Pirats, and sold a Bond-slaue.

Aulus Gellius & Macrobius.

Diogenes conferreth with his Maister *Geniades.*

Geniades misliked not his Man *Diogenes.*

Concerning the death of *Diogenes.*

Concerning his buriall.

trouble your selues no more, for if I shall neither feele nor see: I had rather be fed on by Birdes and Beastes, then to be deuoured by Wormes of the Earth: And this was al the care he tooke for his funerall.

CHAP. VIII.

Of diuers and variable Natures in Men, beyond vsuall and naturall inclination, and whence the occasions doe proceede.

THe diuersity of complexions, and inclinations in Men, is a matter very marualious, and greatly to be considered; for among so many as we doe daily behold, there are very few, or scarcely any to bee found, that are conformable in Nature one to another. You shall see some one man, that cannot abide some one kinde of meat; And others say, that there is no tast or relliſh in their meat. Some will say, that they cannot feede well, but in company; And others, doe take no delight in their food, except they do eate it alone by themselues. All which variety of accidents, doe plainely testifie the great power of God, and of his vncircumscribed wisedome; who pleased to send such strange kinde of complexions, among so great a multitude of men. For let vs admit the case, that man had still enioyed the benefit of his owne free-will; yet it is most euident, that diuers dispositions & actions, variable promptitudes, complexions, and conditions, (next vnto the will of God) are occasioned by influences of the Stars and Planets, as second causes and instruments, wherewith God is serued, because they haue a working in inferior bodies. And in regard, that among such an infinite multitude of men, there are som things more notable and apparant, then frequent or common: we will make some short discourse of them, according as they are set down and iustified by good and approued Authours.

Seneca writeth of a Man named *Senecius*, who was very rich, but of strange and extraordinary condition: for all thinges that he would haue to doe him seruice, must be of excessiue greatnesse, or else he could not endure them. The Cuppes and Glasses wherein he vsed to drinke, hee bought them of such hugeneſſe, as hardly could he lift them with both his hands. He sought to haue Horses for his riding, of monsterous stature; and that which was much more ridiculous, hee would weare shooes, which were foure or fiue times bigger then his feet. He alwaies vsed to goe very fast in the streetes, and still on tip-toe, as we tearme it; to seeme more great & high, then he was by nature. He could neuer abide Women of low stature; but coueted and fancied such as were hugely big and taule. He would neuer eate Figges, Olines, Pease, Chiches, or such like small Fruites; for he contained the same affection in all other things His garments were so long, that they trailed after him in the streets, the like he did both at bed and boord: so that vpon this immeasurable appetite; he was cõmonly cald, *Senecius the great*. *Pliny* writeth of *Marcus Crassus*, Grandfather to the other *Marcus Crassus* the *Triumuir*, that was slaine by the *Parthians*: and he tearmeth him *Agelastus*, because he was neuer seene to smile or laugh. We read of *Socrates*, that he was neuer beheld more pleasant or melancholly, at one time, then at another. And *Pomponius* the Poet, who neuer belched or brake wind vpward or downward. *Marke Anthony* neuer vsed to spit at any time. It is a matter against Nature, which the learned *Pontanus* writes of himself; that he neuer felt any stitch, pricking, or ach in his bodie: albeit, he would sometimes wilfully fall on the ground, and yet notwithstanding, hee could feele no paine. In the same place, which is in his book of heauenly things, he speaketh of another man, who neuer in all his life time, did drink either wine or water. But *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*, once compelled him to drinke, and it much endangered his life. I know not if that bee more admirable, which *Theophrastus* writes, of a man named *Peninus*; that in his whole life time, did neither eate or drinke any thing else but water. *Aristotle* speaketh of a certaine Maiden, who being in her infancy norished with poyson: could as well digest it all her life time after, euen as we doe our naturall food. *Albertus Magnus* giueth credible assurance, that hee saw at *Cullen* in

Few men like to one another in nature

A testimony of Gods great power and wisedome.

The influences of the stars and Planets.

Seneca his report of rich *Senecius*, who fancied all things of extraordinary bigneſſe.

Little women dispised by *Senecius*.

Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 8. *Marcus Crassus* who neuer laughed in all his life.

Of *Socrates*.

Pomponius the Poet.

Mark Anthony.

Of *Pontanus*.

Pon. in Lib. de Reb. Cœlest.

Theophrast. lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Arist. in Nat.

Alber. Mag. lib. 2. Cap. 9.

in *Allemaigne* a young Damoſell, who vſed to pull Morter from the wals, and eate it ſo ſauourly; that all her life after ſhe liued onely thereon.

Auguſt. in Lib. de Ciuit. Dei. S. *Auguſtine* declareth, that he ſaw a man in his time, who could moue his eares like as a horſe doth, one while the one, and afterward the other, and then again both of them together: howbeit, *Ariſt. vbi ſupra. Auguſt. ibidem* *Ariſtotle* maintaineth, that man onelie (among all other Creatures) cannot ſtir or moue his eares. He ſaith moreouer, that without ſtirring his head, or touching it with his handes; hee could raiſe or lift vp al the haires on his head, and make them fall flat vpon his face: afterward, he could likewiſe raiſe them againe, and return them orderly to their *Auguſt. ibidem.* due places, which (queſtionleſſe) was very ſtrange, and argued admirable dexterity. He further declareth, that he ſaw diuers men, which could counterfeit the notes and ſinging of Birds; ſo naturally (and with ſuch perfection) with their mouths, that very Birds were beguiled by them; witneſſe a Moderne and late Vicount. He tels of one beſide, that had *Auguſt. ibidem.* a ſtrange kinde of cunning (though diſcommendable and beaſtly) in breaking winde ſo readily below, and with ſuch variety of ſound; as if hee had ſung to ſome muſicke. In breefe, we read of infinite things, quite contrary to common vſe; both concerning the ſences of hearing and ſight, as in legerity of race.

Solin Lib. 7. cap. 5. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 20. *Solinus* and *Pliny* do both teſtifie of a man named *Strabo*, who in the time of the *Punick* war, could (from one of the Promontories of *Scicilie*) diſcerne the Shippes ſetting forth from the Port of *Carthage* in *Affrica*, and count them one by one; albeit, the diſtance was more then fiue and fiftie leagues. They ſpeake alſo of *Amiſtis*, the *Lacedemonian*, oppoſing himſelfe to *Philonides* (who was nourſed and brought vp with *Alexander* the Great) auouching, that they did runne aboue a thouſand and two hundred ſtades, which are more then an hundred and threeſcore thounſand paces. They adde moreouer, that a Page or Lacky of the age of nine yeares, did runne (from mid day to night) the full diſtance of ſeuenty and fiue thouſand paces. *Quintus Curtius*, in the Hiſtory of *Alexander*, ſpeaketh of a Man named *Phillip*, who was Brother to *Lyſimachus*; he being armed, did follow *Alexander*, (riding in great haſt) on foot, without any ſtay or breathing (as we vſe to ſay) the ſpace of two hundred ſtades, which containe foure and twenty miles in Geometry. *Plato* writeth of *Socrates*, that no man liuing could endure ſo much trauaile and paines as he; yet would he neuer reſt, although he might do it. Beſide, ſuch hunger and thirſt, (as was able to kil any other man) he could abide without any annoiance, oftentimes following the wars daily, without any wearineſſe or debility. When he had aboundance of victuals, he would eat no more then at any other time. In times of greateſt froſts and colds, when no other men durſt be ſeen out of their tents and dwellinges, except they were well wrapt in Furs: *Socrates* would walke abroad in no other garment, then that he wore in Summer, and go barefooted in the Ices and Snowes, diſtaſting it no more, then they that were beſt hoſed & ſhod. One while he wold ſtand a whole daies ſpace vpright on his feet, without moouing or ſtirring out of the ſame place: then would he (afterward) walke all the whole night, without any ſigne or ſhew of deſiring ſleepe.

Quint Curt in Hiſt. Alexand.

Plato concerning *Socrates*, who had a more able body then any other man.

Pliny maketh mention of a certaine man, whoſe ſight was ſo excellent, and his hand ſo ready; that he wrote all the Iliades of *Homer*, in the compaſſe of ſo much Paper, as he could very eaſily encloſe within a Nut ſhell. The ſame *Pliny* (warranted alſo by *Solinus*) maketh report of one called *Callicrates*, who was ſuch an ingenious Sculpture and Caruer; that he could make Flyes and Ants in Iuory, ſo ſmall, and yet ſo abſolutely perfect, that it behooued ſuch as would ſee them, to haue a very cleare ſight.

Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 5.

Homers Iliades, written in compaſſe of a Nut-ſhell. *Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 2.* *Callicrates* the admired Caruer.

It is a matter very meruailous, concerning both good and euill properties or qualities in diuers people. For, it is moſt notorious, that ther are both men and women in many places, whoſe eies are very venomous, and by looking intentiuely vpon a thing: the very acuitie or piercing ſubtilty of the ſight, doth (in the meane while) both infect, and performe apparant harme, and when it is done on children, it is cald, bewitching by the eye. *Solinus* and *Pliny* do affirme, that there was Family in *Affrica*, who had the priuiledge, that if (in anger) they looked

Amiſtis and *Philonides*, ſwift runners.

Both good & euill qualities in men and women.

Infection by the eye.

Solin. Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 2.

looked vpon any Fielde or Meddow: it dried vp immediatly; the like they did to Trees, and were the death of many Infants. In *Scythia* alſo there were Women of the ſame quality. Our auncient Phiſitions haue experimented, & ſome (of latter times) doe confeſſe, that there are men in the world, of very venomous Nature; not onely by their ſight, but likewiſe by their ſpittle. The blood of a red and freckled Man (if it be taken from him while he is enraged) is very venomous: yet God hath giuen the benefit to ſome men, by their ſpittle, to heale the byting of a mad Dogge, though others (thereby) can doe great iniury. Theſe properties are to be known in caſes of leſſer efficacy. For it is moſt certaine, that let ſome man kill any Foule, they will ſuddenly fall into ſuch putrifaction; as hardly any ſtomack can endure to feed on them. Againe, let ſuch a party ſalt any meat; the fleſh cannot poſſibly receiue the ſalt, but corrupteth preſently, and yet the like (as hath been tried) could not be done by another body.

Pliny further auoucheth, that (in his time) there was a Kinred or Linage of people neere *Rome*, the men whereof, would go thorow any fire, without the leaſt ſcorching. There was alſo another Family, who were called *Marſes*; and they could heale the biting of Serpents, onely by the touch of their handes, as is approoued by many good Authours. Theſe things are to be credited, eſpecially when *Pliny* affirmeth any matter for certain; then boldly may faith be giuen to his wordes: though many times hee ſpeaketh of things, which may ſeeme to deſerue little beleefe. But then it is to be noted, that he neuer maintaineth any thing, as by heare-ſay from others; but onely ſuch as himſelfe hath ſeene or experimented.

That which *Suetonius* writeth of the Emperour *Tiberius*, is alſo very admirable, for he ſaith; that when hee roſe in the night, although he was in neuer ſo obſcure a place, and without any light: yet could he ſee (for a long whiles continuance) as perfitly, as if a lighted Candle had ſtood by him; yet, ſoone after, he could not diſcerne any thing. *Quintus Curtius*, and many other Authours ſay the ſame; that when *Alexander* the Great was in any ſweat, it yeilded (of it ſelfe) a moſt ſweete and pleaſant ſauour.

Many more haue written of ſundrie men, priuiledged by very ſtrange & no common qualities: but becauſe in ſuch arguments as theſe, I haue affected and aymed at breuity, I need wander no further in this diſcourſe. For I perſwade my ſelfe, that a ſufficient view may bee had of Mens ſtrange complexions, by theſe alledged examples, deriued from true teſtimonies, and ancient Hiſtoriographers worthy of credit: not warranted by Poets or Fatiſts, from whom I make no account to fetch any verity. Let *Virgill* tell the World, the Legiere promptitude of * *Camilla*, Queen of the *Volſcians*; *Catullus* brag of *Achilles*; *Ouid*, of *Atalanta*; *Statius*, of *Fidena*; *Sidonius*, of *Olphetus* the Mariner; *Higinus*, of *Orion* the Sonne of *Neptune*; and *Claudian*, of *Lycaſte*; with many other of like matters: I onely cleaue to ſoundeſt authority, ſuch, as (by the beſt iudgements) haue beene, and are ſtill held for credible.

Men of venomous nature.

The blood of a red Man poyſonous.

Foules infected in the killing.

Plin. lib. 7. Cap. 3.

Men that heale the biting of Serpents.

Pliny is a good and ſufficient teſtimony.

Sueton. de vit. de Tiber. Emp.

Quint. Curt de Æxand. Mag.

The Authors concluſion of this argument

* She holpe *Turnus* againſt *Æneas*, being daughter to *Metabus* and *Caſmilla*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the great and large extendure of the Romaine Empire: Alſo, how, and in what time it began to decline and waxe feeble.

IT is moſt apparant, that not any other conſideration, can deliuer more certaine & intire knowledge, concerning the inſtability of worldly occaſions; then that of the great and large extendure, which ſometime belonged to the *Romaine* Empire, comparing it with that ſmall portion, which the Emperours of *Rome* haue ſince then enioyed. For, in ancient & elder times, the moſt part of that, which is contayned and inhabited in *Europe* and *Affrica*, was ſubiect to the *Romaine* Empire, and likewiſe a great part of *Aſia*. Thereto was ſubiected *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, *England*, *Germanie*, withall the Prouinces of *Italie*, and the *Mediterranean* Iſlandes: All *Greece*, *Thrace*, *Hungaria*, *Polonia*, *Dacia*, and as wee haue alreadie ſaid, the very greateſt part of *Affrica*, *Mauritania*,

The Romaine Empire is witneſſe of the Worlds inconſtancy.

The greatnes of the *Romaine* Empire in elder times, and how largely her limits extended.

nia, *Numidia*, *Carthage*, *Lybia*; and (beside great store of Realmes and Prouinces) *Ægipt*, and all her Confines. In *Asia*, *Arabia*, *Siria*, *Iudea*, *Palestine*, and *Mesopotamia*, they went through with their powers, and extended their dominion, euen to the famous Riuers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*: which happened in the time of the Emperor *Traiane*, who stretched his limits so far as the East *Indiaes*, conquering the Cities of *Seleucia*, *Ctesiphonta*, and *Babylon*, making Prouinces also of *Armenia* and *Albania*. In former daies, they had all the lesser *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, *Bithinia*, *Cappadocia*, and so many other Regions; as I know not when I should make an end, if I were to name them particularly. All which goodly length, and large scope, became restrained (through the pusillanimity of some Emperours) into one onely and little part of *Allemaigne* or *Germany*, and *Italy*: wherfore we will declare how, in what manner, and when this huge Empire began to diminish.

The Empire restrained into a small part of *Germany* and *Italy*.

The principall and most notable wound, which the *Romaine* Empire receiued, and the very originall of her ruine; proceeded from the *Gothes*, a people greatly renouned in Armes, descended from the Northerne *Scithia*, to destroy and ruinate al the rest of the world beside. But to deliuer the matter in due forme, I must make a backe retreate for a while, to recite breefely the whole History. For I would amply describe, how many times the *Gothes* haue molested and affronted this Empire; how many Prouinces they destroyed; and how often they were repulsed; what victories they obtained, and yet were also vanquished by the Emperors and *Romaine* Captaines. But the discourse would be ouer long, and therfore it shal content me, to keep the same course we haue already continued, with breuitie and best order to please the Readers.

The Empires first wound grew from the *Gothes*.

Ostrogoths and *Vuisigothes*.

To auoide confusion of opinions, I will forbeare to dispute, from what part of *Scythia* they descended; or making declaration, which were they that named themselues *Ostrogoths*, and others *Vuisigoths*; because heerein is no difference, but that the *Ostrogoths* liued more towardes the East. To conclude this point, they were all *Gothes*, and so will I name them, without any other note or difference among them. Passing ouer many things, that neede no repitition; *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, that in the time of the Emperour *Domitian*, the *Gothes* enterprized to make war on the *Romaine* Empire. And, in some short while after, the Emperor *Traiane* took truce and peace with them; hauing first receiued assurance from them (vppon great promises) that they shold abide at home in their Countries quietly in peace, and so they continued for the space of ninety yeares. But this time being expired, they began to rise againe, and make another entrance vppon the Empires lands: against which attempt, the Emperor *Antoninus* made opposition, and vanquished them. Twenty years after, they became incensed againe, and assayed to passe the Riuer *Danubius*; wherein they were hindred by the Emperour *Gordianus*. Ten yeares after, being aduertised of his death, and in the time of the Emperor *Phillip*; they leuied an Army of three hundred thousand men, and subdued the Countries of *Thrace* and *Misia*, without any abilitie of resistance. Made proud with these victories, long time after the death of *Phillip*; they renewed warre againe, in the raigne of *Decius* his successor, and entering by the Country of *Rome*, *Decius* (in good equipage) got before them, and gaue them battaile. In which resistance (after cruell effusion of blood) the *Romaines* lost the day; and there remained *Decius*, who neuer after was seene, eyther aliue or dead, and there likewise died his Sonne.

Cornel. Tacitus. Lib. 1.

Traiane maketh peace with the *Goths*

The Emperor *Antoninus* vanquished the *Gothes*.

The *Gothes* army of 30000. men.

The *Romaines* conquered by the *Gothes*.

Afterward, all the Successors (well neere) of *Decius*, did euermore carrie themselues weakly in their wars against them: so that, in the time of the Emperor *Valerian* (who was conquered by *Sapor* King of *Persia*) the *Goths* made themselues Maisters of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and also of *Bythinia* and *Nicomedia* in *Asia*, yet were they valiantly fought withall, and discomfited in *Achaya*, by *Macrinus*. Matters proceeding in this manner, when *Claudius* (second Emperor of that name) came to succeede in the Empire; he gaue them battell, euen one of the most cruell and deadly, that any Histories doe make mention of. For it is most certaine, that three hundred thou-

The *Gothes* conquered *Thrace*, *Macedon*, &c.

thousand *Gothes* perished in this fight. The rest that remained, the Emperour was victorious ouer, and expelled them out of those Countries which they had formerly gayned: Moreuer, he surprized such an huge number of them, that there was not one house in the Empire, but it had a *Goth* Slaue in it. Their so often restauration, and re-assembling in warre, after so many ouerthrowes was receyued by diuers Emperors, was an euident Testimony of their great multitude and power: for continually (after such great destructions) they would returne a fresh in armes to the field, euen as if they had sustained no losse at all.

The strength and multitude of the *Gothes*.

It happened within a while after, that the Emperour *Æmilianus* bad them battell in his owne person, wherein was slain their King *Canobius*, with fiftie thousand *Gothes* beside, that stroue to renewe the warre again; so that (then) they seemed as vtterly ruinated. But growing to bee repeopled, in the reuolution of 30. yeares: they mustred infinit troopes together, to bee reuenged of their passed harde fortunes; and being an army of mightie power, possessed themselues of *Sarmatia*. By meanes whereof, the Emperour *Constantine* the Great (who was gone to *Constantinople*, purposing there to keepe his Imperiall seat) made head against them, so foyling and killing them; that the *Gothes*) weary of vanquishing, and beeing vanquished) desired truce of *Constantine*, and afterware peace, and did him seruice in war, against *Lycinius*, as formerly they had done the like to the Emperor *Maximianus*, against the *Parthians*. In this maner, by many Confederacies & Friendships with the *Romans*, they receiued warwages of them, because they were reputed very valiant and warlicke Souldiours. Since which last rout or ouerthrow, they liued quietly for more then threescore yeares, in *Scythia*, whence they first parted: and now they became to be no more feared, because they seemed as vtterlie bruised with their passed Trauailes; and therefore, were verie gladde to liue in quiet.

The king, and fifty thousand *Gothes* slaine.

Constantine the Great, conquereth the *Gothes*.

The foresaid time was no sooner ended, but it fortuned, that another people, called *Hunnes* (who were likewise of *Scythia*, and neere neighbouring to the *Riphean* Mountaines) warring with great spleene and hatred against them; & scorning that they should inhabite so neare them: became Conquerors of them, and (prooving the stronger side) chased the *Gothes* out of their Countries. They perceiuing their great number, and yet to be thus violently expulsed (being compelled by meere necessity) did send their Ambassadors to the Emperor *Valens*, intreating him, that he would giue them some Country to liue in, and (as his Vassailes) they would obey him. Whereto the Emperor condiscended, and suffering them to passe *Danubie*, gaue them the Country of *Misia*, according as *Crosius* Writeth; where they held and liued in peace, vntill two Captaines belonging to the Emperor *Valens*, named *Maximus* and *Lycinius* (who had parted and deuided the places of their abiding, and kept there as a Guard for the Countrey) vsed them badly, tyrannically robbing them, and (thorough extreame Auarice) compelling them almost to vtter famishment.

Another Nation cald the *Hunnes*, dwelling by the *Riphean* Mountaines.

The *Gothes* sued to the Emperor *Valens* for an abiding place.

Maximus and *Lycinius*, Captaines te the Emp. *Valens*.

Heereuppon, they were enforced to enter Armes, and to vse by force, that which by loue and fair meanes was denied them. So passing on further then their limitation, they entered *Thrace*, destroying, robbing the Country, burning and wasting the Cities and Townes al along as they went. Against this impetuositie and violence, the Emperor *Valens* opposed himselfe, presenting them battaile, wherein he was vanquished; and beeing wounded with a Dart, was fain to flie and saue himselfe in a Village house, vvhere the *Gothes* (being Victours) put fire to it, and burned him therein. Pursuing their fortunate successe, they besieged the City of *Constantinople*, which was worthilie defended by *Dominica*, Wife to the Emperor *Valens*.

The *Gothes* enter into armes againe.

The Emperor *Valens* foyled and burnd by the Gothes.

Gratian, Nephew to the Emperor *Valens*, succeeded the Empire, during whose raigne, the *Gothes* (glorying in such a victory) assailed the *Romaine* Empire; and made warre in so many places thereof, that it was in great daunger to bee lost. Which *Gratian* perceiuing, as also the danger and distresse hee was in (hearing the great renowne of *Theodosius*, born in *Spaine*, a very valiant man both in peace and warre) he elected him as his companion in administration of the Empire, creating him Captaine, to controule the pride and fury of the *Gothes*. Imitating the Emperor *Nerua*, successor to *Domitian*;

The *Gothes* assail the Romain Empire.

Gracian ioined *Theodosius* with him in the Empire, to resist the Goths.

rian, who seeing himselfe to grow Olde, & the Empire fall into much decadence, made choise of good *Traiane* (borne also in the same Cittie of *Spaine*) who (by his wisedome and valour) not only defended the Empire, but likewise augmented it, in large extendure of Lands and Riches, more then any other did. In this maner, *Gracian* chose *Theodosius* (whom manie reputed neere Kinsman to *Traian*) and he became so worthy a Captaine, and afterward so wise an Emperor, that he hadde many victories against the *Goths*, of whō hee slaughtered so great a number: that he compelled them to begge peace, and yeild themselues tributary to the *Romain* Empire, bereauing them of all that they formerly vsurped, and abated thē in such sort, that (all his life time) they were peaceable subiects to him, and tooke presse-mony of him, to serue in his wars; beside, they had neither king nor Captain (while hee raigned) but such as hee allowed them.

Theodosius vanquished the *Gothes*, and made them tributarie to the *Romaine* Empire.

So remained the Empire of Rome in peace, and restored (by him) to her first authority, albeit it was not accomplished without much trauaile, and great aduenture of his person. But after the death of *Theodosius*, this great Dominion turned topsie turuy (as we shall relate) although it was daily augmented so much in 1100. yeares. After which time, it fell into such decadence, as neuer (since then) could it be releeued: except by the Nouell recidiuation, which it had by *Mahomet*, and reduced it into the same pouerty, wherein the greatnesse thereof first tooke Originall.

Romes Empire decaied, after the death of *Theodosius*.

CHAP. X.

The History of the Romaine Empire, further prosecuted, with the successe of the Gothes, and their surprizall of Rome.

Theodosius dying, lefte two Sonnes, the one named *Honorius*, and the other *Arcadius*, with one daughter called *Placida*; betweene whome, he deuided his Empire. Now, because they were verie young, and vncapeable of gouernment, hee left them two notable Tutors; the one, called *Ruffinus*, the other *Stellico*: *Ruffinus*, for the Countries in the East, and *Stellico* for *Italy* and the West. This *Stellico* was a verie worthy Captaine, wise, and prouident; and the other (being euery way as valiant) pursued high and famous enterprizes. Whereupon, enuy and ambitious thirst of rule, got footing between them; and they perceiuing the Princes to be ouer yong, applied their seueral practises vpon the Empire; *Ruffinus* for himself, but *Stellico* for his Sonne. Now, because this could not be easily compassed, in regarde that the people of the Empire bare affection vnto the sonnes of *Theodosius*, remembering the Vertues and goodnes of their father: these climbing spirites (in the couertest manner they could deuise) both desired and sought all meanes, whereby to throw Warre and distresse vppon the Empire. For they being men of great imploiment might thereby continually command, & preserue their awfull authority ouer the people.

Ruffinus and *Stellico*, tutors to *Honorius* & *Arcadius*.

Practising against the yong Princes, by their Tutors.

Moreouer, by such election as might be made of them (as formerly had beene done of Consulles and Captaines) they might (as occasions gaue way) entermeddle in the gouernment of the Empire.

The first of them that made discouerie of his intent, was *Ruffinus*; for hauing (by some quiet means) prouoked strangers to make warre; and he being elected Captaine or Chiefe Commander, assayed to haue himselfe named Emperor; wherein failing, for this presumption he was put to death by the apointment of *Honorius*, who (by this time) was growne to pretty stature. *Stellico*, who was much more ingenious, and better knewe how to play with time, hauing ioyned *Arcadius* in mariage with one of his daughters: forestalled (thereby) all suspition of any badde thought in him. Yet notwithstanding, seeking all apt waies to compasse his enterprize, he secretly sollicited the *Gothes*, the *Vandals*, the *Hunnes*, and other barbarous Nations, to rise against the Empire, assayling them himselfe sometimes, and meerely prouoking them to Warre. Besides, hee sent Messengers to them, to giue them hope, that they might easilye conquer diuers countries in the Empire: all which he did, vnder absolute perswasion, of being elected Generall (as we haue alrea-

Ruffinus first sought to name himself Emperor, and therefore was put to death.

Stellico prouoketh the *Gothes*, *Vandals*, and *Hunnes* against the empire.

Deuision of the Empire.

already said) knowing himselfe to bee the most able man for armes that those times afforded. For, albeit *Honorius* and *Arcadius* were then tall youths; yet their care (as yet) extended not to the Countreyes Gouernment, as Princes ought to do.

The Gothes bring a potent army.

Now came the *Gothes* with a main army, and *Stellico* beeing chosen Captaine against them, obtained some fewe victories: but they were in such sort, that no generall Conquest was intended, but only to lengthen out the warre without finishing; yet heereby he won himselfe such reputation, that whatsoeuer he did, needed no other approbation. In the meane while, the *Gothes* elected *Alarick* as their King, who went into *Italy* with a mighty army, against whome, *Stellico* opposed himselfe very powerfully: and although he had much disaduantaged the *Gothes* and their King, yet it was plainly perceiued, that greater matters might haue bin performed, had he bin so pleased. *Alarick* who was a man of great fore-sight, and of good vnderstanding, discerned apparantly, that *Stellico* desired no conclusion of the warre, least then his means of commanding should cease: for, by a ful conquest, he could not attend the comming of som other barbarous nations, as namely the *Vandals*, who hee knew certainely would attempt against the Empire; and he being discended of their Nation, conceiued the greater hope, that (by their helpe and fauour) hee should the easier seize on the Empire, and so aduaunce his sonne thereto.

The Gothes entred *Italy* in armes.

Stellico seeketh to prolong the war against the Gothes.

In this maner, *Alarick* being throughly acquainted with the drift of *Stellico*, priuately aduertised *Honorius* thereof, desiring that he would graunt him peace, because he sought nothing else, but some small Countrey to liue in, with his people; in signe whereof, hee tendered him his faithfull seruice. The Emperor being thus certified of these proceedings; and looking into the cunning Stratagems, with all other suspitions inducing to the purpose; clearly perceiued the intention of *Stellico*. Neuertheless, he dissembled (as yet) all apprehension thereof, & yeelded to the request of *Alarick*, graunting him to inhabit a certaine part of *Gaul*.

Alarick dealt couertly with *Honorius* for peace.

Alarick is granted his abiding in *Gaule*.

While matters thus waued vppe and downe, manie daies passed on, quite frustrating the perswasions whereto *Stellico* bended his course. And albeit (according to the agreement) *Alarick* remoued with his army, to take possession of the place assigned for his dwelling: yet notwithstanding, *Stellico* practised secretly with a Captaine of his troopes (a Iew born, and named *Saul*) who pretending some perticuler quarrell against the *Goths*, should find meanes, that vppon one day in the Easter, when the *Gothes* (as such Christians as they were) should celebrate their festiuall, to set vppon them vnprouided, and in this maner of assault, to kill so many of them as he could. For, his Office of captain, being void in this time of peace, the warre (by this meanes) would be begun againe, and *Stellico* aduaunced to his former dignity. The Iew performed his desire, and assayling the *Gothes*, made a great slaughter of them: but in the end, he made them amendes with losse of his owne life: for the *Gothes* being quickely assembled, ran violently vppon him and his people, and he (with a great number of them) there perished.

Stellico plotteth with a Iew against the Gothes.

A great slaughter of the Gothes by a Iew.

Alarick beeing much offended at this treachery, marshalled his forces against them belonging to *Stellico*, who made shew of fearfulnesse, and woulde (by no meanes) aduenture themselues that day: but dispatching a Trompet to the Emperor, required to haue more men for his assistance. The Emperour well knowing (before) the cunning of *Stellico*, and standing in dread of his further meaning; sent such a potent Army to the field, & some others put in especiall trust for the purpose; as there was both *Stellico* and his Sonne slain, few or none being acquainted with the reason of his death, or the treason by him intended. Now, albeit *Honorius* had well prouided against this scandall and danger, yet could he not sodenly take order for creation of a newe Captaine, so excellent and meete to manage matters in fielde. And *Alaricke* pondering heereon, that this might be occasioned by the Emperors direction, or that *Stellico* miscarried in his owne purposed mischiefe, tooke aduantage of so apt an opportunity, and went on towards *Rome*, without any impeachement by the way, putting to fire and sword (al) along as he iournied, and planted his siege before the Citty, in the yeare eleuen hundred, threescore and four, of the foundation therof. But finding by his first assaulte, that the manhood and courage of the Romaines,

Stellico and his son slaine in the field.

Rome besieged by the *Gothes*.

yeilded

ded ſlender likelyhood of any ſpeedy ſurprizall: he beſiedged it on all ſides verie ſtrictly, and his ſiedge continued two whole yeares together.

Rome beſieged by the *Gothes* 2. whol years.

Many Authors haue thus written, concerning the aſſault and taking of Rome by *Alarick*: neuertheleſſe, the actions of Armes therein performed, haue been ſo brieſe and ſlenderly deſcribed, as almoſt nothing thereof can be ſaid. They that haue written thereof, are *Paulus Oroſius*, in his ſeauenth Booke; *Paulus Diaconus*, in the Hiſtory of *Honorius*; *Iordanis*, or *Ionardus*, in his Hiſtory of the *Gothes*; S. *Auguſtine* in his ſeauenth Booke of the Citty of God; and S. *Ierom*, in the beginning of his Epiſtle, as a thing that hapned in his time. *Iſidore* alſo ſpeaketh thereof, in the Hiſtory of the *Gothes*, with many other Moderne Writers: who (all agreeing together) ſay, that ſo it hapned. Moreouer, one ſaith, that as *Alarick* went marching againſt *Rome*, and as a Chriſtian, though fierce and cruell: there trauailed a Monke before him, of great Authority and holy life, yet could it not poſſibly be knowne, of what place hee was. *Alaricke* affoording him audience, the Monke councelled and admoniſhed him to leaue off this euil purpoſe, bidding him remember that hee was a Chriſtian, and (euen for the loue of God) he ſhold moderate his paſsions, for hee ought not to take any delight, in ſhedding ſo much Chriſtian blood, conſidering, that *Rome* had neuer offended him. Wherto k. *Alarick* thus replied: *Man of God, let me tell thee, that my going againſt Rome, is not of mine owne wil: but contrariwiſe, I aſſure thee, that euery day there goes a man before mee, who much conſtraineth and importuneth me, ſtil ſaying; Set on* Alarick, *goe againſt Rome, deſtroy it wholy, and bring it to deſolation.*

Paul. Oroſ. lib. 7 Paul. Diac. in Hiſt Honor. Ibrd. in Hi. Got. Aug. Lib. 7. de Ciuit Dei. Hier. in Epiſt. Iſid. in hi. Goth.

The words of a Monke, to King *Alarick.*

Alaricks aunſwere to the Monke.

The Religious man beeing amazed at theſe words, durſt make him no anſwere, but ſuffered the King to proceede in his purpoſe. I found this written in the Annals of *Conſtantinople*, annexed to the hiſtory of *Eutropius*; whereby it appeareth, that this aduerſity of *Rome*, was by the eſpeciall rod or ſcourge of God. *Paulus Oroſius* affirmeth as much, and ſaith. That euen as God drew *Lot* out of *Sodome*, to deliuer him from deſtruction; euen ſo, did he free thence Pope *Innocent* the firſt, who (ſome few dayes before the ſiedge) went out of *Rome*, to viſite the Emperor *Honorius*, who was then at *Rauenna*. Notwithſtanding, *Platina* ſaith; That this deſolation hapned in the time of Pope *Zozimus*: but it may be, that it began in the Papacy of the one, and finiſhed in the others Gouernement. Saint *Ierom* was likewiſe (in theſe yeares) out of *Rome*, in ſolemne penitence in the Deſerts of Ægypt.

Annal. Conſt. per. Hiſt. Eutrop

Paul. Oroſ. vbi ſupra.

Plat. in Hiſt. Ro. cap. 9.

Rome being thus beſieged, the *Gothes* and *Romains* performed many woorthie deeds of Armes: and ſo reſolute were the *Romaines*; that they kept it till extreame famine came vpon them, for S. *Hierome* ſaith; *When the Citty was taken, there were found very few priſoners; becauſe deuouring famine had conſumed, and (wel-neere) brought them all to death. For they vvere compelled to feede on infected victuals, and one did eate another: the Mother ſpared not her nurſing infant, but (enforced thereto by famine) ſent it backe to the place frō whence it came at firſt ſo little*; Theſe are the very words of S. *Ierom.*

Hier. vbi ſupra.

Among Authours there is great variety, in what manner *Rome* was taken. *Procopius* the *Græcian* ſaith; That *Alarick* perceiuing his forces inſufficient to take it, concluded to compaſſe his determination by treachery, and faigning as if hee meant to raiſe his ſiedge, made a certaine kind of truce, and ſent three hundred priſoners into the Cittie, with whom he had compounded during their impriſonment and durſt relie vpon their vowed promiſes; for fulfilling ſuch inſtructions as hee had giuen them, only to enioy their liberty, and other great benefits. The deſigned time being come, the priſoners that were at liberty in the Citty, to the number of three hundered; tooke one of the Gates, in deſpight of the Guardes which kept it; and thereat entered *Alarick* furiouſly, with all his followers.

Variation among authors concerning the ſurprizall of Rome. *Procopius* the Greeke.

Others ſay, that by the induſtrie and command of a Great *Romain* Ladie, this Gate was giuen into the *Gothes* power; & that this action proceeded from meere pitty in her, to ſee poore people ſuffer ſuch extreame euils. For ſhe was perſwaded, that the enemy could not performe ſuch cruelties in the City, as the *Romaines* acted vpon themſelues.

A ſecond opinion, concerning a worthy Lady of *Rome.*

There are others who ſay; That it was ſurprized by force of Armes: the people within being no longer able to withſtand the

A third coniecture of the Cities taking.

King *Alarics* Proclamation for such as fled to sanctuary.

the *Gothes*. But by what meanes soeuer it was, they all agree together, that before any person entered the Citty, K. *Alarick* proclaimed (on paine of death) that none of his followers should be so hardie, as to touch one liuing creature of them, that had betaken themselues into Churches for their safety, especialy those Churches of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, which accordingly was obserued; but all the rest of the City was sacked and spoiled; in which siedge, perished many thousands of persons, beside multitudes of prisoners taken. Among whom, was the Emperors Sister, named *Placida*, who was deliuered into the power of *Attaulfus* (one of the cheefest in the Army, and a verie neere Kinsman to King *Alarick*) which *Attaulfus* in short while after married her.

Placida the Emperors Sister taken prisoner.

The day following, they made themselues (wholly) Lords of the Cittie, and (for the more ignominy and disgrace to the Empire) the Soldiers made one *Attalus* Emperor, whom they carried vppe and downe in habit of an Emperour; but the next day after, hee was made to serue as a slaue. Thus remaind the *Gothes* three or 4. daies in *Rome*; and then setting fire on it in diuers places, they departed out at the further side therof. Al which while the Emperour *Honorius* was at *Rauenna*, where he could not but heare these wofull tidinges; yet did hee declare no compasion for the Citty, whereof hee bare the Title of Emperour. This is the first time, that *Rome* (being in hir ful strength) was subiected to the power of strangers. As for the *Frenchmens* entraunce in the time of *Brennus*, I make no reckoning thereof, because it was but in *Romes* nonnage or beginning, and had not attained to such might, as she did afterward. But from this time of the *Gothes*, the City and Empire went continualy to wasting. And many other times (since then) it hath bin ouercome and destroyed, whereof we wil briefely report the most notable successe; to the end, that all men may knowe the frailty of Kingdoms and worldly powers, and how *Rome* (sometime the Ladie of our vniuersall Nations) hath beene made subiect and Slaue to all manner of people.

An Emperor made among the Soldiers, in scorn of the Empire.

The Emperor *Honorius* was at *Rauenna* in all this spoile.

The first decadence of *Rome* after the Gothes.

Not many daies after, *Alarick* was gone out of *Rome*, hee would haue set saile towardes *Sicily*; but fortune returned him backe into *Italy*, and hee died in *Cosenza*, a Towne in *Calabria*. In regarde of his death, the *Gothes* elected (as their King) the fore-named *Attaulfus*, who had taken to wife *Placida*, daughter to the Emperor *Theodosius*. Heereuppon, this new-made King returned to *Rome*, with intent to ruinate and confound it to the very foundation, to dispeople it vtterly, and to burie the name thereof in obliuion: which determination hee had executed, but that the teares and intercessions of his Wife, preuailed with him.

The death of King *Alarick*, and *Attalus* made King of the Gothes, who thretned the vtter ruin of *Rome*.

These things, and many other passing, the *Gothes* departed out of *Italy*: but forty yeares after, the *Vuandels* or *Vandalles* (who were likewise a Northerne people) came thither, vnder conduct of their K. named *Gensericus*. They entred *Italy* with a stout people of *Affrica*, ouer whom they commanded: and comming to *Rome*, entred without any resistance, because the greater part of the Inhabitants were fled thence. Thus the *Vandals* (and their King *Gensericus*) remained in *Rome*, the space of foure daies: during which time, they made what spoil and hauock they could, and then set it on fire in many places.

Gensericus K. of the *Vandals* entered into Rome with his power.

The second spoile of *Rome*

Seauen and twenty yeares following this surprizall of the *Vandals*, (which was in all seauenty two yeares, after the *Goths* had entred vnder King *Alarick*) the King of the *Ærules* and *Thoringes*, named *Odoacres*, came with a mighty armie against the Citty of *Rome*, which the Cittizens perceiuing, and how vnable they were to withstand so potent an enemy: went forth and entertained him amiably in peace, which caused him to name himselfe King of *Rome*, and there he raigned fourteene yeares.

Odoacres King of the *Erules* and *Thoringes*, goeth to *Rome*

Afterward, *Zeno* comming to succeede in the Empire, sent *Theodorick* King of the *Gothes*, (who in those dayes) were become friends to the *Romaine* Empire, & *Theodorick* going against *Odoacres*, with a powerfull Army, only to recouer *Rome*, performed his purpose; and hauing the victory ouer *Odoacres*, not onely chased him out of *Rome*, but likewise out of *Italy*. Then tooke hee on him the name and kingdome, ruling there for the space of thirtie yeares in peace, and without anie contradiction. He dying, his Sonne *Attalarick* raigned there, eight or ten years, with his Queene *Amalasunta*.

Rome (the 3. time) kindly yeilded.

Theodorick K. of the Gothes goeth to *Rome*

Rome conquered the fourth time.

Time passing on, and many trauels in Warre endured, *Iustinian* succeeding in the

Totillus the cruel King of the Gothes.

the Empire, the *Gothes* returned againe into *Italy*, vnto the Ensigns of their most cruell King *Totillus*. But *Bellizarius* and *Narsetes*, most excellent men, exceeding all other in valour, and being Captaines in *Italy* for the Emperor *Iustinian*: did vanquish the *Gothes* diuers times, in the yeare of our Lord, fiue hundred & eighty. This *Totillus*, after he had many times beseedged *Rome*, and fought sundry hardie battels; at length, (by secret treason of some within the Citty) he won it; *Pelagius* being then the chiefe Bishop, who was found therein, and by his teares and earnest entreats, *Totillus* was mooued, to moderat the cruelty and slaughter which his people vsed to the Inhabitants. This done, the cruell King sent his Ambassadors, to require peace with *Iustinian*, and because hee did not freely graunt it him, but referred him to *Bellizarius* (who was then Captaine generall in *Italie* against him) hee grew to great discontentment with himselfe, for sending to the Emperour, and to be thus denied. Heerupon, he destroyed almost the whole Cittie, nothing remaining but the third part of the walles: he caused the Capitoll to be burned, and the greater part of the Cittie; euen all that possibly hee coulde, commanding the Dwellers to get them from thence.

Rome betraide and won the first time.

Rome almost quite destroied by *Totillus*, and the Inhabitants expulsed.

When the people had deuided themselues into diuers other Neighbouring Citties and Townes, he led thence with him many of the Senatours, and such as were of greatest respect in *Rome*; leauing the Citty wholy vn-inhabited, and most Goodly sumptuous buildings vtterly desolate. In briefe, such was the ruine and destruction, as neuer after could it be reduced to the former condition. Albeit *Bellizarius* (after his entrance into it) repaired a great part of the wals and dwellings, and gaue aide to the *Romaine* Princes, fortifying their Cittie, so much as in him lay; and procuring the return of many dispersed Inhabitants, who had fled to sundry Neighboring places of *Italy*, now to beginne a New Population of Rome. In such good sort was it repaired, that it was strong enough to out-stand a second attempt of *Totilius*, who came againe, & laid his siege to it. But in regard that *Bellizarius*, at his departing out of *Italy*, carried thence with him the Manly courage wherewith such a Citty should be defended: therefore, King *Totillus* had his second surprize of it the more easily, and vsed effects quite contrary to his former. For, insted of againe destroying it, he laboured to restore what he had ruined, & such Cittizens as had fled (being fearefull of him) he caused their returne with verie kinde Welcome, and Royall Feasting.

Bellizarius repayed a great part of Rome.

Some Authors say, that the cause of this strang alteration, proceeded by these meanes. That he had sent into *Fraunce*, with request of one of the Kings Daughters in marriage, and answere was returned him; That he would not giue him any one of them, because he knew him not to be King of *Italy*, for if hee were King thereof, he would not labour so much to destroy it, but rather striue to maintaine it in all her rights. Others affirme, that repenting himselfe for his passed cruelties, he made a Vow to S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, to restore Rome againe. But howsoeuer it was, it fell out to proone so, and this was the last time that the *Gothes* entred *Rome*: for they lost it before many daies were past, being vanquished by the woorthie *Narses*, or *Narsetes*, Captain to the Emperor *Iustinian*, who threw them wholly out of *Italy*, whereinto afterward, they neuer re-entred.

The opinion of Authours, touching the kind mutation of *Totillus* the nt.

The Gothes last entering into *Rome*.

Neuertheless, it plainly appeared to other Nations, that *Rome* was no difficult thing to be conquered and taken. For in short time after, the *Longobards* went into *Italy*, where making themselues Lords of *Cisalpine Gaule*; by that occasion it is called *Lombardy* to this day. This hapned three yeares after the ruine made by *Totillus*, and vnder the raigne of King *Clouis*: then went they on to Rome, where they mainely beseedged it, and did great dammage to the Neighboring parts, albeit they could not take the Citty. Some while after, and in the life time of *Gregory* the third, *Luitprand* their King, beseedged it likewise; and being vpon the point of taking it, hee left off his enterprize, at the intreaty of *Charles Martel*.

The *Longobardes* entred into Italy, and sharply assaulted *Rome*, but could not take it.

Luitprand king of the *Longobards* beseiged *Rome*, but wold not take it.

After which, and in the yeare seauen hundred and two, another King of these *Longobards* or *Lombardes*, called *Attaulphus*, beseedged it once more, in the time of Pope *Stephen* the second; & although he entred not into the Citty, yet did hee engirt it with the most cruell inuasion, that euer hapned since the Tyrant *Totillus*,

Attaulphus another *Lombard* King, most cruelly beseiged *Rome*, and very neer tooke it.

Rome the sixt time surprized, and by K. *Totilius*, but in very straunge manner.

lus, and worse (for the extreamity) then he performed. And, if *Pepin*, King of *France*, and Father to great *Charlemaign*, had not gone to succour it: without all question they had entred in, and then it had beene vtterly destroyed, as appeared by the spoile they made without. This calamity being ouer-blowne, *Rome* had some respite, by the fauour of *Charlemaigne*; and so much the rather, because the Empire then came into the West.

Notwithstanding, by successe of time, and in the yeare of our Lord, eight hundred thirty three, *Gregory* the fourth beeing Pope, and *Lewes* Emperour: *Sarrazins* (Disciples of *Mahomet*) descended with a mighty Army into *Italy*, and hauing destroied *Centoncella* (at this day cald *Ciuita vecchia*, or the old Citty) they went against the Citty of *Rome*, which they both besiedged, and tooke; prophaning the Temple of S. *Peter*. When they had performed many ignominies, and burned all they could: they returned vnto their Shippes, enriched with many Prisoners, booties and spoiles.

The Sarazins entred *Italy* with a mighty power.

Rome taken the seauenth time, by the *Sarazins*.

Rome hauing endured all these misfortunes, *Gregory* the seauenth came to succeede in the Papacy, who had great wars against *Henry*, Emperor of *Germany*; and the Emp. pursuing his iniuries, brought his armed troupes before *Rome*, wherein he besiedged the Pope: but the *Romaines* defended the Citty couragiously, and the Emperor resisted with such constancy, that the siedge continued a very long time. Neuertheless, in a battaile well ordered, he surprized the Citty, by meanes whereof, the Pope fled to the Castle of S. *Angelo*: in which place, being also belegered, he was succored by a great number of *Normans*. When the Emperour perceiued, that his stay could not (well) be long; hee destroyed (first) many goodlie buildings in *Rome*: and at his parting, he left the greater number of his Men in the Citty, to defend it with the *Romains*, who were then of his faction. Many more *Normans* comming to ioyne with the rest, in fauour of the Pope; the two Armies encountred together diuers times, and such was the dammage which the Citty receiued on both sides: as the greater part thereof was burned. For this was especially obserued, that whatsoeuer the *Normans* could seaze on their Enemies, were they houses, or what else: they were burned, raced, and laid flat with the Earth. The Capitoll it selfe, which had beene againe builded, and wherein the Emperor *Henries* people were fortefied; was again burned and quite ruined. Finallie, the *Normans* and the Popes side got the victorie, but with such wofull hauocke and desolation of *Rome*: as neuer since then it could be restored, nor euer will be, to her first estate. Some that haue written, do auouch, that neither *Totilus*, nor any other Nation; did euer cause so much losse, as might be compared with the hurt it then receiued. And that it must needes be true; it is apparant at this day to bee seene, for Vineyards, Gardens, and other empty places, doe supply roome where Churches, & other things (very remarkable) then stood, the which wofull ruine, hapned in the yeare one thousand eightie two.

Henry Emperor of *Germany* besiedged *Rome*, & tooke it the eight time, with much destroiing it.

The most part of *Rome* burnt in this combustion.

Rome neuer can be restored to hir first dignitie.

Wherefore, whosoeuer shall well consider these misfortunes: will finde, that there is not any Nation in the World, (hauing heeretofore beene subiected to *Rome*) that in such diuersity of times, cam to spoile. And for a last example, in our time, by meanes of our sins, especially of them there inhabiting: the Emperiall army (consisting of *Spaniards* and *Germans*) came before this Citty, tooke it, and sacked it. And because in the first assault, *Charls* Duke of *Bourbon* (a *French* Prince, and one of the worthiest men in his time, who was then Generall Commaunder of the Emperour) hapned to bee slaine: his Souldiers (beeing at liberty) committed such ennorme cruelties, that they acted euen all the villainies they could deuise, except setting the Churches on fire. Which proceeded (as hath beene presumed) by the iust iudgment of God, albeit the executioners thereof were not clear from grieuous sinnes: But it is necessary that scandals should happen, yet woe to them that cause and commit them.

Rome taken and spoyled the last time, vnder the conduct of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*.

CHAP. XI.

That there is no height of spirit, valour, courage or Man-hood, truely commendable; but such as is necessary, & grounded on vertue.

MAny Authours, both Ancient and Modern, haue deliuered their iudg-

Concerning such as haue written on this argument

ments concerning Man-hood or Valor: but yet so weakely, and without any true validitie, as nothing can be collected from such instructions; but meere Cowardise, and debility of courage. For they being empty of such naturall capacitie, as should conuay them to so high a knowledge: haue sought for such a Iewell in sinister places, and not where the perfect markes of this vertue is to be truly found. The *French*, *Germaines*, *English*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*, haue (like Fresh-men) discoursed on this Argument, vsing so many words, and little grace; as if they were depriued of all meanes to write on such a subiect. For now a-daies, Man-hood is so slenderly practised among Noblemen; that it appeares no other then a cloud of Vanitie, which disperseth it selfe at the first noyse of an armed Enemy. Because it is impossible for him, who hath no other courage, then a braue apparance onely (which is more proper to threaten, then to hurt an enemy) to forme any true resolution in his Soule, of being then valiant; when hazzard disputes with reason, and feare coapeth with honour so rudely; that gallantry in desseignes, proues goutinesse in performance. Herevpon was it, that *Maherball* spake so courragiously to his *Numidians*, on the great battaile day at *Cannas*; *We come not hither to looke on, but to conquer; we are not here for shew, but for our liues. For the Romains dispute about an Empire, and not for the excellency of Affricke or Europe. If ye couet flight, to preuent the great tempest that may fall vpon yee; let me aduise ye, to get ye gone, before ye be chased. For otherwise, they that shall haue more courage then you; to preserue their liues, will haue more breath to pursue the ruine of yours, then you can (by flight) can be assured of safety. Considering, that as there is no neede of fight, where no victory is to be had for the Conquereur, nor rout for the conquered: So let no man fly, when flight is not auaileable; retreat being much more daungerous, then fight.*

The small regard of Man-hood among Noblemen.

The words of *Maherball* to his Souldiers at the battaile of *Cannas*

These, or the like wordes, vsed this great Caprain, Maister of the Horsemen to *Hannibal*, who was so happy in armes; as neuer was any slackenesse noted in him, no, not in the battaile of *Zama*, which he lost; by fighting rather against the rigour of Heauen, and the destinies waiting on the huge Empire of *Rome*; then by the violence of his enemies, who conquered, onely because they could not be conquered. Whereto we may adde, that whatsoeuer outward note or effect, could deliuer (for happinesse) in a wise and valiant Captaine: it was exactly deliuered (that day) by *Hannibal*: who (in so hard a necessity) did all the offices both of head and armes, so many times, and for so long a while together; that *Scipio* himselfe, after the battaile was won, made this loude exclamation, *O Rome! What shouldst thou yet suffer, if Hannibal were liuing?*

The perfect valour remaining in *Hannibal*.

The words of *Scipio* concerning *Hannibal*.

Now, it is most certaine, that the *Affricane* fought by power, being commanded by the Magistrats of his Common-weal, to whom he made apparant their errour, and his owne experience; accompanied with such perfect Man-hood, as he would neuer make vse thereof, but where it was so needfully required, that meere necessity tooke away all suspition of vaine glory, and the issue gaue testimony of the beginning; to wit, effectes of their cause, more then legitimate and necessary. To whom then, shall not this true Valour in *Scipio* seeme admirable, that neuer came to manly triall, but by necessity? And hauing conquered, made no such assurance of his victory by his enemies foile; as by diligent search of their loue and amitie?

The absolute man-hood, remaining in *Scipio*.

A wretched fortune attendeth on some Nations, wherein no Lordes or Gentlemen are found, to delight in the imitation of this auncient Man-hood, whereto so many Vertues were enchained: that they seemed rather a colligation of wonders, then any simple qualitie, reaped in the Fielde of a strong and couragious soul. There are so many inciuilities mingled with our Man-hood, that they simpathize rather with wild Goats, or the heat of Bulles; then with the reall excellencie of humaine Nature, which beeing the Image of the Diuinitie, figures vnto vs another kinde of strength and courage, then that which is proper to brute Beasts onely. For their transport, is desseigne, fury, fight, and hugenesse of body, wherein assuredlie, they so far exceed vs, that if we esteem Manhood to consist in sudden fury: we shal find our selues more feeble then all other Creatures, worthily deseruing to be termed vnreasonable, & much lesse excellent then Lyons, Panthers, & Tigers, the least enraged whereof, so little feareth the brutall fury of any Man, (how

The miserable condicion of some Nations in these daies.

The courage in brute beasts for their fighting.

(how violent soeuer he be) that a Wolfe hath feared the Tuskes of a young wilde Boare, the space of three whole daies together.

King *Pyrrhus* his demand concerning the *Romaines*, of *Cineas* his Ambassadour.

Pyrrhus King of the *Epirotes*, demanded of his Ambassadour *Cineas*, what manner of people the *Romaines* were? he answered: They are goodly men. What more (quoth the King.) They are aduised, said *Cineas*. What else? saide the King. They are valiant, quoth *Cineas*. Is this all? replyed the King. No, said *Cineas*, they are (beside) vertuous and honest people. Why then (answered the King) we shall deale with three enemies more then I dreamed of. True replied *Cineas*, and the legerity of the *Tarentines* makes the fourth. But it is all one, prouided, that the merits of *Italy* doe not exceede theirs of *Greece*: for the *Epirotes* and the *Romaines* must act a Tragedy, whereof the *Tarentines* will be the Iudges. The common Theater is *Italy*, the Gods & victorie will leane to him perticularly, that shall declare himselfe to be most worthy. Howsoeuer it be, replied *Pyrrhus*, reason is on our side: for we haue crost the Seas, to yeild Iustice to the *Tarentines*, and mercy to the *Romaines*; if we be Maisters of the day. As for the rest, they are Sonnes to them whom our Fathers haue beaten, & we cannot be conquered; without doing iniury to the vertue of our Aunceſtours, who were neither lesse, or more valiant then we be, if we would enter into possession of one another.

A worthie resolution in a King, and fit to be imitated

Vndoubtedly, these were words, or rather Oracles, well becomming a Christian Captaine: and what were their effects; but meere perpetuall miracles? *Romes* fortune and vertue fell flat vnder his valor; the Sea stouped her breast vnder the weighty burthen of his Ships; the straites of *Scicily* opened wide (like mouths) to receiue his victorious triumphant fleet; and *Greece* (his Countrey) had more honour then disgrace, in being subdued by so vertuous a Conquerour. And yet notwithstanding, in striuing to be a more forward Souldier, then so good a Captaine; hee lost his life, not in the midst of his victories, but in the beginning of his triumphs, and vpon the very end of a fight. For, pursuing (to no purpose, and against all prouidence) a young Lad of the Citty of *Argos*, that was carried away in the assault:

The succesſe of *Pyrrhus* fight against the *Romaines*.

The iniurie which ensueth by too much rashnesse.

he was slain by the stroke of a Tile, which the Mother of the lad threw at him in the pursuit. Was it not enough, that hee had shut vp King *Antigonus*, who had called him forth to fight? that he had commanded the day, & prouided security against the assailants; but he must yeild himselfe to common seruices, which are more ignominious to great Commaunders (being done out of time) then they can bee honorable to the meanest Souldier, that serues no other God, but occasion, and seekes no pay, but applause and vulgar knowledge?

The death of King *Pyrrhus* by his owne follie.

When it was told the wife *Antigonus*, of a certaine *Polyperchon*, that being excited thereto, or rather drunke with boldnesse; ran into the army of *Eumenes*, and had broken fiue *Corps du garde* of the *Argiraſpides*, but was staied at the sixt. *It is nothing* (answered *Antigonus*) *for I haue seene an Elephant much more signale and commendable in courage, that trauersed the whole army of Demetrius, and yet was neyther slain nor taken.* *Hyrodes*, Prince of the *Parthians*, beholding a *Hyrcanian* mainly galloping into the field, & smitten down at the first encounter; instantly gaue him this farewell. *We are not now* (*my friende*) *at the passage of a Riuer, where euery one striues for entrance into the Boat, before his Fellow; but we are heere to grow enamored of victory, and she is a Goddesse so full of Maiesty, that shee scornes to looke vppon Fooles and mad men.* *Pelopidas*, the hodour of *Thebes*, failed (by this meanes) in the day of battaile, which he hadde against the Tyrant *Phalaris*, of whom hee had won a verie great victorie: which at length he robd himselfe of (by vnaduised courage) in running rather to the ruine of a particular *Thessalian* Souldier, then to the conseruation of his Army, and the establishment of his Common-wealth; which was left more desolatee by his death, then this vnperfected victorie yeelded assurance and safetie to *Beotia*.

A *Polyperchon* in the army of *Eumenes*.

A pretie reproofe for fooliſh hastinesse, giuen to an *Hyrcanian*.

The indiscretion of worthy *Pelopidas* the *Thebane*.

Gaston de Foix might serue vs for a sufficient example, without borrowing any among the Greekes or Romaines, whose losses (in the like cases) may the better direct vs to Wisedome. For the *French* vse to say, that (without all question) they wholely lost *Italy*, and their owne good fortunes together; when the saide *Gaston* lost himselfe. For he enuying

Example of *Gaston de Foix* in being ouer aduenturous.

the brauing valour of some Gallantes, too apt in spurring on such as had betaken themselues to flight: more to bee seene, then for any hope hee could haue of recalling them, lost his owne life. And his fall might be compared to that of a great and mightie *Colossus*, whose ruine not onely hurteth whatsoeuer is neere neighbouring; but thinges much further of, by very distant separations.

An excellent comparison concerning true valour.

Like as the bright Luster of the Easterne Opalles, doe figure and represent to our eyes, the very liuelieſt Colours of all precious Stones; euen so is perfect Man-hood endued with this particuler Vertue, that it giueth to him (who is therewith possessed) a generall acquisition of all such varities, as may builde vp a faire Nature, and make it euerie way compleate. But he who is simply valerous, and hath no other merit, but onely a giddie and skipping kinde of courage: is borne rather for his owne hurt and ruine, then any aduancement; except he will goe liue among sauage Beastes, for whose humour (perhaps) he may be more capable, if they should make any dangerous sallie vpon his person. To this purpose, the famous Captaine *Epaminondas*, compared a valiant man, that had no other vertue; to a great goodly Shippe, wherein is nothing but a saile. Shee is not carryed by any Conduct, or whether the Mariners desseigne had appointed their Commerce: but fortune onelie is her course; the Windes her Pylot, and she hath no other anchorage, but ship-wracke. Yet if it so happen (as it may, though rarely) that hauing contended with the angry Heauens, and iniuries of the Seas, shee bring her selfe (vnbruised) into some safe harbour: no glory is therefore to be ascribed to the goodnesse of her prow, to the best form of her poope, nor to any cost bestowed on her building; but onely to the opportunitie of the place, the nature of the Windes, the depth of the Water, and calmnesse of the Seas, that altogether, or one for all the rest, rather left her so without dommage, then warranted what thus hapned, they being insensible of good or euill.

Epaminondas his comparison of a valiant man.

Sildome such aduenture is seene, but only this is a meere comparison.

To what end (I pray ye) serued the hot and spleenitiue Manhood, of *Charls* Duke of *Bourbon*, who would needs enter *Rome*, among the peli-mell furie of his foot Souldiers, that saw not the ouerture of the breach, but with the eies of pillage and Rapine? Beeing abandoned in this sort, by the transport of gaine, and bootie of the Cittie (which was thē more allarmed, then assaulted) their generall intention was to vanquish, onely thereby to enrich themselues; and this was the sole command of the assault, yea, the absolute forme or cause of the fight & victory. Wherein, the Conquerour (not knowing how to conquer his owne impaciency) declared himselfe vnworthy of such fauor, as the Heauens had then prepared for him to make him Maister of the Queen of Cities: which could not haue been subdued, but by so Noble and famous a Commander, who (out of his death) begot a second life, and conuerted his particular triumphe, into a generall mourning: for the Army and Cittie (which was then spoiled) were very far dissemblable, in condition of their fortune.

Charles Duke of *Bourbon*, that sacked *Rome*, and lost his life thorow his owne rashnesse.

What Man-hood was that in *Polydamas*, who (all alone, and disarmed) ran after a great and strong company of Theeues, amongst whom he was slaine: more satisfying (therein) his owne fury, then good intention, which was, to cleanse the Country of them? He wounded, slue, and chased the greater part of those common enemies to mens society: but what did he heerein, either for himselfe, or others? When his verie death, caused more courage & violence in the remnant of them that remained aliue; then the whol heap of them (before) had together? Could not he haue mustered the community of *Greece*, and selected young Spirits of his owne hot temper? with such a sindiquat, he might haue made opposition, rather against their flight, then violence, and (by this means) had the grace to vanquish them at the first sight, and by this first too, rather haue punnished, then vanquished them. For so base a victorie, better becommeth the pursuit of a Prouost of iustice, or a polliticke Magistrate; then the dreaded Armes of a Prince. Were it not that one must haue the charge, when the leudnesse of men so far aboundeth, that Theeues and Pirats may better giue the Title of army (yea, of a great Army) to their conspiracy; then of a simple

Polydamas the Sonne of *Antenor*, wilfully sought his owne death.

A Prince is not to expres valour in base occasions.

Examp'e of *Pompey* the Great.

simple company of misse-led men. As it happened in the time of *Pompey*, who was to fight with so great and prodigious a multitude of Sea Rouers: that the very Conquest of them, rather got him the Name of Great, then all the victories he had in *Asia*. This likewise was the verie greatest honour, that euer the valiant and inuincible *Hercules* attained vnto, if the *Greekes* write truely.

A good aduertisment to all Noble-men.

I am the more willing to continue this subiect, because it were no dishonest wish, that the Man-hood of all our Nobilitie, would declare it selfe (more then it hath done) in diligent search of Morall Vertues, and opposition against all vices, for whose destruction, they were first created by God, and secondlie by Kinges. For, let me tell yee, that the best and most famous Houses in *Europe* (let me not say of the whole World) were sometimes plain Yeomanry, & extracted out of the common Masse: out of which, some apparant and remarkable vertue gaue them distinction & separation. Because a recompence so faire and glorious, moued braue courages (in quest of such occasions) to become partners in the like benefits: which the meere courtesie of Kinges (animated by this subiect onely) established, to make difference between more and lesse, good and better, the Comparatiue and the Superlatiue.

The Original of the best houses in *Europe*, and their separation.

Much commended, but little knowne.

Man-hood is commended by many, yet known of very few; because it is much more easily praised, then learned, or practised. It ought to be in the hart, like pure and cleere water in a Cesterne; whence it may be fetcht for diuers seruices, and all for no other end, then mens commodity. Some to make drinke therewith; others, Bread; others dresse their meats, Water their Gardens, and wash, as occasion is required. In all these vses, it is not onelie profitable, but also very needfull: and yet it may be abused, for ouer-much thereof, doth rather returne disaduantage, then any benefit. To elect it (then) for our best seruice, is not according to it selfe, as in a liuing thing; but answerable to manlie iudgement, & discourse of reason: which appropriateth the quality and quantity of this Element, according as the occurrence and neede thereof, shall require his vertue and succourable power. It is euen so in Man-hood, one while it is imployed for the establishment of Kinges; for the conseruation of their Estates; for particular defence of our assayled persons; and for perfection of the weake and innocent. Out of this, or the like subiect; it is ridiculous, changeth into fury, and gets the name of madnesse, rage, and desperation. This immaculate Virgine shunneth such a Spirit, as hath more cowardise to offend a Man, of whom hee thinkes he hath receiued an iniurie: then true valor, to do him grace, by letting him rather know the pardon, the the pain; the precept, then the punishment. Hereon was it, that Diuine *Plato* was wont to say. *If we were all iust; Might would bee condemned in humaine societie, for Iustice doth all by her owne proper Vertue. Shee made Aristides both courageous and patient. She made him more necessary the Themistocles; more victorious then Miltiades; and more happy, then all the other Athenian Captains.*

The saying of the diuine *Plato* concerning Iustice.

There is no valour without Iustice, nor Iustice without courage.

It is impossible then, to be very valiant, without being iust; or to be iust, without courage; because, it is not faintnesse, or want of Spirit in the heart, that makes a Man acceptable in all Companies: but rather a Celestiall heate; which mounts the Soule beyonde common pitch, and seeketh after a commendable contentment, by delight which others apprehend in seeing our actions to hold euen gate with their good, as much (or rather more) then they doe with our owne. We are not bound to those boistrous wordes of *Alexander* the Great, when he said; *That he did not abandon hazzards, but to be honoured and renowned among the Grecians in generall, and particularly, of the Athenians*: Who seemed (neuertheless) vtter Enemies to his Fortune, as formerly they had beene to his Father *Phillip*. Such speeches issued from the mouth; nay, the very heart of a Man, an Atheist: who had no other God, but Vanitie; no Reason, but Couetousnesse; no Iustice, but feare of contempt; Fortune for his Armes, *Asia* for his pay, and the rest of the World for his hope. Little was his care, if the whole Earth were afflicted, for the weake Subiect of his fraile satisfaction: for hee receiued but the rinde or shell of goodnesse, and tooke (from euery one) the whole heape of happinesse, which Peace onely bringeth.

The words of *Alexander* the Great.

Wordes more like an *Atheist*, then a worthy King.

All occasions of the great battailes he gaue, were conceiued on a sole desire, to shame and disgrace all Princes in the

The application in the vse of man-hood.

The vse of man-hood exampled by water, in vsing it.

Alexanders enuying of all other Princes onely to exceede them in might and courage.

World, whom he sought to oblige by his victorious Armes; and by the Graces he did them, to beleeue, that hee excelled them in power and courtesie. Nor had he any other intention beside, either to assure the estates of *Greece*, or doe any good to his Countrey, much lesse would hee exalt any of his partakers: for all his proiect was, not to be equalled by any one in his life, nor seconded after his death, saying, not long before. *He that hath no part in my Glorie, can be no Heire to my Conquest: How then should I make a Successour, that neuer could haue any Companion?*

The saying of *Alexander*, not long before his death.

Alexander rashly slew his deare friend *Clitus*.

He well declared, that his valour was imperfect, when he slew his Friend and Benefactor *Clitus*, reproouing him for his ambitious vanitie: beside, it was very vnorderly done, and out of due time. He ought to haue expressed the truth of courage, in supplying the defect of the others indiscretion (if he pleased so to iudge it) then so furiously to bee his Destroyer and Murderer. *Demetrius* had more valiancy (but lesse Fortune) then *Alexander*, considering, he pardoned the *Thebanes* twice; but many times the people of *Athens*. Whereas (quite contrary) *Alexander* ruined *Thebes* from the top to the bottome, and neuer left the *Athenians* in peace: but when time serued not to proclaime open Warre; his mind being then busied and implored in much greater matters, & yet notwithstanding, lesse perillous. For, it is most certaine, that had hee else-where conuerted his fury (rather destenied, then premeditated for the ruine of *Asia*, which (was in his time) the principall subiect of Gods wrath, of whose vengeances he was the onely Organe:) doubtlesse he had ended his Fortunes in *Greece*, and his triumphes had extended but the length of *Macedon*, which remained more vnuanquished, then victorious, by the Armes of this Shittlecocke of the Heauens displeasure. At whose ending, all Tytants in the world tooke their beginning, and the vniuerse it selfe, was more shaken (then maintained) by the accidentall valour of this Monster of ambition, and of pernitious glory. For he had no Law, but superstition; no Magistracy, but prodigious and vnsociable disdaine. Yet could he outwardly seeme milde and familiar, because he affected this necessary vertue in a great Prince: especiallie in such a one, that exaltes himselfe (without any right or election) into others Empires and Monarchies. For power doth not so much strengthen the nouelty of a Kingdome; as hope, which subiectes (halfe desperate) doe deriue, from the accostable and kinde behauiour in him, who (in effect) hath forced, and (in apparance) striueth to surmount their feare, of being worsse entreated afterward.

Demetrius compared with *Alexander*, for more valiant, but lesse fortunate.

Alexander was tearmed *Gods* scourge in *Asia*.

Affability a necessary vertue in a great Prince.

The Empire of the *Romaines*, was of longer continuance then the other, because it daily begot more Friendes then Enemies, and onely began to loose it selfe; when they grew to disdaine the Northerne people, who being farre off from *Italy*, by long distance of Seas, Riuers, Mountaines, and by so great a length of ground: the Gouernors seemed to be meere proprietaries or Owners. By means whereof, they committed such prodigious violences, as were to be wondred at. But the patience of the afflicted, kept in, and continued so long a time, for a iust and necessarie punishment, that the Arrest being concluded on: the North (at length) leapt out of her limits, and brake the Ice of her heart in such sort, that the shiuers flew so farre as *Rome*; yea, and with so stearne a strength, that their power and Iustice (vsing necessity as their best helpe) made a meere break-necke of the Worldes pride. For hauing nothing but valour, and no equity in their first Oeconomy, they became so humbled; that their fall remaineth (to this day) very dreadfull, and it would exceed credence, in men most learned, if the ruines did not render a more apparant testimony, then all our Histories.

The Romain Empire continued longer thē the other.

The Northerne people long wronged by the *Romans*

CHAP. XII.

That all such, as had no other vertue, then meere and naked valiancy, or valour; haue ended their daies very vnfortunatly.

IT is a case without all question, that the first Monarches more establisshed their

The wisedom of the first Monarcks in establishing their Empires

their Empires, by election which they made of their Friendes and Enemies; then by force of Armes, or relying on their power. And true it is, that the people of *Asia*, had (naturally) more might and courage, then the *Grecians*; who notwithstanding, did almost daily beat them, because they had no other helpe, but such a transport of spirit, which being linked to indiscretion and fury: admitted no other meanes of conquering; but that which Nature enstructs brute Beasts withall, being furthest off from all iudgement. When the *Grecians* degenerated from the wisedome of their Ancestors; they suffered themselues to bee led by the Romaines prouidence: who were a people, not so goodly of Body, so well proportioned, or of like courage to them of * *Attica*; where the Ayre was of such temperature; as nothing wanted, to be desired. Euerie one knoweth, that *Greece* was not onely the Mother of Sciences, but of all the Pagane Gods, and of all those most remakable thinges, which our auncient Histories doe make mention of. It was the birth place of *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and *Perithous*, who knowing nothing else to be maistered in the World; went so farre as Hell to exercise their violence. Thence they drew out *Cerberus*, with his three heades, and (some say) they cornuted wretched *Pluto*: a goodly act no doubt; aunswerable to the birth of * *Calais* and *Zethes*, who rid the Countrey of the *Harpies*, that deuoured the foode of blinde *Phineus*. There was *Meleager* born, and all the *Argonauts* in generall. Of thence was *Achilles* and *Diomedes*, who wounded *Mars* and his Concubine *Venus*. Of thence was *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, *Demetrius*, *Themistocles*, and *Alcibiades*, all which, hauing giuen a subsistance of valiancy to their world: had Children to their Successours, that suffered themselues to be conquered by the Heards-men of *Calabria*, and Shepheards belonging to the Romain fields; onely because they were lesse wise then valiant, in comparison of their predecessors, who had true iudgment, both in the one and other.

* A Country in *Greece*, between *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, where *Athens* stood.

* The Sonnes of *Boreas* (by *Orithia*) that had wings to flie.

Theseus in the *Labyrinth* of *Creete*, ouercame the *Minotaure*.

Theseus had neuer got out of the *Cretane* Labyrinth, if hee had not brought more discretion to his enterprize, then meere valour. For he did not vanquish that great and dreadfull Monster, halfe a Man, and halfe a Beast; but by deuise and singuler cunning: in regard, that the prodigious Bull was endued with more strength and courage, then hee could be; the Nature (both of Man and Bull) being common and indifferent to him. Moreouer, it was (in manner) nothing, to haue surmounted such a confused masse of Flesh, because he had more need of conduct, to get foorth of the Forrest where he was enclosed; then power to warrant him against a violence, which was soule-lesse to all reason. And surely as offence (in another body) trained him vniustly to this hazzard; euen so was hee delinered by strange vertue, which was as well acknowledged, not to be Domesticke to his owne Spirit, as he declared indiscretion and improuidence in his returne, which appeared more signale in the deplorable death of his Father, then any wonder could be discerned in his victory: for he was more prepared by wisedome in the King of *Creetes* Daughter, then well atchieued by vertue in the *Athenian* Prince.

The meanes how *Theseus* was deliuered, not by his owne valour, but by wisedome in the Daughter to the King of *Creete*.

The selfe-same (doubtlesse) happened to *Iason*, Captaine of the *Argonauts*, who beeing (well-neere) inuincible for humaine valour: had yet all been vtterly lost, without the industrie and prouidence of ingenious *Medea*. For shee knew how to conuert the Armes of the Garrisons of *Colchos*, quite against themselues, for whose vse and preseruation they were onely destined. Here, amazement surmounted the courage of our young Conquerants, and their valiancy had no other vigour, but onely for flight: till she alone, without any other Armes then inuention; changed their feare, to a chearfull heat for fight; their incertitude, to assurance; and their vnauoydable ouerthrow, to a victory sudden, and done at an instant.

Iason and his *Argonauts*, deliuered by the ingenuitie of discreet *Medea*.

The meanest Fortresses would appeare impregnable to humaine valiancy, without Art and inuention of a sprightly minde: who vniting the one with the other; bringeth supernaturall things to passe, or (at least) such as are extraordinary. The Poet *Lucretius* mockt our first men, that made bodily strength their best benefit of defence, vsing their teeth, nailes, feete, and handes, as their safest

Valiancie and discretion linked together, bring admirable occasions to end.

safest Armour, and beeing guided by courage, without order or direction; ran head-long into inevitable dangers. *Homer* also tels vs, that the Captaines of best ranke (as well in *Europe* as *Asia*) were singularly well armed: as *Aiax*, *Sarpedon*, the Son of *Mars*, *Diomedes*, *Glaucus*, and *Patrocles*, that perrished with the Armes of *Achilles*: who was not so hardie, as to run and revenge the death of his perfect and intimate friend, till he had gotten him new Armour; to wit, much better then that hee had before. He, that (to shew himselfe couragious) throwes his vnarmed body into charges, breaches and assaults; declares the actions rather of a mad man, then one that is valiant. Some men haue bin seene, one, to cast him selfe into a Fire; another, fall vpon the point of a sword; a third, leap suddenly into a deep Riuer, or from the height of a dreadfull Rock; according as frenzy altereth and misguideth the ordinary mooving of his disease. A fourth, as vnhealthfull in mind, guideth his life by the pathes of death, onely by defect of apprehension, which cannot, neither ought to bee lawdable or imitable: but onely in such, who being weary of life, doe defie both fortune and perrill, and become obedient to dispaire and melancholly, which makes them to esteeme death more sweet then life.

Good armour is not the best defence.

Difference betweene madnesse and valour, and very easie to be discerned.

Alexander the Great, banished a *Macedonian* from his Troupes, because he was vnarmed on the day of battaile, which he fought at the Riuer *Granicus*, saying to him. *In this manner (my small Friend) we vse to goe to Weddings, and not to war; where he that is best armed, cannot be cleare from perill.* The *Spartanes* condemned a young man of their Citty, to a very great penalty, because on the day whē the *Thebanes* gaue their assault; he came naked to the fight, where (notwithstanding) his fortune was equall to his valour, deliuering such proofe of high desert, as themselues, by whom his folly was condemned; adiuged a great salary to his valour, which had beene perfect, if it had been exercised in better forme. *Lysimachus* being vanquished by a *Thessalian* Prince (that was reputed barbarous, and slenderly acquainted with glorious actions) when he was mockt for his foile, made them this answere. *Mine enemy (whatsoeuer you conceiue of him) seemes to haue as much wisedome, as fury: for, the fortune of Alexander, and himselfe partaking with me, could not make me inuincible; because I was ordained to be one of this Princes heires. But the mispriſion I made of my companion, deceiued my possessed assurance of conquest, and enabled mine enemie to fight, when I thought him more capable of flight, then of assailing. But why then* (answered one) *did you vndertake such a difficult attempt? Because* (qd. he) *I had courage enough to execute it, if meere valiancy had onely bin necessary.*

A *Macedonian* banished for being vnarmed on the day of Battell.

Actions are not good, wanting their due forme.

Lysimachus conquerd by a *Thessalian* Prince, his speeches at the instant.

When rich *Crassus* was ouerthrowne in *Assiria*, by the Army of the *Parthians*, which were farre lesse in number, then that of the *Romaines*; a *Patrician* said to *Cato*: *This rout seemeth to me incredible, considering the courage of many strong Legeonaries*; whereto *Cato* replyed. *There would haue beene much better apparance, if the couetous eye of Crassus had not lookt more to booty, then to the charge: which was more easily desired, then taken, and yet more easily taken, then kept.* For it behoueth, that (in euery desseigne) wisdome should exceed the power of execution, and execution to arise, not from possibility, or apparance; but from truth and certaintie of the matter, which distinguisheth it selfe by no other time, then when we are assured of it. This sacred Lady Wisedome, onely taketh intermission, to haue greatest priuacy with such, whom she iudgeth worthy of her fauour; which is continuallie combined with Prouidence, Iustice, and Necessitie.

When rich *Crassus* was vanquished by the *Parthians* in *Assiria*.

Wisedome is the best guide in all our actions whatsoeuer.

It is not might only, that surmounteth the ouergreat agitation of the Billowes, iniurie of the Winds, and their immeasurable violence. Might onely, doth not oppose it selfe, and make resistance against the Tempest of that ayre, or those turbulent stormes, that beget and forme the ruine of Passengers. Might onely, doth not facilitate the entrance or issue, of straites or narrow passages on the Seas, Riuers, and such like places: neither can it onely compell the rigour of seasons, nor their quality, to be either more or lesse intemperate; nor to fortify vs against dangerous change, from our first dwelling, to any other. In all these, might is but as an humble seruant, to a million of much fairer,

Might hath little or no Maistery in it selfe, concerning infinite occasions.

fairer, or (to speake better) more lawdable and necessary vertues, for the atchieuing of such high enterprises: wherein (oftentimes) meere Valiancy, simple valour, and courage onely (badly guided) and ouer-rudely imployed; is more dammageable, then beneficiall; and lesse sightly, then well beseeming. For, to speake truely, a braue and generous Spirit, thought it were naked of all other Grace; yet it carrieth with it an admiration aboue capacity: which followeth not other vertues, as by a selfe allurance, but inciteth their imitation out of his owne splendour.

The worthines of a braue and generous mind.

Hercules was not numbred among the Gods, for the sole benefit of his greatnesse in courage: for, in Heauen, as much esteeme is made of a weak man, as of him that is most strong and vigorous. Seeing that it appeareth, to be rather as a defect of his bodie, which is ill disposed: then any iniury naturallie linked to the Spirit, of such as are more timorous, and lesse couragious then others. It was the Iustice of *Hercules*, that made him dreadfull to the wicked, and wonne him the fauour of euill ordered Common-weales. His Charitie made him necessary, for the mallice of his time, that abounded in tyrannies and cruell oppressions. His courage made him the lesse apprehensiue of daungers; yet oftentimes dispairing of their good issue. The greatnesse and Nobility of his Parents, made him the more famous, and knowne through all partes. But his setled Resolution, to be an vtter Enemie to Vices, and a partaker with Vertues, much more requisite: that onely made him commendable among all men. I say, the braueſt Spirit (in his time) durst not enuy his glorie, nor compare their actions of greateſt merit, with the very meaneſt of his. Courage was one in number of his merits; neuertheleſſe, it was not the principall, in regard hee ouercame many, that ought him nothing in that point: not reckoning Lyons, Hydraes, and other prodigious Beastes vanquished by him, to whom he might well haue seemed as a prey, if cunning and knowledge (by what meanes to shunne their violence and fury) had not beene a better subiect to him of hope, then of feare, in such bold enterprises, which alwaies were grounded on necessitie, occasion most apparant, and vndertaken with iudgement.

Hercules numbred among the Gods, and the especiall reasons why.

His Iustice.

His Charitie.

His Courage.

His parentage

His Resolution.

Courage was but a part of his merits.

The great King *Artoxerxes*, compared courage onelie, to a sparke of Fire, which dyeth as soone as it is borne, and hath more apparance, then body. *Hereby* (quoth he) *I perceiue, that my Brother and Enemy Cyrus, will be but of small continuance: For he is of the Nature of small Coales, which are good for nothing, but to kindle great Wood, and then suddenly they extinguish, because the great Fires flame, disperseth and scattereth them among the light Cinders.* It came so to passe, for *Cyrus* enflamed all *Greece* and *Asia*, against the said *Artoxerxes*, who was much better qualified then his Brother: on whom rashnesse bestowed wings, to fly more swiftly to his owne ruine; then to prepare any danger for others. For they that had lesse power, and more pacience then he; assured their liues by the hazzard of his, beeing more carried by the violence of his owne courage, then by the strength of his enemies.

The words of K. *Artoxerxes*, concerning his Brother *Cyrus*.

Cyrus, a very rash and intemperate man.

O inconsiderate courage, principall Artezane of so many sudden losses, so many deplorable deaths, so many cruell Wounds, and so many light enmities! Thou art more hurtfull, then succourable to mankind. Thou art deadly Enemy to reason; thou blindest iudgement; thou art the Father of pride, and the peruerter of all order. Thou makest Families desolate; Wiues, to bee Widdowes; Children, Orphanes; Cities, Deserts; Common-weales vnpeopled; and Kingdomes, shaken into shiuers. Thou neuer dost any good, except when faire hap (in such as inherit thee) beguiles their certaine hope, and all occasion, of loosing thee. The good thou dooſt, ensueth from hence, that thou hast not strength enough, to weaken the destiny that saues and deliuers thee, or (to speake better) the diuine benediction, that armes it selfe in thy succour, and opens an assured passage to the inconstancy of thy motions; which leads thee (without eyes) hither and thither, like a Skiffe beaten with the Windes and Billowes, euer ready for wracke, as often as eyther the one or other gaines the maistery, and lifts it vp betweene those two light elements. Rashnesse is the mother of Murders, the

The Authors inuectiue against rash & haire-braine courage, declaring the manifold mischiefes thereby ensuing.

the Witch that conceiueth contempt, bringes forth despaire, and nurseth froward opinion. Thou art Foe to humility, and hast no shame, because thou art blinded; neither any vnderstanding, because thou ouer-turnest the braine, and engendrest the Palsie, both of the mind and bodie. Thou hast no Law, but sudden aptnesse and inclination; to be guided by thine owne transport; to assure thine own dispaire: that the rule of thine opinion, the Soule of thy distemper, and thy desire of reuenge; may make booty of impossible things. Thou only makest vs companions with beasts; takest reason from vs; settest diuorce betweene Body and Soule; depriuest vs of election; robbest vs of our owne wils; and destinatest vs to offer sacrifice, euen to all kindes of miseries and calamities. It was thou that didst build Hell, and Armed the Angels against God, yea, euen one Heauen against another. It was thou that madst the confusion of languages, when thou mountedst thy head as high as Heauen, by the proud top of audacious *Nimrods* Tower. From thy Womb, improuidence first receiued life, and all violent and insolent actions, tooke their former Essence. Thou makest vs presumptuous and miserable, full of melancholly, out of our senses, and meerely mad men; by disposing vs to fiery diseases, whereon first rose the name of a fiery Ague. Thou makest vs all furie, drawest vs out of our selues, to be more beastlie then Beasts, to whom (by right) belongs the chiefe vse of thine imperfection. Thou distinguishest no times; but makest all seasons equall; all persons indifferent; all iudgements, venters; all authoritie, contemptible; all Iustice, powerlesse; the Magistrate doubtfull; and Lawe weake and imbecile, beyond her Nature. Thou raisest people into Armes; mockest all Superiors; formest * Anarchies; exaltest the wicked against the good; tyranisest our duty; seducest obedience, and excludest fidelity from our hearts, when they are thereto most willing. Thou art neuer pleasde, but in pleasing thy selfe; accounting patience to be faintnesse; counsell, excuse; disposition, delay; mildnesse, fear; and humility, sottishnesse.

To conclude, from thee springeth the chiefest mishapes that can come to Men; by teaching them an opinion of duty, as a shadow without a substance, debilitating their actions, & destroying (by immoderate power) all those Vertues, which Iustice establisheth in this great Theater of worldlie affaires, and would depend vppon diuine assistance; but for such a daungerous plague to all mankind.

His like commendation of Wisedom and prouidence, & how needfull it is to be our guide in all our actions.

But O deare Wisedome! How necessary art thou for the helpe of vs all? Thou seruest for an eye, or as bright day to our Soules, like those windowes properly designed to any goodly building. Fooles come to knowledge of thee, when thy vertue is not auileable for them, but to their sorrowes; and when repentance whips them, for not entertaining thee in due time. Rash courage commends thee, in the verie depth of his fall, and exalts thee aboue the height from whence he fel, because he did not accept thee as guide and directour. The vnfortunate terme thee, to be none of their faction; and the fortunate ascribe the vertue of their content, onely to thy merit. The Blinde doe borrow eies of thee, whereby to direct them, and the best sighted (seeing thee) stand like meere Mummers, gazing at the glory of thy bright radiance. Thou seruest as Sentinell in Armies; as a Rampier for Cities weakly defended; as a faithful Guard to forsaken Princes; as the cheefe Starre for Marriners to saile by; and the first inuentresse of all Commerce. It is by thy Grace (next vnto God) that Kinges hold their Empires; that Kingdomes are established; Magistrates ordained, and Policies authorised.

It is thou that makest Kinges venerable; that keepest people in awe; the feeble in assurance; the strong in suspition; bringest offenders to punishment; and containest the honest minded in their quiet being. It is thou that giuest esteeme to valour, and keepest courage in contempt; vntill it bee enriched by thy assistance. It was thou that gauest Testimony to God, of the Royall Prophet, when he said: *I haue known Dauid, the Sonne of Isai, a Man according to mine owne heart; in Wisedome and greatnesse of Courage.* It was thou that madest the same *Dauid* acceptable to the mildnesse of

* A people without Prince or gouernment.

of *Ionathan*, and suspitious to the mallice of *Saule*. Thou gauest gouernment to *Ioseph* in *Ægypt*, *Cadmus* in *Beotia*; *Ianus*, in *Italie*; *Triptolemus* and *Ceres*, in *Scicily*; *Bacchus*, in the *Indiaes*; *Saturne*, in *Asia*; *Pompilius*, at *Rome*, and *Vlisses* euery where. Thou madst graue *Nestor* much more respected, then the furious and rash-headed *Aiax*; yea, more then the vntameable *Achilles*. In briefe, it is thou, that onelie inciteth and compelleth massiue puissance, for more imployment of the bodie, then the mind, wherein thou declarest thy selfe to bee the *Genius*, and fauourite of the Deuill.

He returneth to his primitiue Argumẽt of meere valiancy.

Returning now to meere Valiancie, to form a necessary perfection for him; I say, that all such, as haue had nothing but courage onlie: haue lost themselues wilfully, and were thereto trained thorow their owne default. And (on the contrary) where Wisedome and true Iudgment hath managed the businesse; the maine matter hath not onely beene preserued, but established from perishing, euen to immortality. Courage, (let me not say inconsideration) ruined the two new Potentates of our time: for the one exalted himselfe aboue the Towers of his young authoritie; and the other became a founder of such a Fortune, as was blunted by the meere incontinency of his owne desires. I confesse, that courage lookes sweetelie (at first sight) in the eye of rash conceit: yet will she bee courted onely by the wise, I would say, by vertuous mindes; that conclude the perfection of their happinesse, by the Iustice of their actions; shaping them alwaies, to bee as commendable in desseigne, as by attempt and finall concluſion. The one, (without any other fore-sight, then goodnesse of the place) promiseth himselfe an inuincible permanency: but the other iudgeth what is to come, by the issue of his precedent actions, which carried no splendor, but by the vglinesse of theirs, that suffered them to shine in such true radiance, as they themselues could neuer attaine vnto.

The two worthy spirits of our latter times ruined by their owne temerity.

How many hasty heads haue I seene perish, without any benefit to their Countrey, but onelie their owne example, as an admonition to preuent the like calamitie? how many Families haue I knowne desolated, by this plague of

Example is wofull, when it hurteth any Countrey, by losse of such as can hardlie be spared.

supposed happinesse, Glory and Life? How many young Gentlemen haue I seene buried, that (but for this daungerous disease) had rather beene an admiration to Straungers, then sorrowe to their Friendes, by such vntimely losse? How many braue Castles haue I seene abandoned; by the rash fall of their Commaunders, who would needs seek Death in their Enemies Trenches; and wilfullie loose their liues there, when neither vndermining, Cannons, scalado, or breach could preuaile against them; albeit, they were euen as common and familiar to them, as desire of superiority? How many Prouinces haue I seen deserted, by the ouer abounding courage in such, whom election and not lot, made their Gouernours? How many wilfull people haue I noted to perish; assemblies dissolue themselues; Comminalties abrogated; factious heads run to the libbet, training Troupes after them likewise, much more indiscreete, then faultie? Meere Courage is a double death, that stifles reason, and makes the body insensible of the thing, which most offendeth it; yea, killeth and ruinateth it altogether. Meere Courage is a double debilitie of Spirit, which altereth the Heart and Soule, principall Iudges of the humain Common-wealth, and Oeconomie of the little World. Meere Courage, is a double Enemy, that betrayeth vs by mis-gouernment, and leadeth vs into the Ambush, which our Enemies wisedome prepared for vs. Meere Courage is a double assurance, promising and performing victory, to him that out-reacheth vs in iudgment and councell. Meere Courage, is a double Engine, that shaketh our naturall cariage, and changeth vs into that, which is much lesse proper, then the thing that animates and most enflameth vs.

The harmes ensuing by meere courage, in the body of Man.

I grow the larger in this Argument, to abate the prodigious pride of greatnesse, and to annihilate the presumptuous excellence, which they giue themselues aboue others, who (oftentimes) are rather inferiour to them in happinesse, then in merite. They attribute our Soueraigne and principall Felicity, to a braue and swaggering ostentation, as to the onely Lady and Queen of this life: which (notwithstanding) is not to be

The Authors intent, by enlarging this discourse.

be found in vs, but by the knowledge of true humanity. I am sworne Enemy to Court-flatterers, and Mountebancke Diuines of these daies, who hold opinion, that to induce, & thrust a man on to the rule of duty: there is nothing more conuenable and necessary; then to shew him all that is glorious in him, or worthy of most precious esteeme. Alasse, by this way, Princes (intemperate enough of their owne Nature) can meet with nothing but Rockes, which bruising themselues against, they must needs fall into the Gulfe of ignorance. Al this *Cabala* is practised to no other end, but to puffe vp vaine-glory, and to make apparance esteemed for an effect. By this meanes, a man labours to conceiue a good opinion of himselfe, and then aduentures vpon some enterprize, wherein he cannot chuse but faile. For the chiefest vertue in a man (that is truelie Man) according to the rule of truth; is properly placed in the slender estimation, which he ought to haue of his own miserable condition, whereinto he was deiected by the fall of our first Father: by iust consideration whereof, all vaine glory and presumption will bee beaten downe in vs. For, if we duely weigh, in what manner our first grace is disgraced of Celestiall fauour, and that (in stead thereof) we are plundged in the bottomlesse death of corruptions, all the parts of our Soules becomming so possessed with sinne, that each man, in himselfe (as the Eagle of Doctours, S. *Augustine* saith) *is made a meere Enemie to Nature*; If wee were liuely touched with the rigour of our importune mallice, and those out-ragious defectes, which betrayes vs in perticuler conduct of our liues: we would immediatly depart out of our selues, as empty and vnprouided of all goodnesse, and seek our glory elsse-where; yea, our Dignitie, Fortune, and perfect contentment; by sighing after those glorious qualities, as desirous to giue a new Title to humaine Nature, the name whereof being so infamous and monsterous in it selfe.

It is our case, that being puft vp with the little glory, which remaineth of our Originall, and tearmed (by our diuines) a portion of the Diuinity: we exalt our selues in such sort, that we grow proud of those things, which appertaine onely to the goodnesse of God, yea, and that in such manner, as he refuseth further to assist vs; because we referre that to our owne proper and peculiar vertue, which is due to his grace onely, being the sole Artezane of our cheefest felicity. We needе not bee proud of vnderstanding our primatiue excellency, if wee consider withall, in what darkenesse wee are enueloped, and detained in the Prison of that Curse, which is likewise falne vppon vs, by the timerity of him, who, hauing touched what was forbidden, threw into obliuion that Wisedome, which might haue kept him to the subiect and obiect of his first condition. Alas, we conceit, that we haue something properly resident in our selues, which opinion beeing presented to our vnderstanding: abuseth our weakenesse, and eleuates vs to ingratitude; yea, euen to the ouerweening boldnesse of *Nimrod*, who thought to touch Heauen with his litle finger, as *Lysimachus* with the point of his Lance. Man hath naturally in him a Spirit, too capable of entertaining this life; and some discretion also of good and euill, grauen on the Table of his conscience. Hee hath likewise in him, some naturall knowledge of God. But all these thinges are sullied in him, much like to pure and good Wine, infected by the foule fauour of the Caske; which makes it loose the grace both of goodnesse and beauty, throwing a sower, harsh, and hurtfull tast to health on it.

In this manner, the iudgement remaing with him, whereby to discerne the most from the least; is imperfect & confused in part, and whatsoeuer is solide in him, slydeth away in meere vanity. As (for example) his courage, or (to speake better) his will, which (without will) ouerthrowes it selfe by frenzies, and impetuous heate: according as his errour enstructeth him to runne, and as his bad Nature transporteth him with motion, which was not so familiar in the first man. In breefe, the intelligence that courage onely (in Man) hath of his own good; is nothing else but an horrible sourse of errour, which declares it selfe in plurality of most necessary desseignes, and not onely

Of Courte Flatterers, and talkatiue Diuines.

The chiefest vertue in a man, that is truely a man.

August. De Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 7.

Men grow proud of those things, which are not in themselues, but proceed only of Gods goodnesse.

The folly of mens idle imagination concerning them selues.

Mans natural knowledge of God corrupted in him.

Courage, or will in Man, ouerthroweth it selfe.

Wherein our best considerations may be abused.

ly therein, but in this faire and holy consideration: to wit; That the Heauens doe alwaies retaine their ordinary motion; The Waters their inconstancy, and course ordained; The Birds building their Nests; The Fruites fructifying according to their times; And finally, that no Creature (inferiour to Man) committeth any fault in his worke: Whereas (quite contrary) he drawes himselfe from his propertie, to resolue and conuert into his contrarie; hauing lesse shame then the *Molosses* of *Albania*, and lesse feare then the Vultures, which follow battailes, and seek the furious encounters of cruell and dreadfull Armies.

The *Molosses* of *Albania*.

We must deriue then our conclusion in this point (at least) if we followe Christianity, and the duty of a Christian Soule, which neither can, or ought to glorifie it selfe, but in the Grace of God; we must conclude (I say) that all our vertue, be it great or litle, commeth from no place else, but Heauen; or, to speake better, from the first, chiefe and Soueraigne Architect: who, without considering or regarding any thing beside himselfe (fore seeing our weaknes) is willing (of his owne good pleasure) to helpe some, by placing them in honor, as vessels of his Almightinesse, and to leaue others in their own iudgment. So that the one haue Grace, which is not due to them, neither is giuen them, but by diuine clemency; and the other receiue such punishmēt as they deserue. For it is in Gods power, to communicate himselfe to them that are vnworthy (but onely by his grace) and not to vse the like to euery one; to make his iudgments admired, and to enforce our diligent search, for that, which wee esteeme more requisite for him to giue, then we are worthy of. Onely we are so much the lesse capable of this fauor, by how much there is nothing more certaine; then that God will neuer pardon a man of violent courage, and of prompt execution in doing euill, being led by the rage of his own angry reuenging hart.

Wherein any Man ought to place his greatest glorie.

God respecteth them that are vnworthy, but only enabled by his grace.

The whole drift of my scope in this Argument, is nothing else, but to enstruct Princes, that they ought to ioyne piety and pitty with their State affaires; and further to assure them, that their

The Authors admonition to Princes of these times.

courage (without wisedome) is rather the fire of Gods anger, then any marke of perfect valour. The *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, & *Vandals*, may testifie the same, whose rage made an vniuersall terror in three great parts of the World, running here and there, like a tempest arising on the calme Sea: which yet (at length) dissolued of it selfe, and brought more amazement then perill to the beholders. The *Gauls* also witnessed as much, who, being growne great with courage, and improuident in their blindfolded hope; ran to ruinate the buildings of *Rome*, & not to the Conquest of the Cittizens. Tell me, I pray ye, to what end serued such hastinesse, temerity, and insolent fury? To what purpose were the *Gaules* so violently transported; but onelie to teil the *Romaines*, that their Enemies were more vincible, then vneasie to be vanquished? That their fury, was without desseigne; their rage, without any premeditation; their rash leape, their owne breake-necke; their enterprise, a meere Chaos of distempered wils; and the issue of all, a shame very dammageable, a ruinous infamy, and a perticuler scandall to that Nation.

The violence of the *Gaules* in sacking *Rome*.

Courage (saith a learned Gentleman of *France*) is not for these times, when Men are growne madde; nor for these daies, wherein follie possesseth vs, transport commaundeth vs, and the verie Atomies of inconstancie, doe forme a body to our intentions. We make Warre with the Spaniard in a leafe of Paper; we gad thorough all our Parliament Chambers; our Cannon is yet in the Mettall Mine; our Artillerie carriages yet growing in Forrests; our Pikes in the liuing bodies of Trees; our Souldiers in the purse; our Captains in creation; and our enemy (who hath not so much courage, as to enterprise any difficult thing, without a solide & robust bodie) mindes not the defiance in writing, but victorie, destroyeth *Piccardie* and *Champaigne*; and, in stead of Paper warre, which leadeth our *Frenchmen* by the nose, to the seuerall quarters of the Citty: he brings his Ensignes before our Bastions, his Trenches to our wals, & his Souldiers to our breaches. Of al which, our own rashheaded ambition is the only cause, & somwhat else, whereof I spare to speake at this time,

The words of a *French* Gentleman, concerning courage.

The *Spaniard* is pollitick in his stratagems and aduantages.

forbearing also further pursuite in this argument, because the Reader is euermore best pleased, when he wandereth at liberty in variety of discourse.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a strange and wonderfull accident, that happened in the Islands of the Molucaes, about the yeare of our Lord, 1525.

I Haue long time forborne, to remember in this labour of important occasions, an admirable accident, which befell in the Islandes of the *Molucques*, seated in the East *Indiaes*. Whereof (neuertheless) there is not any mention made, in the Booke of the generall Historie of the *Spanish Indiaes*, nor in *Hierome Osorius*, Byshop of *Sylues*, neither in *Lopez de Castagneda*, and other Historians of *Portugall*: but onely in the Booke of *Laurentius Surius*, *Germaine*, Chronicler to *Charles* the fift Emperour; entitled; *The Historie of all memorable thinges, as well Ecclesiasticall as Seculer, happening within seauenty and eight yeares, in all partes of the World, beginning at the yeare* 1500. But the saide *Surius* heard this strange accident, by people worthy of beleefe, who made report thereof to the Emperor, because they were there present at the time; and since then, I my selfe haue heard it confirmed by diuers honorable Gentlemen, who trauailed for certaine knowledge thereof.

Laurentius Surius, Chronicler to the Emp. *Charles* the fift.

The Islandes of the *Molucques* are many in number, but among the rest, there are fiue, more great and remarkable then all the other; which are named *Tidora*, *Terrenata*, *Mata*, *Matila*, and *Matiena*. In which Islands, there is much greater increase of Spices, then in any other as yet discouered: as of Pepper, Nut-megges, Ginger, Cloues and Maces. Moreouer, the Countrey aboundeth in Rice, which is their onely Corne, and in many other Fruites. The Spaniards were the first that discouered these Islands, and made very great profits of them, by Traffick of those Spices at meane prices. Which when the King of *Portugall* vnderstood, he made knowne to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, King of the seuerall *Spaines*; what wrong hee offered him, by sending his nauall Armies to Traffique in those quarters, because they belonged to his partage, which had beene made betweene the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*, by Pope *Alexander* the sixt, a *Valentinois*, who had heard the discoueries of the new lands, made by both these Kings, and the differences depending betweene them, for gouernment of them. Whereupon, of his own meere good will and motion, hee gaue the *Indiaes* to the Kinges of *Castile*, and all the Coast of *Affrica* to the Kinges of *Portugall*; with charge, to conuert the Idolaters and Gentiles to the Faith of Iesus Christ.

Fiue especiall Islands of the *Molucques*.

The *Spaniards* first discouerers of the *Molucques*.

And to the end, that the one should not presume any way against the other, he commaunded a line to be drawne vpon the Globe, descending from the North to the South, & passing towards the West more then 400. Miles from one of the Isles of *Cap verdi*; because it should not touch any iote of *Affrica*, which appertained to the King of *Portugall*. This line deuided the whole World, and serued as a borne or limitation, to the Conquests of both these Kinges. The partes beyond the line, belonged to the *Spaniards*, and those on the hither side, to the *Portugals*. And yet, notwithstanding this deuision, each of these kings was perswaded, that the *Molucques* belonged to his seuerall part, and there was a long time of contention (there-about) betweene them. But the Emp. hauing neede of Mony, to serue his Warres in *Italy*, *Germanie*, and *Fraunce*: quitted his rights to the King of *Portugall*, for three hundred and fiftie thousand Ducates, whereby the *Portugals* haue (euer since) enioyed the sole Trafficke, to their great and inestimable profit.

The partition of the World made betweene the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*.

The Emperor sold his right to the King of *Portugall*.

At that time raigned in the great Isle of *Tidora*, one named *Mansor*, a Man well skild in Astrology, and very affable, contrary to the nature of *Mahometane* Religion: for hee entertained the *Spaniards* courteously, as afterward hee did the *Portugalles*, permitting all his Sub-

Mansor King of the great Isle of *Tidora*.

Subiects to be instructed in Christian Religion, and so many of them as pleased to bee baptized, the *Portugalles* hauing brought thither Priestes, and religious persons for the purpose. In the meane while, the Deuill (enuying that Gods Kingdome should be so freely furthered, in these rich and populous Islands) quickely altered the estate of Christian Religion: for this good King *Mansor* dying, his Sonne (succeeding him in the Kingdome) not onely interdicted the *Portugalles* Commerce with his Subiects; but also commaunded his people (as suddenly as they could) to kill them, and that none should be so bold, as to make profession of Christian Faith, or to meddle with any matter thereof. This was no sooner vnderstood by some, who were but badly affected to Christianity: but (before they could preuent it) many *Portugals* were slaine, and such as had any means of escape, fled into their Ships, lying neere at Anker, and returned home to *Portugall* with these ill tidings.

The death of King *Mansor*, and succession of his Son.

Heere ye are to note, that after this disloyall act, of so euill vsage towardes Strangers, and breach of fidelitie, without any cause giuen to procure it, (albeit the deceased King *Mansor*, whose owne Letters cleared from all such barbarous and Mahometane perfidie, had graunted to the *Portugals*, free libertie to sley any that hindred their Commerce, or any way scandalized their Religion, which they refused to doe) they carried themselues very patiently, in all the iniuries that these *Mahumetist Molucques* offered them, who were much assisted in their violence, by the *Arabian* Marchants, that repined and grudged at the Christians fauour and authority. After (I say) this massacre of Christians; for the space of two yeares, the Land of *Tidora*, and other Isles thereto adiacent, became to bee barren, that had before beene as fruitefull, as any other Countries in the World.

The fauours granted by K. *Mansor* to the *Portugals*.

Heauen reuenged the Christians cruel oppression.

Their Trees brought forth no more Fruites nor Spiceries, and albeit the grounds were sowed and re-sowed many times together; yet did they not produce any Corn, and the Rice which they kept for further sowing, putrified of it selfe. The sweete Waters became salt; the Cattell, as Elephants, Oxen, Kine, Camels, Sheepe, and such like, dyed (well neere) all, and caused the death of many people beside. All which notwithstanding, these wicked Mahumetists would not acknowledge their Apostasie (the greater part of the Island hauing made profession of Christianity in the life time of *Mansor*) abiuring the same now with their new king, who was of a wauering and inconstant Spirit.

The King of *Portugall*, named *Iohn*, hauing heard by such as escaped, the Treason and iniury committed on his people, was not thereby dismaied; but arming himselfe with royall courage, and not regarding the great distance of two thousand leagues by Sea, with other difficulties of passages to the *Molucques*; leuied an army of foure hundred men, who (two yeares after this massacre) arriued in the Hauen of *Tidora*, which is a great Citty, and whereof the whole Island beareth name. The Army landed, and (placing their Artillery) gaue great terror to the Citty, and erected a Fort on the Sea shoare: the King, with his Islanders and other Neighbours, labouring to hinder the *Portugals* purpose. Here we are to consider, that the principall Armes of the Islanders, were poysoned Arrowes, which they could deliuer from their Bowes very dexteriously, and those arrowes were very dangerously bearded, otherwise they went starke naked, as all the other Negroes doe.

Iohn King of *Portugall* prepareth to right his wronged subiects.

A second Army of the *Portugals* against the *Molucques*

Twenty thousand of these men of war being thus assembled, they ranne with such boldnesse and courage vppon the small number of Christians; that they had all beene immediatly slaine, if these Apostate *Molucques* (God so appointing it) had not beene suddenly surprized with a mightie feare and terror, & that in such sort, as the Weapons fell to the ground out of their handes. For the Sunne (albeit it was then the houre of midday) was so obscured, as hardlie could they discerne one another. The earth trembled and quaked, and fierie stones fell downe from Heauen, which bruised and battered their Mosquees or Temples. The Trees were strangely rent and torne, the roots being turned vpward. This tempest beginning some-

Twenty thousand *Moluckes* in armes against the *Portugals*.

A wonderfull tempest suddenly happening.

what to slake, the *Portugals* ranne vpon the affrighted *Barbarians*, and slewe the greater number of them, not any one Christian being so much as wounded, and the Islanders flying, the *Portugalles* remained Conquerors, and finished vp the remainder of their Fort.

The *Moluckes* enter into consideration of this admirable accident

The *Molucques* hauing considered with themselues, that this losse sustained in battaile, the barrennesse of the Land, the Earthquake, terrour, darkening of the Sunne, the fiery stones falling from Heauen, and the Tempest which rent their trees in such sort, could not happen but by Gods heauy displeasure, and that their Prophet *Mahomet* could not be God, but rather an abuser and imposture, and that the Christians were assisted by the true God indeede, and to him onelie (and to none else) repaire ought to bee made for safetie, as well in this World, as that to come; Considering also, that the Famine, barrennesse of the Earth, and Mortality both of Men and Beasts, which hapned in the precedent yeares, was, because they had forsaken Christian Religion, and (returning to the Mahometane) had cruelly murdered them that enstructed thē in the truth, without any iniurie offered on their behalfe: Hereupon, they concluded to make peace with the *Christians*, with promise (thence forward) to liue in loue and fidelity with them, embracing Christian Religion againe. Moreouer, such as had not formerlie beene baptized, they caused them then to bee baptized, whereof there was so great a number, that in the space of a Weeke, more then fifteene thousand were become Christians. Beside, diuers of the neighbouring Islands, hearing of this wonderfull accident, came thither in great numbers to doe the like. Since which time, the Countrey returned, to the former fertility, & the most part of the people haue continued in Christianity. And not only these of the *Molucques*, but many of the great Prouince of *China*, of the Kingdomes of *Narsingua*, *Bindana*, *Bennaga*, *Ioaua*, *Coa*, *Calecuth*, *Arabia*, and others, became Christians, who before were Idolaters, and of the Mahometane Religion.

The *Moluckes* forsake their former Apostasie, and returne to Christianity.

Of other Nations that became Christians vpon this accident.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of some, who haue counterfeited sickenesse, to exempt themselues from businesse and imployment: And of others, who (in mockery of Men) haue feigned to haue their imperfections; and falne (truelie) into sickenesse, and the same deformities.

Martiall, who was a notable scoffer, makes a mockerie at *Cælius* in his Epigrames, who counterfeiting to bee Gouty; annointed himself with Oyles and other things, wrapping and binding vp his ioynts, because hee would haue nothing to doe at the Court, either by night or day, or attend (as Courtiers doe) vpon any great person. But in the end, his fortune so fell out, that he happened to haue the gout indeede. *Appianus Alexandrinus* reporteth also of another *Romaine*, who, to escape the proscriptions of the *Romaine Triumuiri*, and not to bee knowne for what he was, by such as might take notice of him: kept himselfe close, and wore an emplaister of veluet vpon one of his eyes, which hee continued for a long time. After all such search and pursuite was passed ouer; the man took off his plaister, and found the vtter losse of that eye indeed.

Cælius, that counterfeited to haue the Gout, became gouty indeed.

A Romaine that dissembled to haue but one eie.

The reason of his fall into this accident, is plaine and apparant, in regard that the eye, not performing his action (which is to see) looseth it selfe. As may be gathered by such, who haue long time beene imprisoned in some dark Caue or Dungeon, where no light could be discerned; and haue lost their sight, or very greatly impaired it, by discontinuation from beholding light. Serpents containe the same quality, for when they come forth from vnder the Earth, where they hid themselues all the Winter: they see not any iote at al, and therefore they are the more easilie kild. This *Cælius*, who became Gouty, it may be, that idlenesse, the cloaths wrapped about his ioyntes, with the ranck & hot Oyles applied to his limbs and

The reason of those strange accidents, in both those *Romaines*.

and Arteries, hauing made attraction of the humours; causeth such goutines. For, if a bruise, receiued by a straite shooe, or a seame of some hardnesse in a stocking, hath many times occasioned the Gout, according as some learned Phisitions haue written: much stronger reason then is there for the fore-named matters.

A strange accident happening in *France*

But of another History, which I my selfe credibly knew to happen, I cannot alleadge any naturall reason. During those troubles of the vnion or league in *France*, it chanced, that (neere vnto a Castle) certaine honest men were set vpon by Theeues, and robd in such sort, that they had nothing left them but their shirts. When they perceiued the Castle, they went presently thither, and entreated the Lord thereof, that hee would lend them some assistance, for apprehension of the Theeues: in regard that he had a certaine knowledge of them, and was armed with such authority, as might (at least) helpe them to their Garments againe. But the vncharitable Gentleman would affoord them no fauour; no, not so much as to see them: but feigned that hee had the Collique, and was vnable to stirre out of his Bed, or to attend vpon any businesse whatsoeuer. It was then the coldest season of the yeare, and the Seruants (albeit vnknowne to their Maister) lodged these despised poore men, (for that night) in a Stable; whence they parted homeward on the next morning, without drawing the least courtesie that could bee, from that vngentle Gentleman. Now, I know not whether it happed by iust vengeance of of Heauen, or by some naturall occasion thereto leading: but he fell into the Collike indeed, and keeping his Chamber for it, the space of twenty daies, at last he died by violent extremity thereof.

Diuine vengeance hapning on a dissembling Gentleman.

An Abbot of *Guyenne*, and Archdeacon in a Bishoppricke, was cited by the Bishop and Chapter, to appeare at a visitation, for assessing of each Benefice in the Dioceese (according to their faculties) for the releefe of poor Parishes, from whence they deriued dismes and rents. The Abbot made excuse, saying hee had a plurisie (which was meerely false) & therefore he could not be there

An Abbot iustly punished for his dissembling.

presen. But within few daies after, hee was taken with such a grieuous paine in his side; that hee kept his Bed a whole yeare together, and was glad to haue his side cotterized in two places, all which notwithstanding, he could not recouer health while he liued.

Suibdager, King of *Swetia*, being very couetous, counterfeited deafenesse, to the end, he might heare no requestes made to him, for bestowing of any gifts. For in that Country, he negotiated his whole raigne, by conference with the King, and not by writing or petition, as they do to this day: But in short time the King became both deafe and blinde indeed.

A strange accident happening to a king

I knew a young Scholler, descended of good Parentage in the *Franche* Countie, who was a very facetious Scoffer and mocker, and continually vsed to counterfeit the gate, gesture, and behauiour of his Sister (the Wife to his elder Brother, descended of a verie worthy and vertuous familie, and had brought great estates and meanes to his Brother) but she was lame, and as she halted, so (in scorne) he would doe the like. But (no doubt by Gods iudgement) he chanced to breake one of his Legges, which could neuer after be recouered, or brought to any forme, but that he halted downe right to his dying day.

a scorner that became lame by meere mockery.

Mothers vsed to correct (& with very good reason) their Children, when they counterfeited squinting in their eyes, gogling, blindnesse, limping, wry Mouthes, and other imperfections and deformities of body. For as a bodie so young and tender, wil easily apprehend any bad impression; so, oftentimes it fals out (by what meanes I know not) that they are suddenly surprized, euen in their wanton and mocking imitation. And assuredly, I haue seene many, who haue become sicke, in attempting (by scorne) to resemble sickenesse: especially, if such dissimulation hindered their due presence from requisite occasions; and Children, in mocking at others, by succesee of time, haue falne into the same disease or infirmity.

An especiall duty in all good Mothers.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Vertue and excellency of Hony, and how it ought to be vsed and applied.

Of *Tadeus* the couetous Phisition of *Florence.*

Tadæus, the *Florentine* Phisition, a Man most couetous, for he would not go forth of the Citty, to visite any sickly and diseated person; except hee might haue fiftie Crownes allowed him for his paines; and to visite Pope *Honorius*, he had each day allowed him an hundred Crownes. This Man perusing the workes of *Cardanus* (who left a small Treatise, which was (as yet) neuer imprinted to our knowledge, for hee liued in the yeare one thousand two hundred and foure-score) found certaine places, where hee discoursed of Milke, Wine, Beere, and many other thinges: but he obserued one especiall Chapter, concerning Hony and Manna, & that he alleaged *Galen* therefore, but declareth not out of which Booke he derriued his Authority. I enquired of many learned Phisitions, whether it were true or no, that *Galen* had written on any such matter? Some told me, that they had neuer reade any such thing in his Workes: yet others affirmed, that hee had made some report thereof, in his Booke of the Preseruation of Health. But whether it be so or no, seeing the discourse is commendable, and full of learning: this Chapter shall containe some portion of his relation, to the end, that the Reader (not as yet there-with acquainted) may vnderstand the Vertue of Hony.

Of Hony and Manna alleaged by *Galen.*

Gal in lib. de Conser. Sanit.

He deliuereth it for certaine, that *Galen* had seene two men, very different in yeares, for the one was old, and well neere; decrepite; and the other, in the best time of his age. These men were most contrary in opinion, concerning Hony yet brought to agreement, by store of good reasons, as you shall perceiue. The Auncient and decrepite Man saide; that Hony made him verie healthfull, because it gaue warmth to his Body; stayed the fluxe in his belly, when it greatly pained him; cleansed his Lights and Lungs, when they were ouer-charged with raw and indigested Phlegme, onely by spitting; made his Vrine come orderly, and (consequentlie) discharged the Reines. Hee had also seene some, who were impoisoned with *Opium*, and had daungerously fed on venomous Mushromes or Toad-stooles; that recouered sound health by the vse of Hony. He said moreouer, that he had had an inueterare & sordide Vlcer in one of his Legs; for which he could compasse no remedy, by application of manifold very likely helpes; and yet he was thorowly cured, and the Vlcer consolidated by Hony onely. He said also, that he heard of many, who were cured of Tetters, Itch, and Ring-wormes; by application of Hony: beside, diuers others, that had loud tinklings, noyses, and winds in their eares; yea, & were almost stark deafe; yet holpen by Hony. It caused quick motion in the Pulses, and (vsed as a Gargarisme) it is a singuler remedy against the squinzy, Kernels in the Necke, swolne Aldmonds in the Mouth, and soreneese in the Throat. Applied to the eyes, it took away thicke mistes and vapours, which oftentimes obscureth sight.

In breefe, the old man was assuredlie perswaded, that there was not a better Aliment or Medicament in all the World, then Hony; according to the experience he had made thereof, vpon his owne person. Hauing spoken these things with good iudgment and discretion, he held his peace, and *Galen* commanded the other party, to speak what he could concerning Hony, so highlie commended by the olde Man; admonishing him withall, to deliuer his minde without passion or choller, and likewise to set aside al partiall affection: For *Galen* found (accidentally) these two Men thus disputing. The young Man being Chollerique, prompt, ambitious, and impacient; perswaded himselfe of victory before hand, and to preuayle against the graue man. But *Galen*, who had great credite in many partes of the world (in regarde of his singuler knowledge, and renowne of his learned labors, being also Phisition to the Emperors *M. Anthonius Aurelius Verus*, and to his successor *Commodus*) required silence; and hauing heard the aged mans report, was as desirous also to heare the young man, and

Galen commãded the yong man to speak.

Two Men different in opinion as touching Hony.

Galen a Man of great authority.

The old Mans allegation in defence of Hony.

and giuing him a signall when to begin, he arose vp (as in anger) and proceeded in this manner:

The young mans declaration against Hony.

I protest to speake nothing at this instant, concerning Hony, which I haue not experimented in mine owne person; and it may be, more truly and certainely, then he hath any way made proofe of the like. I protest withall, that it is the most pernitious aliment or medicament, that can be vnder heauen. For, I haue diuers times made vse thereof (vpon vrgent necessity) hauing beene surprized on the Sea by Pyrats, who kept mee captiue for diuers moneths; when I was constrained to feed thereon, enforced thereunto by meere hunger: but hauing eaten it, I found my stomacke wholly vndigestable, with much procuring to casting, which brought me (at length) to such gripes in the belly, that by the meanes of Windinesse, which it extreamely caused, I looked for no escape with life. Beside these things, it brought mee to a dry Cough, and engendred such a number of worms in a friend of mine: that, notwithstanding hee dranke Vineger, for want of better Wine; he must needs haue dyed, if hee had not voided them.

The vse of Hony il applied, what it worketh.

The vsing of Hony, after my deliuerance, made me fall into a Feauer Tertian; during which time, by aduise of som, I dranke nothing but *Hydromell*, or *Methéglin*, which is a Breuage made of Hony, and sodden Water, boiled till the third part thereof bee consumed, and it prolonged my disease: but so soone as I made pure Water my drinke, I mended presently.

Moreouer, the skinne being (by a mischance) a little flayed off my foot; by the aduise of some Women, I vsed an oyntment of Honie, which neuer brought any skin againe: but when I applied a litle burnt Paper thereto, it dried and healed it verie speedily. Briefly, I conclude, that Honie is neither Aliment, nor wholsom Medicament, either for the inwarde or outward affections: but contrariwise, it is verie dangerous and hurtfull to Nature. He pronounced these wordes with such vehemencie and affection, according to his vse and behauiour; as if he wold haue torne the aduersarie partie in pieces with his teeth and nailes.

Galen then spake with great Modestie, (albeit he was by nature, as Chollerick as the other) that both of them had deliuered the truth, & no man needed to make anie doubt; because hee would make it presently apparant. It is most certaine (quoth hee) that this aged man speaketh nothing but truth, declaring what goodnesse he findeth in Honie; because Honie is hotte, and all Aliments or Nutriments of hot Nature, doe agree with all persons, ages, and sexes, temperately, or of cold complexion. But this man is of a Flegmaticke complexion, old, subiect to many cold distillations, Flegmatick, and Quotidian Feauers; and therfore it is no maruell, though he giue such assurance, and finds the vse of Hony wholesome for him. But yet it is verie likely, that he doth not vse it indifferently, as it is brought from the Bee-hiue, but rather prepareth it: for he causeth it to be boyled, sodden, and taketh off the scum, in which maner it norisheth and conuerteth into good blood. If it much holp him in restraining the Flux of his Belly, it was in this regard, that being in that maner prepared, it had no mordication in it, neither excited any gripings, as it doeth when it is crude and raw, as my Great Schoole-maister *Hippocrates* hath left written. And whereas hee saith, that it made speedy discharge of his Vrine and Reines, from Sand and Grauell, whereto in age he becam much subiect: surely, being boiled with Water, (which the Physitians call *Mulsa*) it hath out of question, such Vertue. By coughing and spitting, it cleanseth the Lightes and the Liuer; and the Pipes being charged with colde Flegmes (diseases which depend vpon age) when it is thus reduced into a Syrrope, and taken in Morninges long before feeding, it is verie soueraign, and excellent also, to make olde people liue merrily.

Galen concordeth the two Contrarypoles by learned experience.

Hony boyled or sodden is the cause of good blood.

Hip. in lib de Diæta.

Against Sand and Grauell.

Against coughing & spitting.

It cannot bee good for such as haue drunke *Opium*, or cold poison, by misaduenture, follie, or pride of mind (as now adaies the Turkes, and a great part of the Grecians vse to do) but it is necessary that the Honie should be verie aged, as, often or twelue yeares at the least, boyled and clarified in Wine of ten or twelue yeares old; and being so prepared, it correcteth the great coldnesse of the saide *Opium* or poison. Against Mushromes or Toade-stooles (which are commonly venomous) vndoubtedly, it is a most certain remedy, as he hath formerly said: but it must then be

Old Honie good against *Opium* & poyson.

Against Mushromes or Toad-stooles.

be ordered into a *Syrope*, as in that nature it is vſed, to diſplace phlegme, and an old dry cough. *Hidromell* or *Metheglin* gargarized, doth very well cleanſe all hinderances, which proceede from any thicke phlegme, either in the throat, *Vuula* or the Almondes. Concerning the ſordide and inueterate *Vlcer*, which he ſeemeth to haue had in his leg, and cured it by the helpe of *Hony*: the eaſe is very euident, for *Hony* cleanſeth, cleareth, and is vtter enemy to all ſordity or filthineſſe, and hauing thus neated the *Vlcer*; it eaſily heals & cloſeth it vp. Touching that which he alleadged, of ſome, who haue diſtilled & put Hony into their eares, being deaffened, full of windes, and aſcending vp into the braine: this muſt be vnderſtood of very old Hony, ſodden with foure times as much old Wine, for all hot medicaments (as very olde wine and Hony are) they doe diſperſe windes very eaſily, and other cold cauſes, which procure deaffeneſſe, and other accidents in thoſe parts.

That it cauſeth the drying vp of Itches, Tetters, Ring-wormes, and other ſuch like defoedations in the ſkinne; proceedeth from hence, that it is abſterſiue of his owne nature, and a great enemy to al corruption, for whatſoeuer thinges are confected in Hony, will neuer corrupt. By the ſame reaſon, it worketh the death of Itches and Tetters, which are nothing elſe, but meere vncleanneſſe and filthineſſe of the body. In regard of ſight, queſtionleſſe, being mingled with a little Fenell water, and ſo diſtilled into the eyes; it quitteth them from blearings and wateriſh humors, which congealing in thē, doth greatly trouble the ſight, eſpecially in ſuch as vſe ouermuch weeping. To conclude, Ladies and Gentlewomen doe waſh their faces and hands therewith, to keepe them ſmooth, faire and white. And *Cato* was wont to ſay; That to liue long, we muſt vſe Hony within the body, and oyle without.

Galen thus finiſhing his proofe (by very good reaſons) that the olde man had ſpoken truely; would not ſo giue it ouer, but though the young man (who was oppoſitiuely contrary to the other) had declared ſo much againſt Hony; yet would he maintaine the truth of his ſpeeches likewiſe. And directing his eye to him, began in this manner, diſcourſing with plenty of words, after the *Aſiatick* courſe, and not *Laconically*, as his good and ancient M. *Hypocrates* was wont to do in his time. Let no man count it ſtrange (quoth he) if thou doe miſlike the vſe of Hony, and lay ſo much blame vpon it: for it is very contrary to thy nature, being of an angry and chollericke temper, hot in action, and eaſily diſpleaſed. And though I had not heard thee ſpeak, nor beheld any action of thine: yet very ſight had beene ſufficient to me; thy haire being red, thy skin yellowiſh, thy body leane and meager; theſe are enow whereby to direct iudgement. Firſt, let me tell thee, that diſeaſes are neuer cured, but by their contraries, for whereas thou ſaidſt, that thou hadſt a Feauer tertian, and ſuppoſed it to come by the vſe of Hony, a food enforced in the time of thy captiuity: I make no doubt at all thereof, for Hony conuerteth it ſelfe quickly into red choller, in any body naturally hot, as thine is, and I wonder it did not more hurt vnto thee, becauſe it was in no manner prepared. For albeit that many viands are good, yet there be ſome that (before they are eaten) doe require preparation, to correct a certaine malignity, which they haue naturally in them. As Coriander, which is venemous of it ſelfe; Neuertheleſſe, corrected with Vineger, it is an excellent medicine for the ſtomack, trauailed with indigeſtions, and filled with windeneſſe. In like manner, crude and raw Hony, not repurged from his excrements; offendeth the ſtomack, engendering a deſire of caſting, and deſcending into the inteſtines, begetteth there ſuch windineſſe, and ſo painefull gripings, as are not poſſible to be declared, and therfore thou haſt affirmed nothing but truth. As for the drie cough which it raiſed in thee, there is no doubt thereof, for but by eating it rawe; ſome part thereof muſt needs fal into the conuoye of the lights and liuer, as it doth in all liquid things (that are thick and impure) receiued into the body. And his tartneſſe or ſaltneſſe (not being ſcummed away before) prouoketh a dry cough, yet auoyding nothing in ſpitting, becauſe no matter at al was deſcēded to the lights & liuer. Which hapned not in like ſort to this old man, for he had phlegm enough in him, to let fall downe ordinarily vpon thoſe parts. But fot that report, that Hony ſhould engender wormes; it is quite contrary to all reaſon; becauſe all things ſteeped in Hony, are exempt from vermine

The vertue of *Hydromell* or *Metheglin*.

For olde and foule Vlcers.

For deaffenes and windines in the head.

Againſt, Itches, Ring-wormes and Tetters.

Againſt the weakeneſſe of ſight.

The ſaying of *Cato*.

Galen vndertooke to defend the yong mans ſpeeches.

The ſignes of a chollericke man.

Hony quite contrary to a Feauer tertian.

Rawe Hony and vnprepared is dangerous.

Coriander venemous.

Crude Hony procureth a dry cough.

Hony doth not engender wormes.

mine or corruption. But if it fall out, that a man vſing Hony, had wormes before, or is enclined naturally to them: then it doth maintaine and nouriſh them, euen as Suger doth; but it can bee no cauſe of their generation.

Hidromell or *Metheglin*, for what perſons it is good.

Concerning *Hydromell* or *Metheglin*, drunke in the continuance of thy Feauer Tertian, and preſumed to prolong the ſame: there is nothing more certaine, then that this drinke (compoſed of Hony and Water) did it. But it was not cauſed by any defect in the liquor, which of it ſelfe is moſt wholeſome, for Men of melancholly habitude, and for diſeaſes of black Choller and Phlegmaticke: but for any chollericke perſon, ſuch as thy ſelfe is, moſt certaine is it, that it is a true foment, and a maintainer of fiery Agues, euen ſuch as thine then was, and he was greatly to be blamed, that thereto did aduiſe or councell thee. And whereas thou ſaieſt, that it is an enimy to ſuch places, as the skin is flaied or gone off: it is to be conſidered, that it was no Vlcer, like vnto the other; for it detergeth, cleaneth, and dryeth not. To regenerate new skinne, we muſt not apply deterſiue Medicins: but ſuch as are deſiccatiue, without any mordication. And I credit well, that burnt Paper was much more conuenient for it: but yet we muſt not ſay, that if Medicines be badly vſed, they are not therefore good, being fitly applyed.

Burnt Paper good to procure new skin.

Galens concluſion of theſe two contraries.

I conclude then (by theſe reaſons) that you both haue ſpoken very well of Hony, albeit ye are ſo different in opinion: but all your contrariety hath no other ground, but that the younger man of ye both, did not vſe Hony duely, and with conſideration and good iudgement, according as the circumſtances required. Thus *Galen* gaue ending to this Controuerſie, and it was to be feared, that if *Galen* had not thus moderated the matter; the difference had cauſed blowes between them. Such debates and contentions, are daily ſeen in Countrey Townes and Villages; when a man will raſhly commend his Scithe, Hatchet, Sickle, Dogge, Bull, or Cow, beyond his Neighbours, and thereupon are ready to goe to Law. But breaking off this diſcourſe, becauſe I would not be o[illegible]enſiue to the reader: I wil adde another Chapter, to declare whence the matter of Hony is taken, and how it is made.

Contention quickely cauſeth quarrell.

CHAP. XVI.

How Hony is made; Whence Manna proceedeth; Of the Aiery Hony; And of Sugar.

How the Bees do make their Hony.

HOny commeth from the Dew of Heauen, which falleth vpon the Herbes and Flowers, and is ſuckt vp by the Bees, and encloſed in their ſtomackes: afterward, it is vomited or caſt vp at their mouthes, and they preſerue much part thereof in the hollow of their Iawes, to liue theron during winter, and other hard times. Prouident Nature hath ſo well ordered al thinges, for the benefit and commodity of Man; that ſhee hath beſtowed many vertues and vigours on thoſe pretty Flies, in gathering ſufficient for themſelues, and liberall extendure for Man alſo. For it is a great merchandiſe, helpfull for diuers Maladies, and a ſinguler nouriſhment for ſome bodies, as may bee gathered by our former diſcourſe.

Natures prouidence for Man.

Hony-dew falleth like raine in ſome places.

Nature hath beene ſo bountifull to Man, and ſtill continueth the ſame affection; that ſhe cauſeth great quantitie of this Hony dew to fall, euen like raine vpon the earth in ſome Countries, vpon the Mountaines, and places where Frankinſence groweth. To gather it, the Inhabitanrs lay fleeces of Wooll vnder the Trees, and beat the Trees, to cauſe the Dew to fall vpon the fleeces, which drinke it in: afterward, they preſſe the fleeces, and receiuing this hony-dew into conuenient Veſſels; they boyle and purifie it, making vſe thereof in their foode, as alſo in their Medicines, as they thinke beſt, and it is much better then that which is wrought by the Bees.

Galen his report of Hony dew.

Galen ſaith, that there fell ſuch great quantity of this Dew (in his time) in his Countrey of *Pergamus*; that the Countrey people (greatly delighted therein) gaue thankes therefore to *Iupiter*. *Ælianus* writeth alſo, that there fell ſuch

such plenty thereof in *India*, in a Region which is called *Prasia*, and so moistened the Grasse, that the Sheepe, Kine, and Goates feeding thereon, yeelded Milke sweete like Hony, which was very pleasing to drinke. And when they vsed that Milke in any disease, they needed not to put any Hony therein, to the end it should not corrupt in the stomacke: as it is appointed in Hectick Feauers, Consumptions, Tisickes, and for others that are vlcered in the intestines, as is confirmed by the Histories of *Portugall*.

Hony hindereth Milke from corrupting.

Euripides and *Aelianus* of the vertue of Hony.

Euripides saith, that meere Hony fell vpon the Trees in *Media*; and *Ælianus* saith, that in *Trapezonde*, the people gathered Hony on the Boxe-tree leaues; and albeit it was bitter, and of strong sauour, yet it cured such as were mad, and them that were tormented with the falling sickenesse. Doubtlesse, it is very likely, that Hony should rellish of the Plant or Hearbes quality, from whence it is gathered: for if the Tree be venomous, such will the Hony bee, and if the Hearb or Grasse be healthful, so is it likewise. Which was very well obserued by *Dioscorides*, who saith; *In Heraclea of Pontus, there was some Honie so venomous, that it would reduce all the body into a sweat, and take away their senses, that did eate thereof: but the Hearbe Rhue being presently taken, was an immediate remedie*. In *Sardignia* it is gathered of very bitter taste, because it may bee, that much Worme-wood or Sothernwood groweth in that Countrey: and yet notwithstanding, it is not venomous, but irksome to taste.

Hony both medicinable & venomous.

Dioscorides concerning hony

Hony gathered in *Sardignia*.

And to the end, that nothing may be omitted, of what may be said concerning Hony; I finde, that there is another kinde of Dew, beside the former, which congealeth of it selfe, & is found and taken vpon the leaues and branches of Trees, vpon Hearbs and stones, and sometimes on the very ground, forming it self into litle Grains, like Gum, which falleth from heauen before break of day; being very sweete in taste. And this dew or moisture, is called grained Manna, the best whereof commeth from *Calabria*, where they take it on their common Ash-trees, vppon the wide commons, and (many times) vpon some other Trees, by some secret of Nature. It maketh the belly loose, without any violence, as by daily experience it is to be seene, for if a man take the waight of two ounces and an halfe thereof; it releaseth the belly gently, and purgeth choller particularly: nor is there any feare, in giuing it to Women great with childe, and young sucking Children, if they neede any purging. Now adaies, because in stead of Hony, most part of men doe make vse of Suger, as being more amiable vnto Nature; it shall not vary much from our purpose, if wee enter into some breefe discourse thereof.

Another kind of dew beside the former.

Grained Manna, the best is of *Calabria*.

The vertue of this Manna in vse.

Suger is but the Pith or Marrow of certaine cultiued Reedes or Canes, naturally produced, and boiled in Water, vntill it grow to some hardnesse. The Suger, whereof our auncients (as *Pliny*, *Galen*, *Dioscorides*, *Paulus Æginetus*, and others) make mention, was none other, but that which came forth of the Cane, by a rift made thereinto, as being ouer full of sugred pith, which congealed to the Cane like a Gumme; and long-time (both before and after) no other kinde of Suger was knowne, but onely that, which quenched thirst in the hottest fiery Agues. Quite contrary to the Suger of these daies, which prouoketh thirst, and turneth it selfe into bitter choller, euen as Hony doth. This Hony was then rare, and all Sauces, Conserues, Confections, Opiates, Electuaries; and other medicinable compositions, were made with Hony; only through defect of knowing Suger in those times.

The definition of Suger.

Pliny, *Galen*, *Dioscorides*, *Paulus Aegineta*.

The naturall Suger vsed by our elders.

But since Madame Auarice discouered the Art, of pressing and boyling those Suger Canes, deriuing thence great aboundance of Suger: it hath happened, that the *Indians* haue (and yet yearly do) cut the Suger Canes, making also a yearely planting of thē. And therefore there needeth no marualle, if those great Suger Canes be not to bee found, wherein nature shewed her effects, and so (by consequent) the naturall Suger vsed by our fore-fathers, is vtterlie lost. In stead whereof, our moderne rimes haue vsed Suger-candy, which is arteficiall and cleare, drawne forth of minerall Salt; being sucked vp on the tongue, whereby it wholely resembleth the Suger vse our Auncients.

Couetousnes the first inuenter of Suger.

The arteficial Surger-candy of these daies

The

Difference between Hony & Sugar in vertue.

The comparison which our Physitions make betweene Hony and Sugar, is, that they are both Absterſiue, Deſiccatiue, and Reſolueable; but yet Sugar much leſſe then Honie. Sugar is not ſo contrarie to the ſtomacke, as Honie, neither ſo hot, that it may be numbered amongeſt thoſe Medicines, which may be administred in Feauers: and this is the opinion both of *Galen* and *Auicen*.

How long time it is ſince ſugar was firſt knowne.

The inuention of boyling, and making it into a Licquid kinde of Loaues, for common Traffique and diſtribution (in ſuch great quantity) through all parts of the world, began within theſe laſt 500. yeares. In which time (yet farre off from the Originall) the *Affricans*, and people of *Aſia*, being Neighbors to the *Indiaes*, got the ſight of making Sugar in *India*, & preparing their grounds aptly for Sugar Canes; by tranſporting ſome of thoſe ſugar Canes into their Countries, and huſbanding their tillage for them. Afterward, they communicated the manner therof to other people, as (at this inſtant) there is verie good Sugar made in *Egipt*, *Madera*, the *Canarie* Ilands, throughout all *Barbary*, *Sicily*, the Iſles * *Baleares*, in ſome partes of *Spaine*, and other places. The Reader may perceiue by this Diſcourſe, in what caſe Honie is good, and in what euil: how it ought to be applied, and in what things it is beſt vſed; What difference there is betweene Honie and Sugar, and the generation both of the one and other. By obſeruing alſo the diſputation, which hapned between thoſe men of different yeares, ſome profit may bee gathered; in what kinde it is wholeſome, Nutritiue, and Phyſicall; and in what Nature alſo, dangerous and hurtfull.

*Maiorque and *Minorque.*

CHAP. XVII.

How the Gothes vſed to elect their Kings, Great, Fat, and Corpulent of Bodie. Contrariwiſe, how the Sarrazins wold haue their Kings to be Meager, Leane, and of ſmal ſtature.

IT were needleſſe to declare, what maner of people the Sarrazins vvere, hauing formerly ſpoken ſufficient thereof, in a Chapter onely thereto appertaining. And for the *Gothes* likewiſe, ſomewhat hath alreadie bin ſaide, and the reſt remaineth to more conuenient place. My inſtant purpoſe is, to relate of what ſtature and habitude of bodie, both thoſe Nations vſed to create their Kings, therby to appeare more apt and proper for command ouer them. The *Gothes* would not elect anie man to be their King, except he were tall, great, groſſe, and verie corpulent. On the contrary, the Sarazins would haue no King to commaund ouer them, except he were little, lean, and low of ſtature. Whoſoeuer conſidereth well on theſe matters, will find neither ſide to be voide of reaſon, albeit their opinions were ſo oppoſite; and therefore wee will begin with them of great, groſe, and corpulent condition.

Kinges far, great, and tal, and others leane, lowe, & little.

Hippocrates, the Prince of Phyſitions, ſaith; *Great ſtature is verie ſeemly & commendable in a young man, and it begetteth him much grace; but it is an vnprofitable charge to age, and much worſe then ſmalneſſe.* Doubtleſſe, a Prince of high great apparaunce, and goodly ſhape, is much more reſpected by the greater part of his people; then one that is lowe, leane, and little. To approue this, certain *Normans*, hauing made a Voyage into the Countries of *Braſile* (where the people were tearmed *Saluages*, and went whollie Naked, feeding on humaine fleſh) brought backe in their Ships diuers Captaines of the *Caribes*, and made a preſent of them to King *Charles* the ninth, who was then young in yeares, onely about the age of fifteene. The Saluages perceiuing his great attendance, and that euery one was verie reſpectiue of him, demanded what he was? One told them, that he was the King, who abſolutely commaunded all *France*, a Countrie of large extendure, and well peopled. The *Caribes* anſwered, ſaying; *Surely, there was but ill proceeding in the election of ſo young a King, rather this man, or that man had bin much better*, pointing their fingers to two *Switzers* of great corpulence, and were of the Guard belonging to the ſaid King.

Aphor. 54. lib. 2

The Normãs voyage to *Braſile.*

The iudgement of *Saluages* in choiſe of a King.

It is contemptible and vnſeemelie, to behold a chiefe perſon, as the king, Captaine, or other men of command, to bee of ſmall ſtature, and their ſeruants great. The firſt King of *Iſrael*, which GOD choſe and gaue to his people, was *Saule*,

Men of ſmall ſtature, much deſpiſed.

a man of high and great ſtature. After ſuch ſightly perſonage, commended by *Hippocrates* in a yong man; he addeth, a great diſcommoditie, ſaying; *Great Corpulence is inſupportable and hurtful to age, becauſe a great man being old, becommeth bending or bowing, and hath labor enough to beare the bigneſſe of his bodie, by the puffing vp or ſwelling in his legges. Moreouer, for the moſt part they are Comardes, without magnanimitie or bodily ſtrength: For neither their ſpirits, natural heat, or animal forces, are ſo well aſſembled and vnited, as in them of leſſer corpulence.*

Hippoc Aphoriſ. 54. Lib. 2.

Great ſtature is very hurtfull to age.

If occaſion ſo required, that ſuch men ſhould be expoſed to danger, either by Sea or Land, or ſome misfortune or aduerſity ſhold befall them, they wil quickly ſhake and tremble with feare: vvhich hapneth thus to them, becauſe their Naturall heat languiſheth, their ſpirites are thin and little, and their blood leſſe boyling. Beſides, Naturall Vertue ſpendes it ſelfe, when it ſpreads into a long & large extendure; which vniting and encloſing it ſelfe in a little bodie, is much more vigorous and powerfull, then that which is heer and there diſperſed. And that which yet is worſe, what grace could the *Gothes* finde, in a bodie ſo great and groſſe? For ouer and beſide, that they muſt needs be vnable for all royal actions, either in bodie or vnderſtanding; ſo likewiſe, life could not prolong it ſelfe ſo wel in them, as it commonlie dooth in leaner bodies. The reaſon is, becauſe groſſe corpulency hath not ſo manie vitall ſpirites, neither ſuch plentie of bloode in the Veines and Arteries, as Leanneſſe generally hath. For, Fatneſſe doth cauſe great oppreſsion, whereby (ſuch men) doe verie ſoone ſuffocate vnder anie laborious trauell, or ſharpe diſeaſe. It procureth alſo, that in the leaſt ſickneſſe or indiſpoſition happening to them; they thereby become daily tired, panting, ſighing, grieuing, hartleſſe, deiected, and in ſuch ſort emptied of all courage, that life it ſelfe (thogh tenderly affected) is tedious and irkeſome to them.

The diſcommoditie of great or groſe corpulence.

A good reaſon againſt corpulency of body.

Men of leſſer ſtature, haue (naturally) a meruailous vigor, and the faculties of Nature ſtrongly combined. We may diſcerne in them verie excellent graces, both Corporall and Spirituall, with ſingular promptitude and ſubtiltie of mind, and that in ſuch ſort, as not only they excell, or equall (at leaſt) the others in any diſpoſition: but likewiſe, in ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe, as alſo in goodnes of ſtomack for eating or drinking. I haue oftentimes noted in our Armies, ſome French men of ſlender ſtature, who haue bin drinking a Vie (as we terme it) with *Switzers* and *Germaines*, great of bodie, and verie fat: but the *Switzers* and *Germains* were ſooner drunke, became ſleepie, reeling, and fell to the ground, vnable to vſe any function of ſoule or bodie; then the other light timberd men, that went away clenly. The cauſe of all theſe thinges remaineth, not only in great capacitie & largeneſſe of the Veines and other Veſſelles: but likewiſe in heate both Naturall and vehement, which boileth, concocteth, and conſumeth all. Likewiſe, in a ſtrong and firme braine, which doth not eaſilie apprehend or receiue fumes: but, in ſuch maner, as a Tile made red hot with fire, or as a hot Iron, that ſlips water off, being caſt vpon them; alſo, like to a verie drie ground, which ſuddenly diſpatcheth and conſumeth Water caſt on it, for there it looſeth it ſelfe, and paſſeth away, as in a ſubtle vapour.

Small ſtature preferred before fat Corpulence.

Moreouer, that commonly there is more magnanimitie and valour in a litle bodie, then in the corpulent, may be approued by the Annals and Hiſtories of *Fraunce*, in the life of King *Pepin*, called the Lowe or Little man, Maior of the Pallace, who liued about the yeare, 750. He was of no corpulence, yet contained in him a great ſpirite, generous and robuſt of his members: which was the cauſe, that all the people of *France*, reiected *Childerick* (who was their legitimate and Naturall King, a man of great ſtature) and hauing ſhorne him as a Monk, did locke him vp in a Monaſtery, there to end his daies, becauſe he was tearmed *Do Nothing*, a Coward, dull, and ordinarily addicted to drunkenneſſe.

Pepin the lide man preferd before *Childerick* the great.

We read in the *Romain* Hiſtories, that a man of *Gaule*, of immeaſurable greatneſſe, and higher (by the head) then anie in the Army, called or Challenged anie *Romaine* to fight with him in ſingle combate. Among all the reſt, *Marcus Coruinus* (being a man of lowe ſtature) could not endure this inſolence and arrogancy in the *Gaule*, but vndertook the fight with him, and ſlew him, in faire warre, as we vſe to tearme it.

Of a great *Gaule*, and a litle *Romaine*.

Concerning men of indifferent ſtature

We

The aduised care of the *Carthagenians.*

The *Corthagenians* were of no such humour as the *Gothes* and *Sarazins*, for their eyes were not fixed on Fatnesse or Leanneſſe, great or small stature; but on a man that was magnanimious and Vertuous, not any way respecting either bodily beauty, or feature. In briefe, I find that the *Gothes* were not so able in the election of their Kinges, as the Sarrazins. In like manner, they were people void of Letters or Learning, and those battailes which they won, consisted more in multitudes of men, then any industry or magnanimity.

The Sarrazins were great louers of lerning

On the contrarie, the *Sarazins*. *Affricanes*, and *Arabians*, had amongst them many men of great Learning, and vvell read in all the Sciences. Amongst all other excellent qualities, they were very skilfull in the choise of their Kinges; as being able (by Phisiognomie) to gather mature iudgement of their Magnanimitie, Vertue, and Vices; well knowing, that in great and grosse Bodies, neyther Science, Good Spirite, or Generositie, hath (commonly) any abiding. And to this Day, they are knowne to be good Physiognomistes, and, but for them, all the Learning which the *Græcians* left vs, had vtterlie beene lost, thorough those bloody warres of the *Gothes*, *Vandalles*, *Ostrogothes*, *Vuisigothes*, and other barbarous people.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the abuse committed, in carrying sweet Drugges, Powders, and Perfumes, about Men or Weomen: What harme thereby ensueth, and at vvhat time they came to be first vsed, and of their properties.

Very bad accidents insuing by the cariage of sweet sauors

METhinks, that the *Romans* dealt both wisely and worthily, in ordaining (at the request of their Censors, *P. Licinius Crassius*, & *C. Iulius Cæsar*) that no man shoulde sell any sweet Odours, or Arromaticall Vnguents, which commonly were brought forth of strange Countries. For this law, they had (vndoubtedly) very great reason, because such sweet perfumes and sauours, do make men effeminate, weak in the brain, and all the other animal parts: engendering nothing else, but vertiginositie or giddinesse, and great torments in the head, with trembling of the Nerues, procuring (by these meanes) a pale and bloodlesse colour in the Face, and the verie selfe-same accident, which Quicksiluer causeth amongest VVorkers in Golde.

Galen in Aphorism. 28. Lib. 5.

Hippocrates and *Galen* doe both confirme as much, saying beside, *That they do beget great paines in the head, and all such as make vse of them in wearing them about their bodies; it is only but to attract voluptuous Loue, whether it be in Men or Women.* It was neuer seen, that any braue Princes, Captaines, or men of great erudition, and that made account of vertue, did vse any of those Perfumes; or Muske sauours. Not any (as I haue already said) but the voluptuous, or such as haue some defect in their bodie, do carry such smels about them; as a strong vnsauoury breth, which commeth from the brain, or some Vlcer in the Lights and Lunges, beeing commonly called, a corrupt & stinking breath. Or for rotten teeth, ful of putrified food sticking in them. Or for such as haue a Goat-like sauour, by reason of an ill-senting sweat vnder their arme pits, & other parts of the bodie. For such people, I say, it is permitted (as a shaddow to their defects) to carrie Perfumes, or sweete Powders about them, or else to haue their Garments perfumed. *Martial* speaketh the verie same in his Epigrams to *Posthumus*. The Easterne people did much more vse these sweete Vnguentes, then they of the VVest; and were extraordinarily addicted to Luxuries and Voluptuousnesse, beyond all other parts of the world.

Sweete Perfumes serue to couer the bodies imperfections.

Who are alowed to weare perfumes.

The verie greatest antiquitie that I can finde, for the vse of these sweete Vnguents, is in *Genesis*, where it is said, *That Iacob sent such guiftes into Egipt*, because there was a great dearth of Corne, and to be fauoured of *Ioseph*, who distributed the Kings corn out of his Garners, which he hadde reserued to preserue his people, or to make profit thereof, or rather, by diuine inspiration. *Salomon* in his Canticles, speaketh of most sweete Oyntmentes, especiallie in the first Chapter. The like dooth his Father DAVID, and that hee did Annoint his owne Face.

The antiquitie of sweet odors Genes. 43, 12.

Cant. 2, 1, 11, 12, 13.

Plutark. in vit. Alex.

After that *Alexander* had conquered *Darius*, there was found (amongeſt the other ſpoiles) a little Coffer full of moſt ſweet and ſingular Vnguents. We read in *Herodotus*, that *Cambyſes* King of *Perſia*, and Sonne to *Cyrus*, ſent his Ambaſſadors with very rich preſents, and veſſels full of precious Oyntments, to *Macrobius*, King of the *Ethyopians*. But the King hauing vnderſtoode by the *Ichthyophages*, (who brought him this Preſent) in what manner thoſe compoſitions were made: would by no meanes accept them, becauſe, they were too effeminate for him.

Herodot. in Euterp.

In troth, this barbarous Moore gaue a good Leſſon to vs that are Chriſtians, and thinke our ſelues to excell all other in the worlde for Vertue: that wee are much more barbarous then hee, and all his Countrey of *Ethyopia*. For, in theſe our dayes, wee cannot bee content with perfuming our Garments, and the haire on our heads; but many are growne to ſuch horride immodeſty, as to annoint thoſe ſecretes both in men and VVeomen (only to prouoke Luſt, and for the more laſciuiouſneſſe) which were not ordained for any ſuch brutiſh wickedneſſe. Many alſo, haue their Beades made of ſweet Perfumes, not to vſe in their priuat Oriſons, but only for Vaine-glorie, and where any interchange of affection is, to procure the better meanes for voluptuous pleaſures, and ſeeme more acceptable to his wanton Miſtris, or ſhee to her as idle ſeruant. Incenſe beſtowd in churches, or on hallowed Altars, are matters of no great value or moment. And yet the Altar of God in *Ieruſalem*, vvas not perfumed but with *Sitim* woode, according to his owne appointment.

On what beaſtly pleaſures ſweete perfumes are now a-dayes imployed.

The Authors allegation for himſelfe.

Let me not heerein be miſtaken, as if I would inferre, that Beniamine, Storax, Amber, Muske, Ciuette, and ſuch like, which are the principall foundation of Vnguents, Pouders and ſweets, are wholy to bee reiected; for they are of great Vertues, and haue peculiar properties againſt diuers diſeaſes, and then they may lawfully be vſed, but not abuſed. Not as did *Muleaſſes* King of *Thunis*, who in the yeare, 1554. hauing left his Kingdome, to require aid of *Charles* the fift, Emperour, fearing the Turkiſh forces, which the Admiral to *Barbaroſſa* prepared againſt him; whereſoeuer hee went, hee abuſed theſe bleſsings very highly. For he had ordinarily (well-neere) ſerued in to his Table, a Peacocke, and two Pheſants, farced full of moſt precious and odoriferous Vnguents, amounting to aboue 200. Crownes: beſide his other delicious Sawces, Pottages, & meats dreſſed in like maner, and this was plainly ſeene at *Naples*. He was ſo extreamly beſotted in theſe ſweete ſauours, and yet without cauſe or neede, that when he was caſt out of his kingdom for his cruelties, wherein he was re-ſeated by the ſaid Emperor, and at the ſacke of *Thunis* by the Spaniards, when he returned to his Caſtle, and found his Cabinet emptied of thoſe precious perfumes, which the inſolent Souldiers (not knowing their value) careleſly threw away; he ſaid. *That he grieued more for his Delicate Drugges, then if he had loſt his whol kingdome*, which he had but newly reconquered, by the helpe of the Emperor.

Muleaſſes king of *Thunis*, greatly abuſed ſweete ſauours.

An ydle conceit in a King.

Going afterward againe, to entreate freſh ſuccour (being ſtill feareful of *Barbaroſſa*) while hee went about this buſineſſe, he placed his Sonne (as his Lieutenant) in his Kingdome, who ſeazed it only to himſelfe. Which when *Muleaſſes* heard of, he returned (with a few people) backe to *Thunis*, thinking they wold open the Gates vnto him; but hee found the contrary, for his Son hauing ſlain about fifteene hundred of his Followers, and finding the King to be none in number amongſt them: at length his Father was knowne, only by the ſweete ſmell of his Odours and Vnguents; and his Son *Amades* beeing poſſeſſed of him, cauſed his eyes to be pulled out. Beholde, what benefite this wretched King gotte by his ſweete ſauours and perfumes, being vſed vpon no cauſe or neceſsity. I haue known too many, that bearing ouer-much affection to this vanitie, and enriched vvith more wealth then wiſedom, haue vtterly loſt their health, and falne into exceeding pouerty.

The ſon ſupplanteth the Father in his abſence.

The miſerable end of *Muleaſſes*.

Thus yee ſee, what I haue collected for yee, out of many good and auncient Authors, concerning the vſage of drugs or ſweet Perfumes; what euil vſe is made of them, and how being vnfitly applied, they are the chiefe cauſes of manie maladies, and ſeruing (for the moſt part) for nothing but voluptuouſneſſe. I hold Opinion, that no man dooth more abuſe them, then a man that ſhoulde moſt reſpect

The Authour his concluſion

ſpect his honor, and hold it in higheſt recommendation; to be ſo much forgetful of himſelfe, as to feed his effeminate and voluptuous apetites, with theſe vnfitting & wanton procurements. Now, becauſe there are great controuerſies, and manie are ignorant, from whence wee haue our Amber-Greece, Muske, Ciuit, Beniamine, and Storax, wherewith are compoſed the ſaid Vnguents, Powders, Sweete Pomanders, and Perfumes, it ſhall not alter our determination, in our next ſucceeding Chapter (to recreate the Readers ſpirits) to ſpeake ſomething more of them, and of their faculties.

The compoſition of all perfumes & ſweet ſauours.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *Of Amber-Greece; From whence it is brought: The worth and properties thereof. And certaine Fables (concerning the ſame) refuted.*

MY purpoſe is not, to ſpeake of that Amber, which is bred among Rockes of coloured ſtone; and (by his Native Vertue) attracteth Straw thereto, as the Adamant doth Iron: But of that ſweet Aromaticall iuice of Amber-Greece; wherof, becauſe many men haue diuerſe opinions, concerning the production of a thing ſo rare & precious, I thought good to make ſome briefe diſcourſe. I woulde gladly alſo refute diuers Fables, deliuered in publicke conference thereof, without alledging any Authours in my concluſions, that write or ſpeake by heare-ſay; but onely ſuch perſons as haue ſeen the places from whence it is had.

There are two ſeuerall kinds of Amber.

Concerning the name of *Ambar* or *Amber*, it is ſo called in all Countries of the name. Our ancients haue ſuppoſed, that it is the ſeede of the Whale, which is left by her vpon the Waters, and ſo is gathered, becauſe in the Bellies of ſome Whales, there hath beene found thereof. *Nicholas Monardus*, a Spaniſh Phyſition, ſaith; That in the year, 1560. (himſelfe being preſent) a Whale was taken neere to the Canarie Ilands, which are tearmed the fortunate, and in the Bellie thereof, was found aboue foure pounds waight of Amber. Afterward, he was alſo preſent at the taking of manie other, vvith their young Ones, but not a iotte was to bee found in any one of them. Others are of the minde, that amber is nothing elſe but the excrement of the Whale, which he auoydeth by his egeſtions in April and May: becauſe hee then feedeth on certaine fruites growing on the Sea-bankes, which are verie odoriferous. Some do affirme, that it is not any excrement of the Whale, but of another huge Fiſh, as great, or much more in greatneſſe exceeding the Whale: and it hath a head more hard then Marble, & neuer ſwimmeth but in the Northerne Seas. But all theſe coniectures come nothing neere to truth, becauſe all thinges of good and great ſauour, do com from Countries and Regions which are hot; as experience deliuereth by our Spiceries, of which, no one kinde was euer knowne to be produced, from Northerly or cold Countries.

Of the name *Ambar* or *Amber*.

Variety of Opinions, how Amber is found, & how men come by it.

I finde ſome other Authors, who ſay, that Amber is ſought for and found, being deuoured by a Great Fiſhe, named the *Azell*, which dying, and floating vpon the Waues, hee is quickely knowne by Marriners, that ſeaze on him vvith their Hookes, and ſo dragge him on the ſhore. There opening his Bellie, they finde ſtore of Amber; but that is onelie good and pure, which they finde againſt his chine-bone. But there is no aparance of truth heerein; for Amber is not anie kinde of poiſon, but a dear Friend to the heart and life. On the otherſide, Fiſhes doe neuer ſeeke anie thing to hurt them, except by Trecherie vſed to them, and that men do mingle Venom among other foode, which is apte and proper for them, as they do to Lyons, Wolues, Foxes, Leopards, Rattes, and diuers other harmefull Beaſtes, that liue on the land. Many alſo haue bin perſwaded, that Amber is a kind of froth or ſcum of the Sea; but this Coniecture, is euen as Fabulous as the other. For, Amber is not found in thoſe Seas, where Whales doo frequent, and much leſſe in any place, where the Sea is continuallie full of Billowes, or ſtore of froth appeareth.

A ſtrange Fiſh in whom Amber is ſaide to be found.

Amber is a louer and friend to the heart.

Amber ſuppoſed to bee a ſcum or froth of the Sea.

Theuet ſaith, that hee Learned of diuers *Arabes*, Iewes, and Eaſterne *Greeks*, diſperſed heere and there thorough the *Turks* iuriſdiction, that there are certain

A verie erroneous opinion of *Andrew Theuet*, concerning Amber.

Birds in the Isles of the *Veiques* (vvhich are scituated in the way leading to *Mozambique*, towards the North) as great as our Geese, and called by them *Aschibobuc*. These Birds, doe ordinarily withdraw themselues, farre off from any Inhabitations of men, and pearch in the Night time, either in these vn-inhabited Islands, or on the toppes and pointes of Rockes and Clifts, for auoyding disturbance in their rest: and there they mute in great aboundance, because they company in huge flightes together, euen as our Cranes or other Wilde Fowles do with vs. It is saide, that this Dung or muting of these Birdes, is true Amber, which beeing concocted in the heate of the Sunne, purified by the Moones power in the Night, and refined by the ayres subtilty, which keepeth continually vpon those promontories: it so remaineth, till the Sea doth swell and rise (either by those violent Windes, or some out-ragious Tempest) and carrie it thence away. Floating thus, by Morselles or Fraggements vpon the Waues, it is one while cast into Creekes, Hauens, or Neighboring Strands: and another while, deuoured or swallowed vp by Fishes. But, it beeing a matter vndigestiue, they are enforced to cast it vppe againe. And the other, that continueth still swimming hither and thither, yeeldeth a reason (by these seuerall meanes) of three kindes of Amber. The one, is of a Whitish Colour, which is the true Naturall qualitie of fine *Amber-Greece*. The second, is more Clowdie and obscure, and yet good account is likewise made thereof. But, as for the thirde sort, vvhich hath beene swallowed by Fishes, and sent vp againe, thorough the lacke of Digestion, being Blacke, waightie, and of much lesse sauour, they reckon it to be of slender perfection, and therefore, make no esteeme at all thereof. But all these thinges, come nothing neere vnto the trueth; and I am verie sorrie, that *Theuet* (hauing trauailed so much) shoulde set downe this in Writing, euen in the verie same manner, as I haue deliuered it, beeing a matter no way likely or probable.

Three seueral kinds of *Amber*.

Ecius and *Simeon Sethius*, only Writers concetning Amber.

Æcius, and *Simeon Sethius*, Greeke Authors, who onely and chiefelie haue spoken of this Amber, do say; That it is a kinde of *Bitumen*, comming foorth of the Fountains or Springs in the bottom of the Sea, and that by floating vpon the water: it becommeth hardened, as manie things else doe, which houer vppon the Seas, being first bred in them; all which while, they are soft and tender; but comming forth, they wax presently hardned, as Corrall doth. This Amber thus floating, when the Seas are angry and tempestuous, as many times they bee: there is store thereof found among the Rocks and stones, as also about the trees growing on the Sea-shores, when the East-wind, or else the North-east (but more enclining to the East) bloweth.

Places where the Amber is found.

A great quantitie thereof is found in *Sofala*, and in the Isles of *Comaro*, *Demogra*, *Mozambique*, and along this Tract, euen to the Isles of *Maldina*, or *Naledina*, which looke into the East. But when *Zephirus*, or the Westerne Windes do moue the Seas to choller, then is a great quantitie found in the later named Islandes. There haue beene some fragments found floating on the Sea, as great and tall as any man; and others of the bredth of foure spannes, and twentie in length. Some do affirme, that they haue a whole Isle (as it were) all built of pure Amber; and within some fewe daies after, when search was made for it, it was dispersed, and could not be found.

Islands where the best Amber is found.

Garcias d'Orta, a *Portugall* Physition, from whom I tooke this latter opinion: and with whom, the best iudgements of these times doe giue consent, for, being alwaies found veritable, and hauing been present in the Countries where this drug is had, where hee kept possession of an Island belonging vnto the King of *Portugal*, wherein great quantity of Amber was daily founde: hee was of the same minde with *Æcius* and *Sethius*, & heard them when they deliuered their Iudgement therein. Hee saith also, that in the yeare, one thousand fiue hundered fiftie fiue, neere to the Promontory of *Comaro*, a great lumpe or proportion thereof was founde, which waighed more then three thousand pounds waight, and hee that found it (supposing it to be a kind of Pitch or *Bitumen*) sold it almost for nothing. For himselfe, hee sayeth; the very greatest lumpe that euer hee saw, did not exceed aboue the waight of fifteene pounds. But the Merchants which trauaile into *Ethiopia*, giue good assurance, that

The opinion of *Garcias d'Orta*, a Portugall Physition and an Eye-witnesse.

The Merchants that commerce in *Ethiopia*.

that they do ordinarily behold pieces of much greater scantling: for all the passage from *Sophala*, euen to *Brana*, aboundeth plenrifully in Amber. In the country of *Brasile*, there hath bin some found, and yet is, but very rarely. In the year, one thousande fiue hundered thirtie, a fragment was there found, contayning the waight of foure poundes, in sayling vnto a Porte of *Portugall*, called *Setuball*.

Amber found in the beakes of Birds, and cleauing to cockles in the Sea.

Some say, that Amber hath bin found in the Beakes or Billes of certaine Birds, which may be so: and cleauing to some Cockles and Scallops of the Sea, which I immagine happened, by being fastned thereto. But, Maister *Nicholas Rasseus*, a verie Learned Man (my intimate Friende, liuing yet in *Paris*) and curious in search of the rarest thinges; shewed mee what manner of Beakes those were, and we plainly perceiued, that they were the beakes of Sounds or Cuttle-Fishes, and not of Birds.

Amber eaten by the rich *Indians*.

Amber, is of great estimation among the Wealthie *Indians*, for they eate it in their Meates; and looke how much the price appeareth in bigneſſe, so much the greater is his price in Value, euen as of precious Stones. There is no Countrey or Region, where more sale is made thereof, then in *China*: for, as the *Portugales* obtained fauour of the *China* Kinges, to Trafficke with that kingdom, and bringing thence some small quantitie of Amber, they solde the Waight of twentie Ounces, for fifteene hundered Crownes: Which beeing vnderstoode by other Merchants, they broght thence more store afterward, because (thenceforward) they would not pay such a hye price in that Countrey.

Amber sold at deare value in *China*, *France* and other places.

In *Fraunce*, it is commonly solde (at this day) for eight or nine Crownes the Ounce, at the least: Neuertheleſſe, it is sometimes more, and sometimes leſſe.

Amber maintaineth helth and long life.

Let no man count it straunge, that it is so curiously coueted by Rich and Noble persons; for it hath manie especiall properties, whereby to preserue soundneſſe of Health, and to maintaine long life, as I will briefely declare. First of all, it strengtheneth the Braine, appeasing all paines therein, either of the Nerues or Heade, comming of Colde causes: by chafing the fore-head therewith, and all the Head ouer, or making a good bigge Emplaister, and mingling a little Oyntment of Muske with it, lay it so to the Head. If a good lumpe thereof, be hanged about the Necke of Man or Woman, tempered with a little *Lignum Aloes*, and a small quantity of Musk, the very smell thereof cheareth vp a dull braine, augmenteth memory, and reuiueth both the spirits and heart extraordinarily. Besides, it is a singular remedy against the plague, and all colde defluxions, onely by perfuming a Night-Cappe therewith. There is nothing more beneficiall for auncient people, and to lengthen life in them; if they moderately vse it in smelling either in perfuming their Garments, anointing their faces, or mingling it amongst their Meates. A little pouder of the Load-stone compounded with it, and applied Emplaister-wise to the Nauell, it holdeth and restraineth the Fruit, that it fall not before due and conuenient time. It is a singular Remedie, not onely against the procidence of the Matrixe, but likewise to preuent the suffocation; being applied with a litle Cotton, and vsed in the secret parts. Applying it both outwardly & inwardly, it maketh Women fruitfull, whose barrennes is caused by coldneſſe. It profiteth greatly for paines in the heart and stomacke, occasioned by windineſſe. Such as are afflicted with the *Epilepsie*, that is to say, the falling sickneſſe, or disease of *S. Iohn*, if they vse it as an ordinary smell, or receiue it as a perfume, it quite appeaseth it, or causeth a mightie asswaging thereof, as hath beene many times crediblie experimented. In like maner, it is verie singuler good against the Palsie, if, beside taking it inwardly, yee vse it as an Oyntment to the necke and Chin-bone of the backe, mingled with some neruall Oyle.

If it be taken in Wine, as some Physitions (not well informed in the Nature thereof) haue appointed; it presentlie causeth drunkenneſſe, and brings a man (at length) to a trembling in al his ioints. But if any necesity doe require vs to vse it, it must be mingled with the yolke of a new-laid Egge; and the Dose or quantity to bee taken, is commonly sixe Graines each day, & to drink no wine in the space of two houres after. If a man that hath a hotte Chafing Braine, so procured by

For memorie and a dull braine.

For the Pestilence.

For auncient people vsed moderately.

For Women with Childe, and some other infirmities hapning to them.

For the falling sickneſſe.

For the Palsy

For what people it is hurtfull, and ill to be vsed.

For a hot or dry braine.

The Vertue and properties of Amber For the head-Ache.

Nature, do either vse it as a sauour, or receiue it inwardly: questionlesse, it will proue verie troublesome to his memorie and vnderstanding, and cause diuers diseases in his head, endangering his fal into frenzie or madnesse. And therefore, it is most auaileable for olde decrepit people, and such as haue a cold braine; and for such Diseases, whose Causes or Originall do proceed of frigidity.

Amber of 4. seuerall Colours, and to know the best sort.

There is Amber of foure seuerall colours: White, Gray, Red, and Blacke; which commeth according to the variety of places or Regions, where it is found out. The Gray, is preferred before al the other, and is knowne to be good, if when pricking it with pin, it deliuereth forth a moisture like Oyle. It hath bin tempered in Torches, Tapers, and Candles, for Emperors, Kinges, and Great Princes: as in the Court of *Campson*, the last Soldane of Egypt, *Muleasses* King of *Thunis*, and diuers others. It is mingled also amongst other Drugges, for making of Chaines and Bracelettes, worne vsually by Ladies, and Great Courtiers, without anie great offence or discommendation, the causes in our precedent Chapter alwaies remembred.

CHAP. XX.

Of Muske, and of Ciuit, howe they are ingendred; From whence they are broght, and how they are any way good.

Sundry varieties of Muske according to the countries.

NExt vnto Amber, methinks that Musk ought to haue his due ranke. The *Barbarians* call it *Patt*, and there are manie sorts or kinds thereof. The best of all, is that which commeth from a Countrey, that leaneth very much into the West, as farre as the Citty of *Chorasa* doth, and is yellowish, or of Gold colour. The best, next to it, is that which is brought from the *Indiaes*, and appeareth blacke, whereby it is not so good as the first. The worst of all, is that which they bring from the Land of *Sini*. All these kinds of Musk, are engendered in the Nauell of a certaine Beast, like vnto a wilde Goat, which hath only

How the Muskes are engendered.

one horne, and is verie great of bodie. When this Beast is in paine, by a raging swelling in his Nauell, which filleth it selfe with a kind of grosse bloud, in manner of an impostume: he afterwarde voideth this bloude, halfe corrupted, and within a certaine while after, it becommeth of very sweet sauour.

Serapio an *Arabian* writer.

Serapio (among the *Arabes*) hath written diligently and carefully concerning Muske, speaking in this manner: The Beasts that make Muske, and are like vnto wild Goats; are principally bred in the Countries of *Tumbasco*, & of *Sini*, which bee neere neighbouring to each other. The Muske of *Tumbasco*, is better then that of *Sini*, because the Goates which make the Muske, do feed on nothing but Spicknard, & other odorifferous plants, whereon only they liue. Which hapneth not so in the land of *Sini*, for, albeit the Musk-Goats do there liue also on sweet hearbs and plants: yet are they not to be compared in their Muske, neither to the Spickenard, nor to the other plantes of *Tumbasco*.

The maner of gathering the Musk in *Tumbasco*, & in *Sini*

The maner also of gathering the Musk, is some reason of the difference, for they of *Tumbasco*, do neuer take the Musk out of the thin skin or wrapper, to sophisticat it; neither will they gather it, but when the season is bright & clear. But the men of *Sini*, they vse to squeeze the skin of the swoln impostume, and mingle and sophisticate it, euen in the issuing foorth, not caring whither the time be foul or faire, and so they shut it vp in purposed boxes. That is the best Muske, which is the most odorant, and is very ripe when it cōmeth forth of the swoln bag. These goats which carry the Musk, are no way different, but onely in their teeth, for they haue teeth (there commonly cald Dogs teeth) very long, stāding out of their mouths, aboue a span-long, like to the wild Boare.

Difference of the Muske-Goats only in their teeth.

Muske not ripe, hath a hurtful smell, and how they ripen it.

Musk that is not mature & ripe, hath a most offensiue smell: but they which seek for the Musk, do shake the thin skins wherein it is not ripe; and hanging them in the open aire, there leaue them so, vntill they be ripe, and the foule sauour bee vtterly gone. It becommeth very odorant of it self, when it is perfectly baked in the aire: neuertheless, the best Muske is that, which naturaly receiueth his maturity, euen in the thinne wrappers of the Musk-Goat. The people of this country, do

How they find and gather their Muske.

doe gather it among Stones & Trunkes of Trees; for the Beast, when he feeles his impostumation ready to ripen: hee taketh great delight, in rubbing his body against the Rockes and Trunkes of Trees, vntill the Bag be broken, and all the congealed matter bee voyded out. This Muske is better then all the other, as being that which is plainely ripened; both by the good temperature of Heauen, and perfect concoction of the sun. They then that seeke after it, so soone as they haue found and gathered it; they close it vp in the thin skinnes and Bladders, of such Beasts as haue bred Musk, and haue (formerly) bin slaine by them in hunting.

The best Muske, and how it is found and vsed.

Of this Muske is it, that presents is made to Kinges and Princes, & whereof they make vse. It hath (almost) the equall properties to Amber, but herein it is much worse; for if a Man beare too great quantitie about him, or if he receiue ouer much inwardlie: it brings him to a palsie trembling, and raiseth great torments in the head, enforcing so vehement an attraction of blood to the Nose; as many haue suddenly dyed by bleeding. But in a small and moderate quantity, it is good against all paines in the head, comming of colde causes.

In what manner we finde Muske to be hurtfull.

I haue not found any Author, either *Greeke*, *Arabe*, or Moderne, but iumpeth with this Man in opinion, and in the gathering of Muske: except one *Amatus*, a *Portugall* Phisition, a Man of very great inconstancy, as diuers haue declared to mee, that had knowledge of him in Turky. Hee makes a mockerie, of that which hath beene deliuered by diuers good Authours, concerning Musk, and laboureth to assure vs, that in a certaine Countrey of *India*, there is a Beast as big as the Hares here among vs; which being taken, and beaten to death with rods; the bowels and inwardes is then taken forth, and the Flesh bruised or beaten in a Morter. Afterward, it passeth through a Search, to the end that no bone may remaine vnbruised, and then the flesh is made into round Bals, and wrapped vp in pieces of the said Beasts skinne; stil to preserue them in a round forme, and because the Merchants, that buy them thus readily prepared; may make no doubt, but that the Muske is of the very same Muske-beast. But both *Portugals*, *Arabes*, and *Iewes*, who haue trauailed into those partes, and seene these matters thus gathered: are of *Serapios* mind, and hold the course which I haue formerly alleadged; and that our Muske commeth from a Beast like vnto the wilde Goat.

The errour of *Amatus* a Phisition of *Portugall*.

The opinion of *Amatus* strongly refused.

Marcus Paulus, a *Venetian*, in the first Booke of his Voyages, and the first Chapter, saith; That in the Prouince of *Singuil* in *India*, himselfe found the best Muske in all the world. For in that Countrey, they haue a Beast, of no strange kinde, but about the bignesse of a Cat, with haire like to a Hart, or red Deere, very great Clawes, and foure teeth only; to wit, two aboue, and two beneath. Neere, or about the nauell of this Beast, betweene the Flesh and the skin, there is a bladder full of blood, which is true Muske, yeelding the vertuall sent and sweete sauour. I would be loath to belye such an approued Authour: For it may very well be, that this Beast is of the same kind, as the Muske-Goat is, notwithstanding the smalnesse in body: because (heere among vs) we see Dogges, Horses, and other Beastes, of all shapes and formes. But yet he agreeth with all the rest in this; that the Muske is found about the Nauell; as hath formerly bin said.

The report of *Marcus Paulus*, a worthy *Venetian* trauailer.

The Authors censure with *Marcus Paulus*

Muske (by length of time) looseth his good smell, or beeing tainted with wind, or too closely kept. Therefore, to preserue him still in his goodnesse, he must be kept in Boxes of Lead, verie well stopped.

Of Muske loosing his sauour.

Platearius, a learned man, is of this opinion; That if Muske haue lost his vertue and good odour, it must be hanged in a Viall of Glasse, with the mouth open, in the midst of a Sink or house of Office, and so it wil recouer his former sauour. There is some found composed of another fashion; but then it is sophisticated, and how that composition is made, *Gesner* enstructeth in his History of Beasts.

A receipt to re-accommodate tainted Muske.

Ouer and beside Muske, we haue yet another licquid matter, which is not onely odorant; but also pierceth all the sences and spirits at the first encounter. Perfumers make great vse thereof, in their compositions of sweete smelles, which

Of Ciuet.

How Ciuet is engendred.

which they tearme mixtures. It is engendred in the skinne of the Testicles of a Beast, much like vnto a *Feyne*, some calling them Cats. To speake more properly, Ciuet is as a sweate, passing betweene the Testicles of this Beast, being of a temperature hot and moyst. If it be put into the pits about the Nauel, or into the Wombe-pipe; it serueth maruailously against the suffocations of the Matrix. Many times, vpon vrgent extremity, the Husband vseth it to his owne secrets, and so conuayeth it vnto his Wife; whereby immediate remedy ensueth for the paine.

The vertue & power of Ciuet.

And as we haue already saide, that Muske being tainted, or ouer-aged, recouereth his strength and quickneſſe by stinking ayre, as of a Sinke or Priuy, as by one contrary to correct another. Euen so, in those Countries where these Ciuet Creatures are bred, there is another Beast, equalling the Ciuet Cat in bigneſſe, called *Agobdilhat* (which signifieth nothing else but foule sauor, and this beast is (indeede) the most stinking of all other) who continually is at Warre with the Ciuet Cat, his colour being very pleasing, & somewhat neere to a Sky-colour.

War continually betweene the *Agobdilhat* and the Ciuet Cat.

A History of a Ciuet Cat in France.

I call to memory, that beeing (one day) in the House of the Constable of *Fraunce*, *Anne de Montmorancye*, a Cat (not being discharged of her Ciuet, according as her selfe sought meanes and place) emptied her burden vppon the Gowne of a young Gentlewoman, deliuering thereon such a great quantitie of Ciuet; that all the spacious roome was filled with the ouer-piercing sauor thereof. Wherevpon, diuers were readie to fall into sownings, others felt grieuous paines in their heads, and (among the rest) the young Gentlewoman fell suddenly into a suffocation of the Matrixe; yea, and in such extreame manner, that she was reputed dead for the space of twelue houres, and was cured by stinking fumes and ill smels onely. The Gentlewoman gaue sufficient testimony, that she had neuer (before) beene subiect to that perplexitie: and yet notwithstanding, when Women are vexed with the anguish forenamed, if Ciuet be put into the Nauell pittes, they feele presently ease. But ye must vnderstand, that it ought to be applied in a very small quantity. For this cause is it, that Muske and Amber are wholesome for many cold diseases, being applied and taken in small quantitie. Here also the Reader may be aduertised, that there are people of such complexion, as do affect such sauours naturally: and others againe, who finde them very hurtfull, and therefore doe fly from them; of which sort there are many more, then of the other. Therefore, when any vse is to be made of them, let euerie one well vnderstand his owne naturall inclination, or take the aduise of some skilfull Phisition: for oftentimes, by vsing them indiscreetely, they haue beene the death of diuers people.

How Ciuet ought to be vsed and applied.

CHAP. XXI.

Of an Edict, made by Dionisius the elder, King of Scicily, against Women, Maids, and youngest Virgines; n hereby he purchased a double returne of Mony.

Tyrants alwaies raigned in *Scicily*.

WHosoeuer readeth the *Grecian* Histories, shall finde, that the Isle of *Scicily* hath anciently beene subiect, to be gouerned and commaunded by Tyrant Kings: among which Tyrants, it appeareth that *Dionisius* (whom they vsed to tearme the elder) surpassed all the rest in tyranny. For, after he had drawne all meanes from his people, by frequent, great and intollerable impositions: hee surcharged them againe with a new taxation, much more irkesome and burdenous, then any one, or all the other gone before. Which was an expresse payment, by poule, or head (as they call it) both for Men, Women, Maidens, children, great or little, young or old. And albeit the Collectours of these impoſed Monies, made great and grieuous execution in the leuey, as well vpon Cattell, as seazing moueables and immoueables; yea, imprisoning the people (euen to the death of many) by cruell vsage, and bad handling: yet, notwithstanding all these extreamities, no Mony could be had, because the Tirant had drawn them dry, euen to the vttermost

Plutarck. in vit. de Dion.

An intollerable taxation by the poule.

How the Tyrant wasted his peoples Monies, and ouer-awed them.

most penny. All the Mony of this rich Island, hee had imployed (in daily payments) for ten thousand foot Souldiers, to guard his person, and ten thousand Horsse-men, beside foure hundred Gallies, well armed and furnished. Beside this, he payed great pensions to other Common-weales, and to strange Princes; to the end, hee might haue their ayde when neede required; reposing little (or no trust at all) in his own Subiects. In breefe, he exercised all kindes of prodigalitie towards Straungers, at the cost and expences of his owne people, for the more safe assurance of his Estate and dignitie.

Signes whereby to know the pouerty of the people.

He had aduertisement, that there was no more Money to be raised, neyther by Wine or Corne, or any other Commodities: for there was great dearth of Victuals two whole yeares together. He knew it euidently, because the people were growne careleſſe, and did nothing but laugh at his impositions; as knowing, that he could not bee paide, when they had nothing wherewithall to pay, which made them then raise that memorable Prouerbe: *Where nothing is to bee had, the King looseth his right.*

The *Sicilians* affected braue and proud apparrell, both in the Men and Women.

But this old Tyrant Foxe, knew wel enough the Custome of the *Sicilians*, which was, to be pompous, affecting brauerie in Apparrell, and (aboue all) to be richly decked with Iewels of gold and Siluer, embellished with costly precious stones: neuer regarding their owne condition, as Husbandes and Wiues, nor good of their Families; but suffering all their prouisions to be sold, to feede the Kinges impositions, and serue other Negotiations, prouided, that they might still enioy their Iewels and brauery. The Men (for Antiquity of this idle Custome) did willinglie tollerate it, though they were to endure all the necessities in the World; yea, death it selfe. And this was all which remained, of the mightie riches of *Scicilie*: for the Island had abounded in plenty of Corne, which was the maine hope of all the Inhabitants, and (next to *Ægipt*) it was one of the best Garners in the whole World.

The mighty riches of the Isle of *Scicilie*.

A Tyrant taketh aduantage on all occasions.

Heereupon, he would instantly help himselfe, according as the time fitted him with occasion, which was (in regard that his tyranny, and the two precedent years, had greatly impouerished the Kingdome) notwithstanding al former oppressions: he would now haue the Iewels of the Women and Damsels, then which, they had nothing else remaining to them. And for his more cleanely conueyance heerein, he caused to be published by the Priestes and Sacrificers (whose Ceremonies hee gaue no faith to, nor any way beleeued) that the Goddesse *Ceres* was very greatly offended with the Islanders, because there was no worshippe giuen her, but in an old Temple, ruined, darke, and vtterlie vnpleasing: wherefore, she would haue a new one erected to her, built with faire shew, and sumptuous cost, else there should no more happy daies bee seene in that Island. According to these remonstrances, made by the Priestes and Sacrificers, with interposition of his owne authoritie: it was credibly giuen forth, that the Goddesse her selfe had appeared to him, & this the Priests sollemnely iustified, being well enstructed in the treacherie. Vpon this vrgent occasion, and pretending carefull respect of the Common-weale, as also to appease the high disfauour of *Ceres*, (she being the Goddesse of Corne and Fruites of the Earth:) he had determined, to erect her a new and magnificent Temple. Now, because he had no Mony, nor the people neither, who are called the Kinges Purse: he willed and commanded, that all Women, Wiues, Widdowes, Maids, & Damsels, should bring foorth their Iewels of Gold, Siluer, precious stones, and all other matter else whatsoeuer, to a certaine place, and at a time by him appointed; imposing grieuous paines and penalties, on any that durst vse the least contradiction. The female sexe were in wonderful perplexitie, and durst not hide any of their Iewels or brauery: because they had so long openly worne them, and good note was taken of them from time to time, both of the riches and value, on feastiuall daies, at sollemne sacrifices, publique plaies, banquets, and marriages.

A cunning subtilty of the Tyrant.

A feigned apparition of the Goddesse *Ceres*.

An Edict very displeasing to Women.

Now, for the better obtaining his purpose, and inducement of the people to more willing forwardnesse heerein: he caused a spacious compasse of grouid

to

The deuise of the Tyrant to deceiue his people.

to be prepared, in an eminent place of the Citty *Siracusa*, not far off from the Fountaine *Arethusa*, where hee made some proiect, of present building a goodly Temple, by a forme or Modell shaped thereof. Farre off was his mind from any such intent, but day by day to get possession of the Womens Iewels, and hanested the leuey of them with all possible speed. He gaue notice heereof also, to the round neighbouring Ilses and Countries, where he had no commaund: from whence he got almost a Million of Gold, where-with they willingly furnished him, onely that the Goddesse would be gracious to them. And thus he held the people in suspence the space of the three whole yeares. In his time, the Land began (naturally) to waxe fruitfull againe, yeilding as great plentie of Corne and all things, as formerly it had doone: by which good meanes, Corne, Wine, and Cattell, thriuing stil with them, the Inhabitants became rich and sufficiently stored.

Neighboring people also cheated by the Tyrant.

The women could not forget their pomp and pride.

When the women began to tast of this well-relliſhing fertility; they could not forget their former vanities, but faine would fall againe to their pride & rich brauery: Only their feare was, least the Tyrant should play the like tricke againe with them. To make an estimate, of the inestimable masse of Wealth, which they were cõpelled to lay down, for building this new Temple to the Goddesse *Ceres*; is a matter exceeding my capacity, and yet no Temple at all builded. The Tyrants ayme was only at wealth, and hauing compassed what he intended; by the aduise of some well-willers to the Women (pretending comiseration on their disfurnishment of Iewels) a counterfeit request was made vnto him, that he would be pleased to permit their wearing of Iewels againe. Standing (like a crafty Reinard) vppon some strangenes for a while, the suit at length was granted; with this Prouiso. That euery one of the Female sexe (of what degree or age soeuer) should particularly present her offering to the Goddes *Ceres*, either in Gold or Siluer, according to the number and value of those Iewels, which shee purposed to weare: whereto they consented verie gladly, so fooliſhly fond were they of their curious adornments, which gaue way to the Tyrant, to make a double benefit of one and the same Edict. And to this very day, the Women of that Ilsland do continue this proud humour, in beautifying themselues with Iewels, beyond any other Country that I haue read of. The riches that he compassed by this Edict, is not to be valued, for the Isle was (in those daies) much more peopled then now it is: And then the principall and royall Citty, was called *Syracusa*, which at this present is named *Sarragossa*. This Tyrant, hauing occasion then to vse men of Armes, beside such Strangers as he kept in pay: could leny sixescore thousand foote, and twelue thousand Horsemen, beside foure hundred Ships and Gallies; whereas at this day, the Land will hardly yeeld fifteene hundred able fighting men. When it was surprized by the *Romaines*, for hauing taken part with the *Carthagenians*; there was found in one place (called the *Magazine* or Store-house for war) furniture to arme seauenty thousand men; and such large booty was found therein, that *Carthage* (which fought for the Empire) could hardly yeeld the like.

The City of *Syracusa*, now is called *Sarragossa*.

The greatnes and ableneſse of *Syracusa* in former times.

Another subtilty of an old Tyrant.

This *Dionisius* was an affronter and Deceiuer, who knew better then any Man elſe in the World, how to finde meanes of non paiment, when reason & equity did require it. Among diuers other, he had entertained a young man, who was reputed to be very skilfull in playing on musicall Instruments, and tearmed the very best that those times afforded, to whom he promised liberall wages. The Musition hauing serued him a long while, requested to haue his due recompence; whereto *Dionisius* replied: That he ought him nothing; *Because* (quoth he) *I haue giuen thee as much contentment, by hope and promise of great wages and enriching thee, as thou hast yeilded me, for I haue taken paine enough, to heare the idle sound of thy instrument.*

Concerning *Dionisius* himselfe.

A History of a Musition.

In breefe, he cared not how he came by any thing whatsoeuer, prouided that it would yeild him profit, making spare, neither of Statues of the Goddes, or any other sacred thing, but made a meere mockerie of all, as I shall haue occasion to speake elſe-where. The *Scicilians* haue neede of such a King in these daies, to punnish that shamefull murder and massacre, which they committed

The *Scicilians* are a bad kind of people.

The *Scicilian Veſpres.*

mitted (on a day in the Euening time) vpon ſo many worthy *French-men*, called thither in their aide and ſuccour, to deliuer them from the ſeruitude of an other Tyrant; and when they were at libertie, they did bloodily put them all to death.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Word or Name Grammarian, and what it is truely and properly.

THoſe perſons which the *Latines* properly called *Grammaticos* (which in all other Languages is tearmed *Grammarians*) were not any ſuch men, as knew not how to ſpeake congruately, or write Orthographically, with good obſeruation of accents in their ſpeech, as being vnskilfull in the Etimology of Dictions or Vocables, according as ſome (to this day) haue ſuppoſed. For well I know, that it hath beene a common matter, when one would point at a man ſlenderly learned, or little ſeene in the ſoundneſſe of learning, as vnderſtanding nothing but the very principles: they would tearme him a *Grammarian*, or a Grammer Schoole-Boy, for his greater ſcorne and open diſgrace.

The name of a *Grammarian* very badly vnderſtood.

The ancient *Latines* in *Ciceroes* time.

But contrariwiſe, the ancient *Latines*, as in the time of *Cicero*, had no other vnderſtanding of the word *Grammarian*: then of a learned Man, well skild in all the Sciences, and thought fit to be the Interpreter of our graueſt Authours. The Greekes called *Grammarians*, *Critiques*, of the Greeke Verbe κρίνω which ſignifieth to be iudged. For when learned men (were they *Greekes* or *Latines*) had any doubt about the interpretation of ſome Text, ſentence, or ſaying, in any Science whatſoeuer: it was then wholely referred to a *Grammarian*.

Grammarians cald *Critiques.*

Grammarians were moſt wiſe and learned men, and acounted the beſt Schollers of thoſe times

Suetonius was of the ſame opinion, in his Booke of famous *Grammarians*, who were likewiſe called Learned, as for example, *Meſſala*. *Coruinus* and *Macrobius* write, that one *Didimus*, ſufficiently learned in the Sciences; was eſteemed to be a great *Grammarian*. *Cicero* made high account of one named *Emiphon*, whoſe Schoole continuallie he frequented, after his handling cauſes in the Senate. *Nidigius Figulus*, and the excellent Wiſe-man *Varro*, are ſaid to be the learnedſt *Grammarians* of all other: as alſo *Marcus Valerius*, *Probus*, and *Palemon*, the moſt audacious of the that euer profeſſed Letters, with many more beſide. And among the *Grecians*, who triumphed more then *Ariſtarchus*, *Ariſtotle*, *Theodotus*, and diuers others? all which were eſteemed admired *Grammarians*.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Paradoxe, maintaining by witty Arguments: That ſpeedy death is much better to be deſired, then a long & tedious date of life.

SO great is the diſaſter & miſerie of worldly occaſions; that long griefe, and ouer-burdenous cõpaſſion of them (without any other hope of ſpeedy amendment) hath made the better ſort of people to affirme and maintaine: *That it is more expedient for a Man (who feareth GOD) to wiſh for death quickely; then long to endure in theſe labourſome trauailes.* For albeit that death (the true Miniſter of Iuſtice, end of all vexations, and moſt aſſured way of our eternall health) performes no other good or fauour to Men; but takes them from the afflictions of this World, hindering them (thereby) from offending GOD moſt ſtrangely, and deliuering them from ſeruile ſubiection, being in the hands of rauenous, cruell, and bloody Tyrants: yet for this one and onely reaſon, hee is moſt highly to be extolled and praiſed. For, without this happy helpe, wee ſhould be miſerably condemned to vnſufferable pains, and altogether preſſed downe, or ſmothered, by vnreſiſtable ſtormes. Our hope (without this) would be quite quenched. And, without this) what is the Sinner, be he neuer ſo great a Prince or Lorde, not knowing, fearing, and regarding God? By

The lamentable condition of worldly affaires.

A definition of Death, and what good he performeth.

An eſpeciall reaſon to be conſidered.

By death we liue eternally; and by death we are freed from the prison of all sorrowes and mishaps.

A memorable custome obserued in *Thrace*.

This was the reason, why the ancient custome of *Thrace* was so deuoutlie obserued, that at the birth of euery Infant, they vsed great sorrow and lamentation. Contrariwise, when any (eyther aged in yeares, or of what time soeuer) died: They would make much ioy, triumph, and feasting, and (according to the parties Dignity) celebrated the Funerall, with sportes, plaies, and other varietie of pleasures. If such a barbarous Nation as this was (depriued of all vse of Philosophy, and good Letters) could doe so great an honour to death: Is it not a shame for vs, that call our selues Christians, and know, that our very best benefit came by his death, to whom we pretend both Faith and seruice: to be so wretchedly amorous of life, which is nothing else (according to the learned Poets opinion.) *But an obscure Prison, enthralling the best ennobled Spirits.*

Pindarus.

Fooliſh men doe couet long life.

Blessed Saint *Paule*, *The Vessell of election*, did not he desire to dye, *That hee might liue with his Lord and Maister?* Yet we (onely to compasse leysure, for committing ten thousand horrible excesses) make life our great God; adding daily one paine vpon another, and augmenting the Register of our numberlesse offences. Are not we so obstinately affected to this short and dangerous pleasure (if that may be called pleasure, which is the plaine high-way to euerlasting death) that for it onely: wee care not to loose the life celestiall, diuine, & (then which) the like can no way be so much as dreampt on? *Ezechiel* wished for speedy death; *That hee might ioy in the beauties and excellencies of Heauen.* But we couet long life, the more to entangle our selues in the filthes of this World. *Simeon*, that good, iust, and holy old man, *Desired death with all his heart*: But we (blinded, or depriued, euen of naturall discourse) hate Death, and speake all the euill we can imagine against it.

Ezechels desire of death.

Old *Simeon* desired death.

Wherefore (thinke ye) was it, that death was (by our Elders) called *Thanatos?* But onely in this respect: That (in the end) it makes vs all ioyfull, and wel pleased with that, which we ought most of all to desire. Are we then so ignorant and senceleſſe, as not to acknowledge the aboundance of benefits; which we gaine by beeing taken out of this so hatefull a Labyrinth? Do we not plainly perceiue, that he which escapeth longest, and tarrieth the longest while in this world; beholdeth (euery day) more troubles and discontentments, then reall ioyes, or true recreations?

Why death was called *Thanatos*.

If ye alleage vnto me, the nobleneſſe of Age and length of life, for great experience in things past, as seruing to discouer and approue them which follow after. Let me then aske ye, of how much happineſſe may we boast, in prooving our vnhappineſſe? Considering, that (whether we be well or ill-pleased) wee must patiently endure those thinges, which we canot tell how to shun: hearing that which our eares hateth, and seeing things, wherewith our eyes are most strangely offended.

An Allegation for old Age or length of life.

But what is that which we call olde Age; if not a continual dolour, and languishing disease? what other sir-names can we giue to aged men; but mouing Anatomies, or liuing Mortuaries? Filling them with so many distillations, & falling humors; as leaues them not one good houre, during the remainder of al their poore life time. If then, the verie memory of death, and hourely cogitation of our departure, makes such a certaine aduantage for vs, and assures vs infallibly, that we are (thereby) permitted immunity from sin: how much more then would deaths reall presence preuaile with vs?

What old age is.

Remembrãce of Death.

Who are more fearefull of death, then such, as neither know, nor vnderstand the faire straite passages thereof? which indeede are such, as all the art in Man canot corrupt or blemish; except (like a Monster, and no sensible Creature) he would deface al Histories both sacred and prophane. What had the famous *Romaine* people bin, if the valiant *Horatius Cocles* had feared death? If *Quintus Curtius* had bin fearfull and timorous, and had not preferred glorious death, before the irkesome life of the world: had not (but for him) the goodly Citty of *Rome*, bin subiect to the most daungerous Hell, as can be deuised to name vpon earth? VVhat shall I say of them,

Who they bee that are most fearefull of death.

Horatius Cocles and *Quintus Curtius*, two famous Romaines.

Cheerefull going to death.

them, who (for the freedome of their country) went cheerfully to death, with striking vp the drum, and the very highest sounds of the Trumpet, euen as if they had been bidden to some triumph? Did ye euer know a man (that feared death) worthy of so great an honour?

The Custome of some barbarous Nations.

For this cause was it, that ancient Historians so highly praised & applauded, the Custome of some barbarous Nations, who, with like promptitude and alacrity ranne to their death: as if they were to be presented in some publique triumphe, or other great pleasures and Iouiall spectacles. Why are the *Germaines* entred into such credit with vs, if it were not onely for this; that they are knowne to be a Nation, meerelie prodigall of their liues, and couetous of most precious death?

Of the *Germaines.*

Hee that gaue the first enstruction, for entermedling Musick with the harsh battery of warre; as Drummes, Phifes, Trumpets, Clarions, and Harps (albeit the vse of the Harpe is now altogether left) did it for no other occasion, but for a sound assurance to Souldiers: that to dye, was, as if a man were going to the Fountaine of all consolation; yea, euen to the perpetuall iouisance, of eternall and immortall Treasures with the highest. Conclude we then, that it much better auaileth to dye quickely, then long time to languish in this wretched world. Let vs also maintaine, that death is more noble and excellent, then life: Because his power extendeth ouer all, without any limit or exception; and in regard likewise, that he is the Maister Controler of this life. As, not without iust cause and good reason, a Philosopher (being demaunded what Death was) readily answered: *An accident and passage ineuitable, from which, neyther by teares, entreats, sighes, or the sweetest Kisses, we can be deliuered.*

The Musicke vsed in warre. The Authours Conclusion.

A Philosophers answere concerning death.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The saying of Plato familiarly interpreted, That Kings should be Philosophers, or Philosophers raigne.

THere are very many, who in reading good Authors, doe take thinges litterally, without any further rumination: which makes mee the more desirous, to interpret the saying of *Plato*, so often spoken of within these last two thousand yeares, by many learned and excellent Men. His words are these; *Those Common-weales shall be most happy, where Kinges be Philosophers, or Philosophers are found in the places of gouernment.* And because that diuers Men (especially such as are not conuersant in State affaires, doe wish for a King, who might altogether bee giuen to learning, and not to the pollicies fitting his Kingdome) greatlie abuse their iudgement heerein, for this would bee the totall ruine of his Monarchy: therefore I will set down some obseruation, what Philosophy it is that *Plato* meaneth, wherein a King ought to apply his studies, and wherby, there cannot but redound extraordinary good and profit to all his people.

Vpon occasion, that kings were addicted to vnprofitable readings.

This Diuine Man *Plato*, vnderstood not by a King Philosopher, a Prince so addicted and bent to studie, that if hee should chance to be deposed from his Dignitie; he might thereof make a benefit of liuing afterward. This humous appeared in *Dyonisius*, the younger (King of *Sarragossa*, and the greater part of the Isle of *Scicily*) Sonne to the affronter, and imposer of Nouell subsidies; for he beeing offended with his Subiects, and doubting least his estate would haue no long durance: fell to learne good Letters, to the end, that if he happened to be expulsed his Royalty; he might become a Schoole-Maister, for the better support of his life, as indeede (afterward) such fortune befell him. This his study of Philosophy, (which is as much to say, as the loue of wisedome) while he raigned King, proceeded but from a bad intention in him: for he had done much better, in effecting some worthy pollicies in his kingdome, then frequent vse of vices, and exercising tyranny, thereby to haue preuented the office of a Pedant, and liuing in such an abiect manner.

The ayme and intent of *Dyonisius* the yonger, in giuing himselfe to study.

Nero was enstructed (from his youth) in the three partes of Philosophy, and

Nero learned in Philosophy and Poesie.

beeing created Emperor, was skilfull in Poesie, much addicted to Musique, and to play on the Harpe: yet would hee say, that he could liue well, if he were deposed from the Empire. We find recorded, that many Princes were giuen to learning, as *Tiberius* and *Adrian*; who found good companions of *Ouids* loue-Books, and *Martiall* his Epigrams. But this is no part of Philosophizing, neyther labour of minde, how a Prince should liue after his falling.

Tiberius and *Adrian*, read *Ouids* Art of Loue.

For a King to bee a Philosopher, it consisteth in establishing his Throne so assuredly; that he may neuer sit tottering in it, or be shaken out of it. In rendring himselfe necessary to the comonwealth, as well by his vertues, as generous disposition; he sits safe from all deiection: carrying himselfe in such sort, like one that is a Tutor ouer many inferiours, as well in charge, as in correction, and (as he) when time respiteth his Office; then to take delight and recreation. Princes that read plenty of Books, doe it (oftentimes) for pleasure, rather then to deriue any obseruations thence, for profit of their people. And when they cherish learned men about them; it is onely in hypocrisie, and to let their Subiects vnderstand, that they are gouerned by their aduise, and by Men of knowledge. So dealt the fore-named *Dyonisius* the elder, as himselfe would often reueale, to such as were his familiar and intimate friends.

How a Prince ought to be a Philosopher.

Disimulation in som Princes

The Emperor *Commodus* (Sonne to *Marcus Antoninus*, and Emperour likewise) sir-named the Philosopher; was learned, and read ouer diuers Books of Philosophy: And yet notwithstanding, he could not refraine, from beeing the most detestable Emperour, which had beene before, or came after him. Contrariwise, his Successour, who had imployed all his life time, in exercising Marchandize about the sale of Wood or Billets: is numbred among the most bemoaned Emperors; and *Traiane* likewise (who scarcely could write his own name) was esteemed a very vertuous Prince and Emperor.

The Emperor *Commodus* made but bad benefit of his Philosophy.

Princes are not to be repured Philosophers, if they can reade lasciuious Bookes of Loue, or compose in in poetry; as *Thibaulte*, Earle of *Brie* & *Champaigne*, and *Raymond*, Counte of *Tolosa*, whose Poems are yet (at this day) to be seene, and they accounted rather ignorant, then learned Philosophers. This is no such Philosophy as ought to bee exercised: but that of true and especiall import, I will come now breefely to relate. It is to be vnderstood, that Philosophy is deuided into three distinct parts, to wit: into Phisicke, Logicke, and Morall Philosophy, according as *Cicero* saith in his Oratour. The first, aymeth onelie at an intire search into the obscuritie of Natures secrets. Logicke diueth into the subtilty of disputations and discourse. Morall Philosophy, speakes of Life and ciuill manners; & this is that which Kings ought to seeke after. The best exercising whereof, is neyther read or studyed in the Bookes of the *Romaines* Lawes, called Ciuill Law: For, how euer it produceth some honourable effectes, yet (questionlesse) it is the onely Motiue, whereby we enter into a Labyrinth of suits. Because, in not beeing built vpon one only piece, but running into diuersity of scantlings; ech man makes a cloak thereof after his owne fashion. Therefore, let Princes neuer meddle with such intricate matter, but referre the study thereof, to men destined for so troublesome a profession.

Ciccro. in Orat. The three parts of Philosophy

Which part of Philosophy is best in a King.

The first Lecture that a Prince ought to take, is out of sacred & vnreprouable writ; because (thereby) he shall learne knowledge both of God, & of himselfe; and that the beginning of true Philosophy, is the fear of God. Next, he ought (aboue all things else) to bring his people in obedience of the Magistrate, and the Magistrate of the Law, without any infringing or violation. We read of the *Æthiopians*, that at the receipt of their Lawes, they protested; that they would be subiect to those laws, & passe no other letters contrary to them. The people of *France*. when they place their K. in the seat of Iustice; they deliuer him a staffe in his right hand, on the toppe whereof is the figure of a hand: Giuing therby to vnderstand, that the K. should lend a strong hand to Iustice; and then they giue him a scepter in the left hand.

The first lesso for a Prince.

People ought to be subiect to the Magistrate, and the Magistrate to the Law.

Poetry is not reckoned to be Philosophy

He must study to quench ciuill warres in his Kingdome, if there be any, and preuent such as may ensue, vppon the least presumption or apparance; euermore

A king to keep his word with his subiects.

more keeping promise with his Subiects, for otherwise it may fall out, that delay and length of time, will bring his life and the State into great daunger. The death of *Henrie* the third, King of France, happened thorow euill counsell giuen him, and also to his Predecessour; as the Histories of Fraunce and Flanders (written according to truth) doe credibly declare: without crediting, what detestable *Machiauell* hath written on that Article. By the last ciuill warres in *Allemaigne*, the *French* brought their Frontiers into the Cities of *Mentz*, *Toula*, and *Verdune*, which are three goodly Imperiall Cities, and held by them to this day. They that are called the States of the Low Countries, and of Flanders, hardned by long Warres against their naturall Prince, vpon refusall of some serious requests: are become Cantonned; so that in cõmon opinion, the whole Countries haue suffered grieuously: all which had bin well eased, if no *Macchiauelist* had medled among them.

Wicked counsell of *Macchiauel.*

Of *Flanders* & the *Low Countries.*

As for strange warres, which a King may haue with other Princes; he must bee mindfull of Faith therein, for they are euer the least hurtfull. Prouided, that he do it in such sort, that being fortefied with alliance and Confederats, strength, and meanes; hee may haue peace when himselfe pleaseth. Euermore remẽbring, that he do not imitate *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, who couetting to make himselfe great, lost both his State and life together. And *Frances* the first, King of *Fraunce*, in seeking to ioyne *Millaine* and *Italy* to his Crown, was fondly taken Prisoner.

How a Prince ought to begin warre.

He must not likewise lend eare to some kinde of Courtiers, who commonly are prating, that a generous King should neuer be without war: For in time of their continuance, hee may impose great taxes and subsidies on his people, which the saide people, taking then to be a matter extraordinary; doe finde them (soone after) to hold on as ordinary. These meanes (indeede) may encrease his reuenewes; but somtimes they reach to troublesome rebellions, wherein the Prince looseth both his land and subiects. The leagued Countries of *Germany*, had neuer come vnder their Lords obedience; but for the like causes.

Taxations for warre ought not to be continued.

In like maner, he ought to make no Forts or Cittadels, except in case of very vrgent necessitie; for it doth but declare contempt and distrust, conceiued in the Prince against his people, procuring (oftentimes) a reuolt in the subiects, with desire to seeke a new Maister. As the like was imagined to haue happened at the good Cittie of *Lyons*, which hath euermore beene very obedient to her kings, and lent them strong aide in their necessities, when they haue beene thereto required. Neuertheless, through some bad counsell, and vppon small occasion, the Kings of *France* did build a Cittadell there, a meere retreate for alscelerates: who, by the cautels of diuers loose Captaines, too much diminishing the reuenewes of the *Dgoane*, and the Souldiers committed many insolencies in the Citty, viciating diuers Virgins, & making pillage of all things. Which was the cause, that the men of *Lyons* arose to ruinate this Cittadell, that serued for nothing else but wicked purposes. And albeit they were sollicited to take a new party, yet would they not yeild thereto; but kept themselues in obedience to their King, being contented with the demolition of the Cittadell, how euer the king otherwise mistrusted them. Such Cittadels ought not to be erected, but in countries newly conquered, and not in ancient and obedient Cities, whence Princes can receiue nothing, but commodity & pleasure. Nor ought he to exercise prodigality, or giue immense gifts, especially to such people as haue no merit: for wee know very well, that it is the blood and labour of the people, which is so prodigally wasted. And for offending in such manner, some Kings haue been deiected from their Thrones; as hapned to *Edw.* King of *England*, second of that name, in the yeare 1325. who affected nothing but the Family of the *Spencers*, giuing them all great confiscations, and the Mony of his subsidies. These extreame and vnsufferable courses, raised his Queene, Sonne and people against him, who were punished with death, & the King (at length) strangled.

The erection of Cittadels do but cause hatred in the people.

* The name of the custom-house at *Lyons.*

Lyons impacientlv endured the Cittadell.

Prodigality is very odious in a Prince, when he giueth immeasurably to vnworthy m€.

Adde we hereto, that it is a great blemish and deformity in any King, not to bee liberall: for a couetous Prince is contemned of euery one, and hath few

Couetousnesse discommendable in a King.

A Prince should inquire what is reported of him.

Friends. He should informe himselfe, what is reported of him, to vnderstand who are malecontent, and who pleased, prouiding for both in good discretion. As (very wisely) did *Phillip*, King of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, who was informed, that an auncient Knight (following his Court) did nothing but speak badly of him, and raised diuers enemies against him. The King comming couertly to know the cause of this obloquy; heard the old Knight complaine, that he had imployed both his youth, age, and vttermost meanes in the Kings seruice, whereby he was not onely growne poore, but also vnregarded. The K. well noting so foule a fault in himselfe, prouided for the Knight in such gracious manner: that he had not (formerly) so greatly reproued him, but now he did much more exalt him. Whē the King heard thereof, he said to euery one about him; *I was the sole cause of the Knights iust complaint, but hence-forward I will take order, that others shall not haue the like aduantage against me.*

A gracious & worthy mind in a King.

He must be careful to constitute some bad man in great authority, and to haue rule in his Kingdome, euen as his Lieutenant: to the end, that he may bear all the blame, and if the people fall into commotion, they may rest contented with killing him, and so the K. shall remaine safe. This is the Philosophy of Maister *Macchiauell*, a matter verie dangerous; for hereby, both the one & other may well loose their liues. As we may read in the History of *England*, that King *Richard* accusing his Earle Marshal to the people, to be the onely cause of Subsidies, and robbing them of their Monies, seeming willing to content the people; he banished him the Land. Which man, could finde no place of safety, either in *Fraunce*, *Flanders*, *Allemaigne*, nor thorow all *Europe*, where to make his abiding. After this bad man, the king committed the gouernment of his kingdom to four other Men, against whom, the people conceiued as great hatred, as before they had done against the Earle Marshall. Which caused the saide *Richard* to be imprisoned; where those foure men were beheaded before his prison window, and he himselfe (afterward) lost his life.

The bad and dangerous counsell of *Macchiauell*.

The cause why *Richard* King of England was cruelly murdred.

He shold study, not to be ouer dreadfull to his Subiectes, nor too familiar; for the one begetteth hatred, and the other contempt. He should punish the wrongs of other men, and be sparing in his owne. As did good King *Lewes* of *France*, the 12. who in the time when he was but Duke of *Orleance*, hauing some enmity with King *Charles* the eight, and seeking to seaze the Citty of *Orleance*, for security of his own person, least the King should further labour to disquiet him: the Citizens made fast their gates against him. It happened, notwithstanding many trauerses and misfortunes; this Duke came to the Crowne, after decease of the said King: And then the people of *Orleance* came to entreat him, not to remember precedent accidents, but graciously to grant them pardon. The King made answere, that he had forgotten all iniuries doone him: but wished them afterward to be carefull, how they offended another man. After that *Hanball* with-drew himselfe from *Italie*, the *Romaines* found no better means of raigning in quiet for the time to come: then by forgetting those iniuries, which they had receiued by the Common-weales of *Italy*, that had ioyned with *Hanball* in making the warre.

Not to be ouer terrible, nor too familiar to his subiects.

A History of the Duke of *Orleance*.

An answere truly & rightly Royall.

In quarrels among great men hee ought not to entermedle, to support one side more then the other: but cause them to lay downe their Armes, by his absolute authority, and seek best means to reconcile them. For, in formalizing himselfe, more for the one then the other, it hath many times occasioned intestine war, and sometimes the losse of Royal dignity, as hath too often happened both in *France* and *England*.

How he ought to behaue himselfe in other mens quarrels

He should not be addicted to wine, but shun drunkennesse as poyson. For a King being drunke, is like a Lion, or any other furious beast, that bites and teares the first he meets withall. It causeth beside, that the K (hauing his spirits fiered and troubled with wine) may kil some one man in that fury, or otherwise so offend him: as may afterward endaunger both his Royall person and the State. He must moderate choller, so much as in him possible lieth, without vsing either a Sword or Staffe. Imitating heerein the Bees, whose King hath no sting at all: For choller and fury are the chiefe hinderers, that the soule cannot

A king should shun drunkennesse.

Anger and choller very dangerous.

not forme her functions according to reason.

Whoredome and incontinency abhominable in a King.

Incontinency, whoredome, and obscenity, should be detestible to him, and for his better support, he must frequent no luxurious company, nor haue any such person about him, whose ordinary talk is euermore thereto enclining; but such, whose speech is alwaies vertuous. Luxury makes a man dull, neglect, and effeminate, and a King (giuen to that vice) should rather carry a distaffe, then a Scepter. *Sardanapalus*, King of *Assiria*, lost his life, by being ouer-greedily giuen to this sin. So did *Nero*, Emperor of *Rome*. King *Frances*, first of that name, became very vnhealthfull in his aged daies, by being too much addicted to this vice; and yet otherwise, he was vertuous, and a louer of learning.

Examples of vnchast life.

Where the treasure Royall most consisteth.

Being affected of his Subiects, for his good life, his treasury is the purse of his people, who will succour him liberally when he shall haue any needfull occasion. Which, in our memory, and not long since, *Elizabeth*, that famous Q. of *Eng.* found to be true. For in al her time, she neuer oppressed her people, but declared her selfe to be the liuely Mirrour of true Maiesty. And therefore, when there came a very potent Army (verie strongly bent against her and her Kingdomes) such as (in humaine iudgment) was likely to preuaile: yet her subiects Bounty & Loue (next to heauens blessing) stood so strongly to her, that when her enimies supposed her ruine neerest, they were shamefully foyled, and she gloriously triumphed. *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, two great Monarches, made themselues mighty, not by their Money (for they had none at all, or at least very little, at their first aduenturing) but were only assisted by friends, and the purse of their people. Whereas on the contrary, *Darius* and *Crœsus*, two Kings that had aboundance of treasure, and no loue of their people; were brought into most miserable condition.

Examples of loue & bounty in Subiects to their Princes.

War enterprised farre off, cannot be but full of losses.

Let him not be easily led, to beleeue some Courtiers, men affected in the search of nouelties, vsing perswasion, to attempt Conquests and far off voyages; as crossing the Seas, either to *Barbarie*, *Asia*, and the foure quarters of the world, 500. a thousand, or two thousand leagues distant from his own kingdome, and ther to make war: such warrs doe (oftentimes) beget the totall ruine of his owne estate. As hapned to King *Lewes of France*, ninth of that name, who lost a goodly Army of Noble-men and braue Souldiers in *Syria*, himselfe also beeing there taken Prisoner, to the no little cost of his owne Kingdome. After his returne home, he would needes be gone thither againe: but he died before the Citty of *Thunis*, and lost the verie greatest part of his Army.

Diuers true & well knowne Hiſtories tending to this purpose.

By perswasion of the *Genewaies*, *Charls* King of France, the sixt, sent an Armie into *Barbarie*, against the chiefe Cittie of *Affrica*: but one part of the French dyed there thorow Famine, and by inclemency of the aire, and the rest returned home, not hauing performed any one act of honour. *John* of *Bourgongne*, Counte of *Neuers*, was sent with a worthy French army into *Epire*, against *Baiazeth*, Emperour of the *Turkes*, in assistance of the *Hungarians*: but there hee was surprized, and kept as Prisoner, with the Constable of France, and diuers others, and the whole French Armie quite defeated. *Lewes* of *France* the twelfth, sent an army against the *Turks*, that besiedged *Mitylene*, a Cittie in the Isle of *Lesbos*: but vtterly in vaine, for he lost (well neere) all his people. Notwithstanding, if a King make a league against any Infidell Prince, and that all Christian Princes (or the more part of them) are thereto likewise mooued and sollicited, vpon good reason: the King ought to contribute both Men and Money, but not to goe in person, except hee haue an assured peace with all his Neighbour Princes. Now, albeit a King had conquered a farre-off Country, yet scarcely knowes he how to keepe it for any long time: because the manners of strangers will hardly agree with theirs of that Countrey, and then the building of Cittadels is to be talkt on, but yet he must Philosophize how to maintaine them. It much better for any King, to sustaine himselfe vpon the forces of his men of armes, and fidelity of his Subiects; then on the strongest wals he can build. Which the *Lacedemonians* practised, by the aduise of *Lycurgus*. But after they had engirt the Cittie of *Sparta* with Walles, and gaue themselues wholely to the forti-

Exceptions in this case to be obserued.

No trust to be reposed in strong wals, but in the faith and power of men.

fying of places: thence forward, their Common-weale grew to bee iust nothing. The Turke practiseth the verie same yet to this day. The first Cantons of the *Suitzers*, had neuer any wals, and were no other then great Villages; for they relyed more vppon their strength, then any trust in wals.

What profit a Prince should make of reading.

But it may be alleaged vnto me, that it is good for a King to read, to the end, he may learne something, as other men doe, and as other Kings haue formerlie done. This I approoue, and do no way mislike, at such times as he is not to bee more seriously imployed: For, a King that will well discharge his duty, shall find very little time of respit or leisure. Bookes that discourse on matter of good manners, should then be most familiar with him: becausse, in them hee shall learne such lessons, as no man else dare be so bold as to teach him.

Concerning Bookes of Histories.

As for Bookes of Histories, he must haue choise and plenty of them, becausse in reading such as are another mans Collections, that neuer saw, or came where they were acted: they cannot alwaies talke of truth, in regard, that hee giueth credit but to what he finds in another mans Papers, and Writers, will (vsually) speak fauourably of their owne occasions. If they be Histories, concercerning the time when the Authour liued: he wil be sure to fauor the Prince, and the party which hee best affected, or to whom he was Pentioner. As may be noted in *Paulus Iouius*, the *Italian*, and *Sleydan*, the *Germaine Historian*, who haue written well enough: except whē they fall into some particular matters, as of Religion, or such like; there they are euidently perceiued to wander, in speaking partially, or out of priuate affection. Likewise, he should not iudge of good and lawfull enterprises, according to the bad succesſe they haue had, or so to condemne them: neither, whē affaires haue bin ill grounded, & worse mannaged, to repute them good, becausse they haue passed with fortunate euents. Therefore it behoueth any Prince, to read Histories, with good and deliberate iudgement.

Bookes of Histories are to be read with good deliberation and judgement.

Concerning the reading of some Princes.

Alexander Seuerus (at an houre of leisure) would read *Platoes* Commonwealth, the Offices of *Cicero*, and sententious *Horace*. Wise *Scipio*, when occasion serued, would read the Institutions of *Cyrus*, proposed by *Xenophon*. *Charles* the fift, Emperour, neuer reade any Authour, but *Phillip de Commines*, who wrote the life of King *Lewes* the eleauenth. I would not be mistaken herein, as (seeking by these allegations) to restraine a Prince from reading, or limit him none other, but these Bookes onely. But I say, that the principall Bookes, and those which bee most necessary for him: are such, as do discourse on the affaires of State, and of matter belonging to the Common-wealth.

To make a Bridge of mony into the enemies countrey.

Many times, it fals out, to bee more expedient for a Prince, to buy a Town by intelligence, or giuing Mony to the Enemy: then to take it by force of armes, though it cost him not so much; so is the Land sure to be no way ruinated.

Alwaies to be prouided of men for warre

To conclude, let a King stand vppon his Guards, and haue assured and trusty people about him; euermore ready, least occasion should present it selfe, & he be suddenly surprized: such as were the *Legionaries*, or those trained Souldiers, instituted by King *Frances*, first of that name.

Humility auaileth more thē glory.

And for conclusion to his Philosophy, he should be little, or of least reckoning in his owne eye, how great or potent soeuer hee appeareth to other. As it happened to *Alexander*, who had no sooner ended his Conquests in the East, but (standing vpon his own pride) he was cast downe, and poysoned by his owne Followers. *Baiazeth*, the verie greateſt Emperor of all the *Turkes* that were before him: was vanquished, chained, and carried about in a Cage of Iron, by *Tamberlaine*, King of the *Tartares*, who was but a Neat-heard, by his first profession.

The Authours conclusion of Kings Philosophy.

Behold (in sumine) what Philosophy Princes ought to learne, which is not so much comprized in Bookes; as it is the braine (prouided of good and solid iudgement) the feare of God beeing alwaies principally preferred. So shall the saying of *Plato* be truely found in them: *That Kinges ought to be Philosophers, or Philosophers raigne.*

The end of the third BOOKE.

The Fourth Booke.

Chap. I.

Of the Kingdome of Persia; *Nature of the Country and People; Condition of their Court, Lawes, and Commonwealth affaires, &c.*

Siras the chief Citty of *Persia*

Persia hath caried the same name, from the beginning to this day, containing it in these seueral Regions, *Lar* and *Requelmall*. The principall Citty thereof is called *Siras*, in elder times tearmed *Persepolis*; which is gouerned by the Sophy, Great Lord of all *Persia* and *Azimia*, called (by our Elders) *Assyria*; and the Kingdom of *Dearbech*, sometime named *Mesopotamia*; and *Seroan*, that was *Media*; and *Parthia*, now called *Iex*; with *Hirca*, now tearmed *Coraxan*; And *Sarmania*, now *Dulcendana*; and *Asia*, at this instant called *Hetti*. All these Regions, with the greater *Armenia* (which is a part also of them) are gouerned by the Great Sophy, and the greatest or largest Citty vnder his command, is named *Tauris*, being built in the midst of the Mountaine *Taurus*, foure Dayes iourney off from the *Caspian* Sea. Next vnto *Tauris*, there are other Cities beside; as *Soltania*, *Concassan*, *Saphan*, *Corazan*, *Lera*, *Mora*, *Sarmachaud*, *Gesti*, *Far*, *Siras*, and *Ormuz*, a City in the *Persicke* Sea, which at this day, is called *Mare Mistndia*. In this Citty, is great Commerce of Merchants, made with the *Portugals*, and there they Fish for great abundance of Pearles. There are also other Citties, as *Cureh*, *Iex*, *Casmine*, and *Coy*, with infinite Castles. On the west-side of the Cittie *Tauris*, are the *Caspian* Mountaines, which bee now called the Mountaines of *Ararat*: And on the *Bacchan* Sea (aunciently named the *Caspian* Sea) are these Cities; *Summachia*, *Derbent*, *Bacchan*, and *Mamutaga*. All these Prouinces, and their Regions, are very barren, because they haue small store of Riuers: the greatest whereof, is cald *Bindarin*, but (in former times) they entitled it *Bragada*. The people of these Regions, are warlicke, ciuil, and very valiant men: ther is not so much ciuility found in al *Asia*, as in these people, but they are al Mahumetists.

Commerce of Merchandize, and fishing for Pearles.

The nature & qualitie of their people.

The best breed of Horsses in the world.

Zenophon concerning their gouernement.

Bad people seuerd from the good and vertuous.

These Prouinces do produce the best Horses that are to be found in the world. And there they make the best steele Armors, that is in any Lande, which are made at a place called *Azimina*, where there is great abundance of Silke. As concerning the Gouernment heere obserued, *Zenophon* (speaking of those elder dayes) saith; That they haue a certaine cheese place, called by them, *Freedome*; wherein standeth the Kings Pallace, and all the houses of the cheefest men Neere vnto this, ther is such another void place made fit for Merchants, and things to be sold by Mercenary Artificers, seuered farre off one from another, to the end, that such as are addicted to vertue and Liberall Arts, may not be molested with fooles,

The Gouernment of the great Sophy.

fooles, and their ydle chatting; besides, beastly people, and the rude misgouernd multitude, may not presume to meddle with them.

Foure Courts for foure degrees of people.

The Market-place of Freedom or Liberty, is deuided into foure parts or habitations, and are tearmed Courts. In one, dwelleth young Children: In the second, Youths without Beards: in the third, men of mature yeares: and in the fourth, such as (by Age) are no more able or bound to follow the warres. Each of these (by Law) hath his place and exercise: the Children and men do assemble together daily, in their seuerall quarters; but the Olde men not so often, but only vpon some appointed dayes. The young men, with such Armes as they are allowed to exercise, doe tend about the the Princes dwelling in the Night time; except they be such as haue wiues, who, not being subiect to such commaund, is fauoured for the Night-seruice. But they account it not honest but rather a shame and disgrace, to be ouer-soone married. Each Court hath twelue *Præfects*, acording to the number of the *Persian* tribes. To the Children, are old graue men appointed, apt for their better continuance in good manners: and such men likewise to the youthes, as (by their Vertue) can yeild them best example of immitation. For, the men of riper yeares, there are Gouernors elected, that by conformitie of their passed liues, and regular sway of authority, may holde good disposition with them, not anie way to swerue from the wil and direction of their Prince, but doe containe them in verie facile obedidience.

12. *Præfects* allowed to each Court, & their seueral officers

The exercises of each age & degree.

The Children are enstructed in Schooles.

The exercises of each age and degree (to the end that euerie man may knowe, with what care and industry he must become a good Cittizen) are these. The Children of *Persia* (like to ours) doe attaine to Learning in Schooles, and there they are taught to vnderstand, what it is to liue according to Iustice and honesty. Such as are their Gouernors there, doe spend the most part of the day, in iudging and giuing sentence on such Delictes, as are reported one of another. Such as are accused of Theft, Rapine, Violence, Deceit, Dishonest Language, and such like offences, being found innocent in these Crimes, the false accusers, are presently punished. Aboue all other Vices, Ingratitude is most seuearely chastised, as being the occasion of infinite shames among men. And he that is found negligent, in returning like thankfulnesse for a benefit receiued, they sticke not publickly to maintaine, that out of this Vice, issueth contempt of the immortall Gods, their Countrey, Parents, and Friends: & finally, that it is the head and manifest originall of all other euils whatsoeuer. Beside this, they learne to liue temperately, and for inducement thereto, they repute example of the most ancient, to bee best auaileable, and the beholding of their temperate behauiour.

Ingratitude is seuerely punished.

Of liuing temperately.

In like manner, with no great difficultie, they are incited to continencie, with abilitie to endure both hunger and thirst: by seeing men of such graue yeares, not part away thence to eating or drinking, without license obtained of the *Præfects*. They eate not in the Mothers company, but alwayes with their Maisters: for their diet is brought to the School, whiche is Breade and Hearbes, commonlie called * *Nasturtium*. Little need of drink haue they, because they vse nothing but Water, vntill the age of sixteene yeares. They haue Bowes and Arrowes, wherewith they practise shooting, and afterward are sent to dwell among the * *Ephehy*, who are young youths, that likewise haue, and do still lead the same kinde of life.

Children eate not in their mothers sight.

*Water-Kars, or Watercresses.

*Striplings of 15. yeares old.

Their attendance and sleepe time, is as we haue already said, about the Princes Lodgings, and as well for a Watch or guard to the Citty, as also to preuent such Luxuries, which commonly do ouer-abound in these young years, except they be holpen by diligent solicitude, & verie stirring exercises. In the day time, they waite vpon their *Præfects*, to the end that they may bee alwaies in readinesse. When the King rides on hunting (which happens diuers times in the month) one part of them do go along with him, carrying each man his Bow, and Quiuer of Arrowes, his Axe or Long Sworde, his Shield, and two Dartes: one readie to draw, and the other to hold in his hand, as well to defend as offende with them. The King, as in a vision of a King, euen so in Hunting, he is the Captaine, pursuing the chase with greatest dilligence, and commanding all the rest what is necessary to be done. So that this exercise, appeareth

The attendāce of the youths.

The Kings riding on Hunting, and how attended.

Hunting compared to warfare.

peareth like vnto warre, by carefull foresight, to keepe a good houre of rising in the morning, to endure both colde and heate, to run after Wild-Beasts; and (by the sharpenesse of a sauage Countrey) to make the body able to euery labor. They are likewise (manie times) enforced, to awaite the wilde Beasts comming against them, respecting alwayes, that if hee be more powerfull then he was reputed, they may all stirre presently, exercising still that small respit of time, euen as if they were in the Campe for battaile.

Euerie man beares his own prouision.

Euery man carries his own food with him; and yet they eate not before the houre of supper time, except they haue leysure to stand still awhile, in expectation of some wilde Beastes comming, or haue giuen better order for the Chase. When they haue supt, the next day following they pursue still the Game, vntill the same houre of Supper againe, euermore without feeding, making two daies together but one, in respect of eating: which habitude is also most profitable in Warre, respecting times, which often do enforce a great scarsitie of Victuals.

In the time of dearth or Famine.

If there bee any dearth, then they vse to temper their bread, with the aforesaide *Nasturtiam*, for no man there will eate, till vrgent hunger compell him. Farre differing from them, that care not what excesse they feede Gluttony withal, who can neuer iudge truly, how little woulde serue, or be really delightfull to Nature: like to him that can please appetite with simple Bread, or a poore small Cake, & seekes not to slake thirst with Wine, but harmelesse water.

Concerning such as remain in the Cittie.

They that remaine at home in their houses, for safegard of the Cittie, haue publick places appointed, for like exercises in them. They haue a care of all occasions, euen from verie Childe-hood, to see them vse their Bowes, hurle their Darts, and exercise Armes. They that are most vertuous, wise, learned, and actiue of person, doe carry greatest Commendation, and are honoured of the people; not onely the *Præfects*, but euen such also, as haue bin any occasion (by their diligence) of their education from Child-hood, they carry worthie Commendation, and are contained in highest fauour.

Who are most commended and honored.

In cases of vrgent necessity, who are imployed.

If any lewd Offender should be sought for, any Theefe apprehended, or speedy succour sent to some needefull place, in dealing with these occurrences, vvhich require hast and strength of bodye; the Gouernors make vse of none but young lusty men, who (hauing bin trained ten yeares in such Disciplines) are ranked among the number of men, that (to the age of fiue and twenty) haue hadde the Gouernment of them, as the Præfectes had of their Childe-hood, euer to make them ready for seruice of the Commonwealth. When they go in battell order, they vse neither Bowes, Darts, or Weapons, to offend a farre off: but ech mans brest is armed with a Cuirace, his shield vpon his arme, and so he confrontes his Enemy, either with his Axe, or with his Sword. The Heads or Commanders, are all *Præfectes*, yet none of them abide in the Citty, hauing care of the yong Children and youth.

When they go to battaile.

What they do at the age of fifty yeares.

When they haue past this time, and attained to the age of fiftie yeares, they are placed among the old men, sent forth no more to warre: but rest in their countrey, where they elect Præfects, ordaine Iudges for publicke and priuate causes, and likewise (as Iurors) do passe vpon the liues of men, that sentence may be giuen vpon euery delict, acording as the crime appeareth by due euidence, in which cases, euerie man offended, hath free liberty to accuse. He that stands condemned in the whole course of his life, is reputed most infamous. The whole Common-Wealth of the *Persians*, containeth in it an hundered and twentie thousande men.

None are denied instruction in the publicke Schooles.

There is no prohibition, of being instructed in the publicke Schooles, where Iustice is truely taught, neither is it forbidden by any Lawe, but that a man (by his Vertues) may attaine to dignitie and honor, no exception is made, but onely want of Vertue. Yet let me tell ye, most choise is made of Rich mens sonnes for the Schooles, not because their Parents haue least need, but that themselues are sooneste infected with Vices. And poore mens sonnes (for necessity of common maintenance) are sent to Shoppes, to learne Mercenarie exercises, whereby to liue.

Difference betweene rich & poore mens sonnes.

The Children that haue been instructed in the Disciplines fore-named, may conuerse with the *Ephebi*, but not the others. The *Ephebi*, that haue liued according

ding to the Lawes, may likewise abide among the men, and attaine to Honours and Magistracie. And these men, after they haue liued according to the *Persian* Discipline, may go amongst the Oldest Men, who hauing liued (all their time) with greatest Iustice, are most woorthie and excellent Citizens in the Commonwealth.

Order of descent from one degree to another.

An expresse note of abstinence in the *Persians*, is, that they can endure labour enough, yet liue moderately. But among vs, there is little or no respect at all, albeit they hold it for the greatest infamy, to spet in company, or make clean the nose, and to voide Vrine publickely, or do any such Offices in open sight. All which, we might easily shun, if wee would eate but little, and the grosse natural humors of the bodie, would consume themselues by labour and exercise of the body.

The Persians temperate life, is a great blemish to ours.

In these daies, all things in the world being altred, the *Persians* make their wars with most vnindifferent course, and (for ought I can perceiue) bad conditions, because as they haue a wonderful Cauallerie, so they haue no certaine power of Infanterie or Footmen, either ordinarie or aged. By which part of strength, the Turke (euen in our times) hauing gotten many notable victories, and being neuer foyled in any place; hath brought verie great and important warres to end. It is a matter also verie vnbeneficial to the *Persians*, that they vse no Shotte, neither abounde in any Artillerie on Carriages; with which terrible helpe, euery attempt is sooneste concluded. As was too wel exampled, by the vnhappy proofe of *Vsan-Cassanus*, and of *Ismaell*, whose Cauallery were then honourably victorious. Lately also, in the *Caldean* Fields, and (in memory of our Fathers) at *Harsenga* and *Euphrates*, where they could not endure the great and vn-accustomed noise of their Horsses, in that most cruel & bloodie Tempest. Wherefore, in no place may the armed man of *Persia*, compare with the Turke, if he were disarmed. Because the *Persian* is (of all parts) couered with a scalie Cuirace; his Panciere or Belly-peece, of Iron; his buffied Helmet strongly creasted, and hung thicke with Feathers, his Shield or Target rounde, and curiously embellished with Golde. But the Turke of *Europe*, as vtterly vnarmed, is scarsly halfe couerd with a round bended Target, after the manner of the *Asian* Shieldes, inter-wouen with Reeds, subtilly sweetned with Cinnamon, and embroidered with Silke of sundrie Colours. The *Persian* likewise couereth his arme and right hand, with a false sleeue and Gauntlet of Steele, galloping with a Launce of Ash, which hath two points; and being met in the middest, (after the Moores fashion) oftentimes beares off the blowe on high, for easier passage of the men and Horse disarmed. But, the Turke (according to the *Grecian* vse) placing his Launces butt-end in his flanke, and stouping it vnto his horses eare (like them that are made of light and brittle Firre) runnes swiftly vppon the spurre, breakes it at the first blow, and so passing on to the enemies Armie, is constrained to lay hand to his Semitar, or to his iron Mace, as vnable to gouerne the *Persians* furie. For, they are mounted on great & verte strong horses, that haue their foreheads armed with Iron, and their bodies couered with sodden Leather hides (after the manner of the Italians Cappariſons) plaited together in narrowe foldes, and stuffed with Bumbast or Silke, to beare off euery blow falling thereon. In which regard, no one of them (except ouer-audaciously) will compare the best *Persian*, either with the Archer on Horse-backe, or foote-Soldier of the Turk. For he being armed with a big strong Bowe, full of manie knotted Nerues; drawes an Arrowe of good roundnesse, after the *Tartars* manner, and his fall is almost deadly.

The *Persian* Lances varrying from the Turkes.

The Persians order of warre in these dayes

The *Persians* Caparisons for their great horses.

Their want of footmen.

Their lacke of Shot & great Ordinance.

The Bowes vsed by the Turkes.

All these thinges being equally compared together, the armie of the Sophie, euen bounde and deuoted to the King, (by an opinion of a high and Diuine minde, and by a certaine Religious Sacramentall reason) not being fearefull of death in any place, although it bee inferiour to the Turkes in number, might seeme inuincible, if it were not oppressed by Treacherous and vnworthie men of valour, furie of Artillerie, and vnvsual multitudes of men.

Example of *Vsan-Cassanus* and *Ismael*.

The Sophies army seemeth inuincible.

I finde, that the principall occasion, why *Ismael* brought so many Prouinces (by glorious Armes) vnder one sole Emperie, yet with lesse number of Soldiers then others would beleeue (especially against *Ottoman*, who ouer-ran the countrey so farte as *Armenia*, and wasted all things:)

The reason of *Ismaels* great successe in war

Difference betweene the Turks arming and the *Persians*.

things) was onely this: Hee released all Tributes, and tooke away euery taxation (onely to purchase fame by liberality) euen vpon his very entrance. And it much imported this new King then, so to doe, because (by force of Armes) he expulsed the lawfull heires, from the State and Empire, after *Vsan-Cassanus* the Grandsire, and *Iacoppo* their Father. In which respect, hee was euer needie of Money; and therefore, when any warre arose, he brought forth no Armies, combined by their strong and iust Nerues, albeit the countries of the East (abounding in manie things) beside such diuersitie of rich Kingdomes) benignlie and largely wold haue affoorded supply of pay, for all necessaries belonging to life and warfare. Quite contrary to *Solymans* case, who cõtinually was serued with Infanterie and Horsemen, Maisters of the Artillerie, Captaines of the Army, and all such beside, as were either Officers for the field, or attended in his Pallace, who were daily and monthly paid by the treasurer, that deliuered forth monies. Nor in this case is there any want of Treasuries, because that in *Constantinople* there are seuen Towers or Castles, which containe in them inestimable mountains of mony, both of gold and Siluer, with perpetual entrance yearely, of so many tributes and taxations, as do exceed all expences whatsoeuer, by the fourth part.

Ismael alwayes very needie of mony.

Solyman was in much better condition.

Seauen Towers ful of mony.

Among the *Persians* there are 3. sorts of Soldiers, to wit, of the Guard; of men vnder commaund; and of voluntarie assistants. Those of the Guard, are at a certain pay, and are dieted at the Kings cost, and he likewise (according to an auncient Custome) and at certaine times of the year, obserued in writing, as an ouerplus of bounty; giues them Armor, horses, Garments, Pauillions or Tents for the field, and victuals. At these times, being attended with a goodly companie of Lords, as also the Soldiers at commaund, and brauest voluntaries: hee maintaines the reputation of a frequent Court, and Progracing vnto places of best maintenance, proceedeth on to visit the most Noble Cities of the Prouinces. When ther is no wars, the *Dinasti*, *Lords*, *Detrarchi*, and *Feudataries* of ancient Nobility (who enioy the Signories of the Castles and Countries, giuen by their elders; do find all the prouision in Prograce; or if it be giuen them by the King, it is collected againe by Edict. They do also whatsoeuer else is commaunded them, according to the same reason, or equality in condition; as (vniuersally) al the Nobilitie in *Spaine*, *Fraunce*, and *Italy*, doe vse to serue their Lord and King withall.

Three kinds of Soldiers in *Persia*.

Liberality to the Kinges Guard.

In times when there is no warre.

The number of the Soldiers is great, and when they are in Armes, they resort to their Ensignes: but if a diligent inquiry be made, they neuer amount to 20000. Horse: Nor doe the third part of them, (furnished in such rich manner, as wee haue before declared) go so to battel; for all the rest are contented with their Helmets, Mantles (of hard and thick-wouen stuffe) wrapped about them, and couered with sundry shields; their fight is onelie with the Lance and Bow. For they haue now learned to helpe those former kinde of Armes, and according as place & occasion requireth, do hurl the shield ouer the shoulder, to receiue the Launce of a pursuing enemy, and stands vpon his defence before, with his Bow and Arrows. Those Shields which are truely saide to come from *Persia*, and from the Royall City of *Sciros* (where Armor is made of most excellent temper, and verie wortlsy wormanship) are reputed to be of cheefest estimation.

The Persian Soldiers great in number.

The Persians are altered frõ their first armes.

Next vnto these, are the neighboring *Assyrians*, by authority of name: & therefore the Kingdoms of the *Medes & Parthians*, do affoord the verie best and valianteſt Archers, beyond all other, except the *Tartars*. But the *Armenians*, do couet most of all to fight on foot, & write them selues of the Infanterie. For they plant (vpon the ground) a long preparation of Shields, great and plaine, euen as if they had a Rampier before them, and so defend themselues against the furie of the Horsemen, fighting with Pikes, and very short Axes, as also Bowes and arrowes; yea, many times they fight both neer and far off, with Slings that haue short handles. People that come to helpe them, as voluntaries, are sent out of *Iberia* and *Albania*, who are their confederate Kinges, and neighbor vpon *Media* and *Armenia*, beeing (for the most part) halfe Christians, and therefore do maintaine equall hatred against the *Ottomans*, and warre against them.

The *Assyrians* neighbours to the *Persians*.

The fighting of the *Armenians*.

Voluntaries sent from confederate Kings

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Against Iulius Cæsar, *becauſe in his Commentaries of the Warres in Gaule, he oftentimes calleth the Gaules (at this day French-men) Barbarians.*

The eſpeciall occaſion of this Chapter.

THat which I haue purpoſed to handle in this Chapter, proceedeth not either from affection, or ouer-great animoſity: but rather to defend (againſt the *Spaniard*, *Italian*, or *Greeke*) the famous Kingdome of *France*. For, when they are growne diſcontented with the *French*, or be chafed, and ouer-come by them in warre; they ſpightfully terme them *Barbarians*, Inciuill, and Saluages, and ſay, they learned it of *Iulius Cæſar*. Now, to diſcuſſe whether it bee true, or no, that the whole Ciuility of the world was amongſt the *Romaines*, and that the *Gaules* hadde not as much or more then they; it remaineth vpon ſufficient proofe and triall. Althogh that *Iulius Cæſar* was a great Captaine, hauing all thoſe good partes in him, which are required in an Emperour yet notwithſtanding, it may plainly bee noted, that beeing vnable to effectuate his Conqueſtes in *Gaule*, hee therefore calles it a light Nation, inconſtant and barbarous.

All Ciuility among the *Romaines*.

Iulius Cæſar was an excellent Captaine.

The firſt reaſon was (as I thinke) beecauſe they vſed humaine Oblations in their Sacrifices, ſacrifiſing ſometimes their Children, other-whiles their ſlaues, and verie often themſelues, vppon ſome Vow or ſolemne Oath taken: for vanquiſhing their enemies in Warre, or for ſom other ſpeciall matter. Which I muſt needs confeſſe to be a great cruelty, and farre from all humanity: albeit that in thoſe times, in al parts of the world, they vſed the ſame manner of ſacrificing. And yet the *Romaines* did much worſe heerein, then all other Nations whatſoeuer. For, from all Antiquity, in the Country of the *Latines* (where *Rome* is built) they threw manie men off a bridge, into the Riuer of *Tiber*, hauing their Feete and hands faſt bound, to honour their ſacrifices of *Saturne*. Nor would they otherwiſe maſſacre or diſpatch them, in regard of an ancient Oracle (as *Varro* ſaith) the laſt Verſe, whereof contayneth thus much: *Send the cheefeſt to Hell, and the light to Father Saturne*, that is to ſay, the Liues of men.

The *Gauls* and *Romaines* were both cruell in their ſacrifices

Varroes words concerning the Oracle.

Titus Liuius, a *Romain* Hiſtorian, who was from the time of *Iulius Cæſar*, hath left Written; That the ſaid *Romains* had a Cuſtome, when they behelde themſelues in any great perill, to vow and promiſe ſolemnly, that they woulde immolate to *Iupiter*, all creatures that receiued life in the next Spring time, calling the Spring time Holy. In theſe vowes, were comprized al the Infants liues that ſhold be born during this ſeaſon. But at length, they conuerted this facrificing of infants, by ſending them into exile: which likewiſe ſeemed verie cruell, to baniſh poore and innocent Infants.

Verie cruell vowes of the *Romaines*.

For ought I knowe, there is not anie people or Nation, that can ſay of themſelues, they haue ſtood cleare from theſe horrible Sacrifices. For, in *Chios*, a *Grecian* Iſland, thy vſed the ſame. In *Ægypt*, in *Heliopolis*, where euery day they maſſacred three men, to offer them to the Goddeſſe *Iuno*. The *Lacedemonians* Sacrificed to God Mars. The *Phœnitians* did as much to *Saturne*, when they were vexed with Peſtilence, or perſecuted with great warres. *Hiſtreus*, an auncient Author, ſaieth; that the * *Curetes*, a people of *Creete*, vſed to appeaſe *Saturne*, by offering young Infants in ſacrifice vnto him. In *Laodicea*, a Cittie of *Cæle-Syria*, they did the like, to make the Goddeſſe *Pallas* placable. The *Iewes* do ſtiffely denie, that they did not immolat their Infants to God *Moloch*. The *Thracians*, *Carthagenians*, *Scythians*, and (wel-neere) all the *Grecians*, did exerciſe ſuch deteſtable Sacrifices. And it was common euerie where, vntill the time of the Emperor *Claudius*, who made an Edicte to the contrary. And yet at this day, thorow all the Great Prouinces of *India*, otherwiſe called the New-world, not only do they ſtill ſacrifice men, but alſo feed on humaine fleſh.

Who haue bin immolaters of humaine Sacrifices.

Sybils Prieſts called alſo *Corybantes*.

The Indian *Anthropophages*

If *Iulius Cæſar* reputed the *Gauls* to be barbarous, becauſe (hauing promiſed & made vowes to their Gods) if they might win battailes againſt their enemies, they offered ſuch Sacrifices to them: I ſhould rather iudge it great Piety and Religion in them, towards their Gods and Country,

Theſe offrings reputed pietie and religion in the *Gaules*.

trey, becauſe they made no ſpare of them ſelues, but Sacrificed alſo (with them) all that which they had conquered in warre, of what great value and eſtimation ſoeuer it were. For it is eſpecially to bee noted, that whereſoeuer Religion & Iuſtice is, there can bee accounted no barbariſme. Contrariwiſe, after victory obtained in ſome battaile, the *Romaines* ſacrificed common Creatures, and made particular profit of the very greateſt Riches conquered by them: as of Captiues, Gold, Siluer, Horſes, and ſuch like, offering to their God *Iupiter Pheretrus*, mooueables of ſmall value; as ſome Armours, price-leſſe Rings, and Garments. Moreouer, ſuch was the vertue and magnanimity of the *Gaules*, as to endure ſo many tribulatiõs, which time could lay vppon them while they liued. But the *Romaines*, to free themſelues from all perils; would commonly kill themſelues; if they were detained in priſon, or otherwiſe, which is the act of men downe-falne in hart.

Oblations of the ſpoyles of the *Gaules* & *Romaines* compared together.

The *Gaules* neuer ſlew themſelues but in aduerſity.

If he hold them for barbarous, becauſe they haue eaten humaine fleſh, as it is very true: he muſt vnderſtand, that it happened vpon an extreame neceſſity, when himſelfe came downe vpon them with three hundred thouſand *Cymbrians*, *Teutons*, or *Allemaignes* into *Gallia Sequana*, and beſiedged the Citty of *Sens*. For victuals failing them, by reaſon that all the Countrey was ſpoiled about them, and the Enemy kept a long and ſtrict ſiedge vpon them: this poore diſtreſſed people (vnable to defend the Citty otherwiſe) conſiſting of aged perſons, women and children, very young in yeares; did voluntarily expoſe their liues, to feede their bowels that defended their Countrey, and for preſeruation of the *Gaules* Commonwealth. But this was not ordinarily done, nor vpon any wanton or lickeriſh appetite; likewiſe, neuer was it euer heard to bee done, either before that time or after. Contrariwiſe, much more barbarouſly, and without any neceſſity at all; the *Romaines* made it a Iouial vſe, to feed on mens fleſh in their feaſts and banquets, as *Galen* aſſures vs, that himſelfe hath ſeene, in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*. Some *Spaniards* (euen in our times) haue done as much in the *Indies*, for, hauing no other victuals; they would eate their owne companions, and *Indians*, that died on diſeaſes, or famine.

Once (thorow extreame neceſſitie) the *Gaules* did feed on humaine fleſh.

Galen Lib. de facult. de Aliment.

Spaniards haue fed on humain fleſh.

Iulius Cæſar alſo makes a mockery, becauſe there were certaine people, tearmed waged or mercenary Souldiers among the *Gaules*, who made a free gift of themſelues to people of wealth, to do all ſuch ſeruices as they would imploy them in; receiuing their whole nouriſhment and maintenance (from them) while they liued. But looke of what death ſoeuer their Maiſters dyed; they would gladly and willingly follow them therein, to keepe them company, and do ſeruice to their Lords ſoules, in another world, becauſe this was an Article of their Religion. But the *Romaines* had an inuiolable law, which was, that if a maiſter had few or many ſlaues, and he hapned to be ſlaine (albeit that ſome other had kild their Maiſter) yet all the Slaues muſt be ſlaine. Nay, they had worſe cuſtomes, for if a Captaine were offended with his Soldiers, or ſome idle toy tooke him in the head: hee would haue euery tenth man in his Army culd out, and cauſe them to be hewen in pieces before him, by the other Souldiers of the ſame company. More, the great number of *Gladiatores* or Fencers, that they cauſed to kill one another (either in their open Theaters, or other publique places ſtrewed with Sand) with very keene edged and ſharpe pointed Swordes, before all the people, without any pitty or compaſſion, ſaying: Thus did the *Romaine* people, and more cruelly in war. Nor might theſe Fencers giue ouer the fight, what hurts or woundes ſoeuer they had receiued; except the people were ſo pleaſed. They would make their Captiues alſo fight with cruell Beaſtes; as Lyons, Beares, Tygers, and others, not in any ſmall number; but by thouſandes at a time: only for a paſtime to the people, and to win themſelues credit; that when they ſought after any office, they might bee aſſured of their voyces.

Souldiours of *Gaule* wher to they were obliged.

Decimation of the *Romain* Souldiers.

Gladiatores and Slaues ſlaine, or deuoured by cruell beaſts.

Perhaps he called them barbarous; becauſe that the *Gaules* (in his time) had no other food for their ordinary prouiſion, but Swines Fleſh. I aunſwere him, that it is one of the beſt and wholeſomeſt meate, which can bee vſed for any nouriſhment: for it verie

Swines Fleſh familiar food among the *Gaules*.

easily conuerteth into the substaunce of man, as being almost of the same temperature. The *Athletes* and Wrastlers of *Greece*, to make themselus, sturdy, strong, and of the best habitude, would feed on no other Victuals, but bread and Porke. But the *Romaines* of *Cæsars* time, inriched and made fat with the spoils of the world; were become Gourmandes, dissolute, and prodigall, as the like could not bee found in any other Nation. One may serue for an example of the rest, who termed himselfe a great friend vnto *Cæsar*, named *Lucullus*, that spent vppon one meale, twentie thousand Crownes. But by this kinde of badde life, multitude and varietie of Dishes, and extreame Gluttonie vsed amongst them: the Romaines grew to be verie vnhealthfull, according as *Cornelius Celsius* writeth. And no man is so ignoraunt, but knoweth verie well; that leading such a life, doth rather truly sauour of Beasts liues and barbarisme, then of the least part or iotte of Ciuilitie.

The Romains full of Gluttony and Luxury.

Cornelius Celsius in Vit. Rom.

Hee should not call them barbarous, because when they were at rest in their houses, they slept not vpon soft featherbeddes, but ordinarily vppon the harde ground; which the Romaines (in those times) could not doe. Most certaine it is, that it is rather a Vertue to sleepe in such manner, then otherwise, for more easie support of such discommodities, as commonly doe attend on men of warre: who (as it should seeme) are sent of heauen, for defence of their Countrey, to subdue inciuill people for their sinnes. Nor, for wearing of short Garmentes, could he call them barbarous, because it is the nature of a Warlicke people, rather to bee clad in Garments which are short, then such as be long and troublesome.

The Gaules (at all times) vsed to lie vp on the harde ground.

The Gaules vsed to weare short garmets

Besides the Title of Barbarous, he accounts them to bee a light-headed people, verie mutable in opinion and counsell. Hee speaketh these thinges, as a sworne enemie vnto them. For, when he had sowne diuisions and Quarrelles among them, hee would feigne to bee on one side, and quite against the other. But they perceiuing his subtilty, disclaymed from his kindnesse, and brake the agreements which they hadde made with him.

Cæsar termed the *Gaules* to be a light-braind people

He neither surmounted or went beyond them in open and faire warre, for indeed he could not: but only by trecheries, because his intent was, to possesse himselfe of *Gaule*, and be King thereof, if he had vanquished *Pompey*. Now, because they discerned his deuises, & knew the Dominion of the *Romans* to be more insupportable, then that of the *Allemaignes*, whom the *Gaules* of *Sequana* had called to their aide, against them of *Auuni*, and so leagued themselues together very gladly: therefore he cals them light and inconstant. I leaue to further consideration, whether hee had sufficient subiect to hold them for such.

Cæsars ambition apparantly noted.

If he conceited them (then) not to be Lettered, hee was much deceiued; for from all antiquity, the *Gaules* had knowledge in that part of Phylosophy, which we tearme Naturall, and of the *Ethique* or Morrall too, instructing pollicie and good manners, which ought to support a Common-wealth. Nor went they among the Greekes to seeke instruction, as manie haue immagined. For, whereas *Cæsar* saith in his Commentaries, That they vsed Greek Carracters in their writinges; hee meaneth not, that they spake the Greeke Language. But three hundred yeares (or thereabout) before that *Rome* was taken and sackt by the *Gaules*, it was (as their owne Historians haue recorded) both without Law and Iustice. True it is, that they were good Warriours, and that tenne men were sent from them into Greece, to seeke lawes, whereby to pollicie their Common-Wealth. The *Gaules* on the contrarie, woulde neuer vse the Lawes of any other; but contented themselues with those, which they hadde receiued from eldest antiquitie, as manie people vsed by their example; yea, euen the Romaines themselues, immitated them in Articles (enow) of their Religion, hauing withdrawne some of their Phylosophers and Priestes, who coulde not followe those other *Gaules*, when as they departed from *Italy* to goe into *Greece*, by reason of the Dearth of Victualles.

In what Phylosophie the Gaules were skilfull.

The first Romaines begd their Lawes in Greece.

The Reader, by conferring both maners and fashions in behauior of the one and other; will finde as much, or rather more Barbarisme in the *Romaines*, then in the *Gaules*. And although they haue changed their Name, for that braue nation of Warriors in *Franconia*, who are mingled

The Reader to be an indifferent Iudge in this Controuersie.

mingled among them: yet doo they carrie (to this day) the Fame and Renowne, to be the Gallant, Ciuill, and moſt courteous Nation of the World; and where Learned men abound, more then in any other Prouince. But the Romaines and *Italians*, haue had this Vice for long time; to make eſtimation of none but themſelues. For, it is plainely ſeene in all their Hiſtories, that they make themſelues to be euermore Conquerors, with out attributing anie thing to others. As may be euidently noted in the very commentaries of this *Cæſar*: but if it were ſo wel knowne by other Hiſtorians of their owne Nation, how often the *Gaules* did beat, vanquiſh and put him to his flight, ouer-throwing the Palliſadoes of his Campe, by their cunning Mines made Vnder-ground, wherein they were verie skilfull Maiſters: the *Gaules* (as I haue ſaide elſewhere) neede care for no other Written Hiſtories; knowing that (for the moſt part) they are either Flatterers or Lyers.

A long continued vice in the Romains.

Scaliger, borne at *Verona*, in his fourth Booke againſt *Cardanus*, ſayeth; That there is not any Nation, which hath a more liuely ſpirit, in doing whatſoeuer themſelues would, then were the French, be it in Armes, Learning, Merchandize, or Well-ſpeaking; but, aboue all the reſt, they haue (ſaieth hee) a moſt Generous and innocent heart, keeping Faith moſt conſtantly, with anie people whatſoeuer. Beholde the Iudgement of a man, reputed the cheefeſt of his qualitie, againſt the opinion of the ſaid *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, *Trebellius*, & *Pollio*.

Scaligin Lib. 4 cont. Cardan.

CHAP. III.

¶ *How long time it is, ſince the Switzers were Cantonned: and vppon vvhat occaſion their Countrey was called, the Land of Leagues.*

BEfore we ſpeake anie thing of the Switzers, I ſhould deſcribe the ſcituation, Groundeplotte, and confrontation of the country, which was giuen them; to bee Mountainous and ſtrong (the onely benefit of begetting Liberty) to the end that the Reader may the better comprehend the Hiſtory, purpoſely intended for his inſtruction, in knowing, why the people vvere Cantonned. To ſhew yee then, what the Country is, which is cald of the *Suitzers*, or the Lande of *Cantons*, or of *Leagues*; ye muſt vnderſtand, it is that which was called by the Romaines, *Heluetia*. It beginneth in the verie higheſt Alpes, and endeth (on the Eaſt ſide) at *Rheine*, deſcending towardes the North, ſo farre as *Waltzhut* and *Lanſembourge*; and from thence it turneth towardes the Weſt, as in a direct tracte, by the Mountaine *Iura*, euen to the Lake of *Geneua*: and afterwards, remounteth vppon the Alpes againe.

An aduertiſement to the Reader.

The length & bredth of the Countrey of *Leagues*.

The Country ſeemeth to be ſtraight and narrow; as appearing, that the verie largeſt place, ſhould not extend it ſelfe aboue forty Leagues, and (in ſome places) much leſſe: the length alſo to conſiſt of about an hundered and ten Leagues. It is verie Mountainy, populous, and yet more then other Countries, cannot nouriſh or maintaine men. They are a warlicke people, able to endure all trauailes in warre. Manie of them (at this day) doe liue vppon ſuch Wages, as they receiue of ſtrange Princes that will imploy them: not that they take part vvith ſuch as will giue them moſt Wages (as ſome think) but in willingneſſe to ſerue whom moſt they loue.

A briefe Deſcription of the Country.

Switzers take wages, not in regard of the mony.

In this Countrey, there are manie goodly Citties and Townes, as alſo verie great Villages, and very well pollicied;

whereof we meane to speake hereafter.

The reason & cause of Cantonning the Countrey. *Blondus lib. 9.*

The occasion then, wherefore this Country was and is reduced into Cantons, and to become leagued, against those that oppressed them; was thus, according as *Blondus* maketh faithfull relation thereof. About the yeare 1305. the Emperours and Kinges of the *Romaines*, during the Schismes of the Empire, did place Gouernours good store in the *Switzers* Countrey, as to recompence such as had taken part with them, not hauing where-withall (otherwise) to reward them. They gaue them leaue to do whatsoeuer seemed good in their owne opinion, being as many of them there, as there were Cities, Townes, and Villages, or few wanting: who molested the people with subsidies and borrowings, extorting all thinges else whatsoeuer from them, according as it came into their fantasie. And yet notwithstanding, a great many of the Cities, Townes, and Comminalties, had long continued their immunity & franchise; eyther by especiall grace of the Emperours, or by buying such priuiledges with their Money, for which they had good & sufficient Patents to shew. Neuertheless, these *Harpie* Gouernours, by perswasion of some Noblemen of the Countrey; did manifold wrongs and iniuries to this people.

Exaction by the Romaines vpon the Switzers.

Of the Gouernour of three Vales, concerning three yoak of Oxen.

It happened, that the Gouernour of three Vales, wherein are three great Townes; to wit, *Vri*, *Suuttz*, and *Vnderualden* (that were free of long time) sent sundry of his Catch-poles or Sergeants to demand three couple of Oxen, which belonged to a man of *Vnderualden*, & to bring them away perforce: vsing no other reason, but: that Country men should labour with their hands, and not with the help of staule-fed Oxen. The Sonne to the man, from whom the Oxen were taken, impatient at his Fathers oppression; laying hand on his Sword, chanced to cut off a Finger of one of the Sergeants. The poore youth was afterward apprehended, and the Tyrant (beeing extreamely enraged) commaunded his eyes to bee pulled out.

Cruell tyrannies and oppressions in the Gouernors.

Another Gouernour of the said *Vnderualden*, sent for an honest Woman, that should prepare a bath for him in his owne House; which she did accordingly, as not daring to disobey the Tirant. No sooner had she made ready his Bath, and purposing to part thence againe: but the Villaine rauished her, for which shee was slaine by her Husband, with the helpe of his Friends.

A notorious idle folly in a Gouernour.

There was another Gouernour of *Vri*, who, beside his exacting on many meanes of the people, entred into such folly and presumption, that he erected (in a faire spacious place of the saide *Vri*) an high pearch or poule; on the top whereof was fastned a Hat or Bonnet, which he himselfe had sometime worne, commaunding the like to bee done in the Villedge of *Suuttz*. Afterward, hee gaue charge, that the Countrey people should performe as much reuerence to the Bonnet, as if himselfe were there in person. There was a man of very generous Spirit, and borne in that Countrey, named *Guillaume Tell*, who refused to doe this friuolous reuerence. Whereupon hee was apprehended, brought before this proud and insupportable Gouernour, and sentenced with death: except hee could salue his disobedience, by taking a young Sonne of his owne (about fiue yeares old) and standing fifty paces off from the Childe; cleaue an Apple vpon his bare head, with an Arrow deliuered from a Crosse-bow, without any harme done to the Childe. The man was both famed, and knowne to bee an expert Crosse-bow-man, and being heereto thus rigorously constrained: he performed the deede, without any hurt to his Child; but it was more by the grace of God, then his owne industry.

Reuerence of the Hat or Bonnet.

A cruel imposition vpon a Father.

A further prosecution of the poor man by the gouernour.

The Gouernour beeing offended that the man had sped so well, and perceiuing that hee had another Arrow left vnder his Girdle; demaunded, for what purpose hee had that other Arrow, when he was enioyned to shoote but one? *Guillaume Tell* answered. If I had slaine my Son; this other Arrow should haue had thy life. In regard of these words, he was taken, bound fast with Cords, and put into a Boate, to be conueyed to prison. Now, it fortuned, that they were to passe a Lake in rowing thither, vpon which Lake hee escaped very strangely from them. For, hauing (by meere strength) broken

ken his bonds, he threw himselfe suddenly into the Lake, and recouering certaine Mountaines not farre off, lyned there verie couertly, and awayting for the Gouernour (one day) in a verie narrow passage, there slew him with the forsaid Arrow.

The cruell Gouernour slaine.

Another Gouernor, caused the eares of foure Countrey-men of *Switz* to bee cut off; then commanding them to bee roasted, he compelled them to eat them. The people of the Countrey, beeing not a little mooued with these extreame iniuries, and manie other out-rages in the Gouernours: expelled them quite out of those three Vales, & (from thenceforward) entering into Confederacies, beganne to Cantone or quarter themselues, swearing a solemne League, with absolute promise to succor one another, if they should heereafter be molested by any whosoeuer.

Foure Switzers enforced to eate their owne eares.

Within short time after, a rich Abbot, entitled of the Hermits, saide; That hee had right and Title, to leauie some Prouision of Corne, and of Mony also, vppon the Village of *Switz*, and summoned them to make payment thereof. They answered, that they neuer hearde before of any thing due vnto the sayde Abbot, nor did anie such right (to their knowledge) appertaine vnto him: and therefore, they would pay him nothing. Hee growing verie angrie at this aunswere, and beeing descended of a Great and Noble house: leauied an Armie, accompanied with *Leopolde*, the Duke of *Austriche*, who had great Landes both within, and vppon the Frontiers of the *Switzers*. Besides, manie Barons and other Gentlemen of the Country, came vnto him (Voluntarily) from all partes, hauing alreadie gone on, and vsed those places where they were to passe, more then Hostily.

The rich Abbot of the hermits, claimeth an interest in Switz.

The Armie of the three Vales, which coulde not amount vnto thirteene hundered men, charged with humble heads, (yet vnconquerable spirits and assurance) the Armie of the Duke and Abbotte; and hauing put them to flight, slewe verie manie of them, and a great number likewise were taken Prisoners, besides, the Dukes best safetie of his life, was speedie flight. This Victorie of these simple, but verie Warlicke people, encouraged them to attempt and put in practise much greater matters, and to stand vpon their best defence, in all ensuing occasions.

The first victorie of the Switzers, against the D. and Abbot.

These leagued Vallies, within little while after, to wit; vppon the sixteenth day of Nouember, according as *Munster* declareth, in the yeare one thousand three hundered and fifteene; ouercame another Army of twentie thousand men, which the Emperour *Fredericke* of *Austriche*, and Duke *Leopolde* his Brother had prepared, to ruinate those three Villages, because they woulde not take the Oath of allegeance to the saide Emperour, at his newe creation; and yet they had formerly doone it to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, who called himselfe also Emperour, and lawfully elected.

The second victory of the Switzers, against the emperor & duke.

Ouer and aboue this reason, he was vrged on, and thereto vehemently perswaded, by a great number of Noblemen and potent Lordes, who had made great spoyles both of Castels & Towns. But, the Confederated Switzers, being aduertised of FREDERICKS intention, closely ambushed themselues (to the number of fifteene hundered men) vppon the craggie hie Mountaines, and narrowe passages, full of great Rockes and Quarries of stone, whereof they chose the biggest, & rowled them downe vppon the Armie, as it came vppe from the Mountaines foote, and went along the strait waies.

The occasion of this second warre.

A politicke stratagem, of the Leagued Switzers.

For, from the bottome of the Mountaine, the one side of the Rocke seemed like an vpright Wall on the one side; and on the other, were greate Lakes of Deepe Water, not easie to bee waded: and the huge stones tumbling downe so fast vppon them, drowned no meane number of them in those Lakes, or did beate out their braines, and the rest beeing disfronted, Duke *Leopolde* was glad and faigne to shift for his life the second time.

Duke *Leopolde* saueth his life the second time.

Notwithstanding these two sustained foyles and losses, Duke LEOPOLDE lost not a iotte of his Courage and Valour, but made againe vppon them with fresh Forces; perswading himselfe, that hee should get the Maistry of these Boores, Peazants, and Shepheardes, for so hee tearmed these Confederates. Calling the Men of *Strasbourge* vnto his ayde and assistaunce, with diuers other Townes, that tooke parte with the

The third attempt of Du. *Leopolde*, vpon the Switzers.

Emperour *Fredericke*, and manie other great Princes: he entered againe into the Confederates Country, by the Valley of *Vnderualden* amõg the Mountains. Now was he the third time well beaten and repulsed, by eight or nine hundred people, & yet his army consisted of aboue 1200. men.

The third victory of the Switzers.

Some Write, that the Duke himself, was not there in person; but the Count of *Haspeurge*, who went as his Lieutenant. From this time forwards, these three Cantons tooke hart and boldnesse of spirit vppon them, seizing (by waie of Warre) the Castles, Townes, Forts, and Signeuries, of such Gentlemen as had assisted the Duke, quite ruinating the saide Forts and Castles, or appropriating them to their owne reuennues. For, before these fortunate successes, they had not any thing in proper, but onely their Townes and Villages: but now adayes, they haue reduced those lands into Bayliwickes, whereunto they depute Gouernors, which either they change yearly, or continue to further time; according as it is aduised by the Senate, belonging to each Village of the confederats, and some others, that haue (since then) Cantonned themselues, and entred into alliance with them.

The Switzers successe, vpon these obtained victories.

Duke *Leopolde*, and the Emperor his Brother, died within fewe yeares after these losses, without any Children, and their succeeding heires suffred these confederates to liue peaceably, till the yeare, 1390. Neuertheless, they were molested by other great Lordes, whom still they manfully withstood, and stil got the better hand of all in their attemptes. At last, there came one, named *Leopolde* also, descended of the same family of *Austriche*, an audacious Prince, ouer-light in beleefe, and scarsely aged xx. yeares. He was prouoked by those Noble and Gentlemen, who either were expulsed from their houses, or else had voluntarily forsaken them, and albeit there hadde past some transaction and truce between them: yet now they would breake their faith and promise made to these Confederates. All the pretence that this young Prince had for warre, was, because *Lucerna*, which was a goodly Towne, had leagued and cantonned it selfe with the fore-named Villages, and many subiects of Duke *Leopoldes*, in regard of his often

The death of the Emperour, and Duke *Leopold*.

Yong *Leopolde* maketh pretence of warre against Cantonned *Lucerna*.

molestations, were now (by this means) become Bourgesses, and quietly enioyed the benefits of their Country. These matters, intermedled with the Princes rash furie, made him so violent in spleen against them: that so manie as hee could cause to be taken of *Lucerna*, or those other subiects that had the office of Bourgesses, they were forthwith hangde and strangled in the open fields.

Violence done to the Confederates.

The leagued Inhabitants, not a little displeased at these cruelties, broght their armed troupes into the fielde, and (by a sudden assault made vpon this yong Du. *Leopolde*) tooke the strong Castle of *Ptephicon*, and put vnto death all that vvere found therein. At the very same time also, they tooke two Townes of Duke *Leopoldes*, to wit; *Detlibouch* and *Sampach*, that gladly yeilded themselues into the protection of the Confederates, and Bourgeship of *Lucerna*. The Duke beeing highly heerewith displeased, hauing an Armie readie of ten thousande men; entered into the Countrey of the Cantones. But notwithstanding all his heate and hast, by the aduise of some: peace was made betweene them, vnder certain conditions, so that no battel was fought, or Towne taken.

The Switzers honourably reuenged, vpon young Duke *Leopolde*.

A peace made of small continuance.

The yong Duke being returned home to his Court, with intent to sport and recreate himselfe, was perswaded by many Noblemen, that he had greatly dishonored himselfe in making anie contract of peace with his subiects, and that al Lords were dispensed withall, for anie oath taken in that nature. Moreouer, they obiected, that this might prooue a principall cause, to hinder him from succesion in the Empire, whereto his predecessours had formerly attained. Being ouercome by their foolish perswasions, he emploied a great part of the Empires forces; and most of the Nobilitie, beeing numbered twentie thousand men, both horse and foote, all verie expert and wel tried Soldiers, the greater part Noblemen, pretending interest in the cause, and accompanied with manie Princes of power. Thus came they vnto the field, with all kinds of munition, to besiedge *Sampach*: where the Armie also of the confederats met them, who were (in all) but a thousand and six hundred men. But they being possessed of the most aduantageable place in the field, and where the Horse-

Euill counsel is easily giuen.

A fourth preparation against the confederates.

men

The Switzers fourth victory.

men could do no good for themselues, or preiudice to the *Suitzers*: the Noble men were feigne to dismount, and battaile being giuen, the honor of the daie remained to the Cantons. It was such an extreame hot day, that the Noblemen were not able to endure any part of the paines (which the poore Rusticks were not so much enforced vnto, but could ably out-stand farre greater toyle) but were glad to flye. Albeit, young *Leopolde* stood firme and couragious, vntill he was slaine, with manie other worthy men; as *Otho*, Marquesse of *Hoch*, *Iohn*, Earle of *Fustembourge*, and diuers others: for very few escaped, but they were eyther taken Prisoners, or slaine. Two yeares after, some of the Gentle-men, which had then escaped, returned thither againe with sixe thousand fighting men: but two hundred men of *Glaronna* stood against the, and slew two thousand and foure hundred of them, compelling the rest to saue their liues by flight, according as I finde it recorded in the Books of *Crantzius* and *Munster*.

Young Duke *Leopolde* slaine

A fift victory of the *Suitzers*

Crantz Lib. 10. Munst. Lib. 3.

Now, these Noblemen and Gouernors, did not onely molest these three Vallies and *Lucerna*; but likewise all them inhabiting about *Bearne*, pillaging all the goods in the fieldes of *Bearne*. Yet notwithstanding, by continuall waging War with them, the Cantons defeated all their purposes, ruinated their Castels, and appropriated all vnto their owne Dominions; except it were of such, as contracted amity and alliance with them. I forbeare heere to set downe, the potent war which they had against the Abbot of S. *Gal*, especially those of *Appenzell*, because they vrged a right vnto their corne and other fruites: but they could get nothing of them but blowes, albeit, their Armies were verie great. *Glaris*, in short while after, being troubled by the Noblemen and cruell Gouernours, which they of *Austriche* had set ouer them: entred into league with the men of *Bearne*, and other of the foure Cantons.

The Castels ruined about *Bearne*, and he Noblemen expelled.

The Army of the Abbot of S *Gal*, vanquished.

Zurick, a great and worthy Citty, seated vpon the Riuer of *Indmat*, had beene vexed aboue fiftie yeares by the Nobility, and a puissant Prince, who was the valiant Counte of *Haspourge*, and extream in hatred to them, because he was taken in *Zurick* (beeing entered thereinto in the night time) by meanes of the treacherous Inhabitants, with foure hundred men, he being made Prisoner, and all his men slaine. Yet, within some few yeares, he was set at liberty, at the solicitation made by his Cozin *Albert* the Emperour, and thence forward, *Zurick* came into the number of the leagued Confederats. This Citty called it selfe *Tygurum*, and is the most rich and powerfull Cantone, aboue all the rest, next vnto *Bearne*, and holdeth precedence beyond all the other: because all Ambassadours resort thither, and the assemblies are most of all there made. Whereby plainely appeareth, that the Cantons doe not hold place of precedency, according as they were receiued into the league; and I confesse mine owne ignorance, not knowing how these degrees haue passed among them.

The great and goodly Citie of *Zurick*, wher the Earle of *Haspurge* was taken prisoner

Zurick Cantonned, and vpon what cause.

It is presupposed, that because there was (then) no Iustice for the people; but that all the Noble-men (almost) in these quarters of the *Heluetians*, were (as we vse to say) cut out of one cloath, that is to say; had sworne the ruine of the third estate: Therefore, *Zoug*, *Basile*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, and *Shaffonze*, (by laps of time) confederated themselues with the seauen before named. All which together, beeing in number thirteene, had many warres against the Emperors, and other great Lords, and were euermore Conquerours. It is therefore to be presumed, that they got not their libertie, nor the goodly lands which the more part of the do now possesse, in a day: but before they could haue peace with their Neighbors, they passed ouer (well neere) sixscore yeares.

Almmost all the Nobility of the *Switzers* were basely minded.

This Countrey of the Leagues or Cantones, neither knew how to gaine their freedome, or conquer so many Countries as they haue done; if the Emperours had not beene busied in ciuill warres; whereof the Popes (for the most part) were the sole occasion, or *Germany* had beene vnited, as sometime it was. But the Nobilitie being become insolent by Ciuill wars, acknowledging no Superiours nor Gouernours, that knew well enough how to fish in troubled Waters: enforced (by their tyranny) the people of the *Heluetians*,

Ciuil wars the cause of rebellions.

tians, to shake off the yoake of their superiors also, and to expell them thence. At this present, and since the time of King *Frances* the first, they haue made confederation with the Crowne of *Fraunce*, receiuing both presents and pensions.

The Authors purpose in this breefe relation of the Switzers.

Mine intent was not (in this breefe discourse) to shew my selfe any Historian, neither to set downe all the gestes and warres, which this warlike Nation haue made, since they began to seeke their liberty; for, to performe that labour, it would require three or foure great volumes. Beside, I haue spoken but of three or foure, the most notable and chiefest in the Countrey, thereby to let the Reader vnderstand; wherefore the Region of the *Switzers*, is called the Country of Leagues, or of the Cantons. Wherein I haue followed the best Writers; as *Blondus*, *Crantzius* and *Munster*. By this discourse, I would gladly giue aduise to Princes and Noble-men, to deale better with their subiects, then these Lords did in the *Switzers* Countrey; least (by successe of time) Heauen frowne vpon them, and they be throwne into the like disaster.

Aduise to Princes and Noblemen.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the excellency and deserued commendation of Trauaile; And what great daungers are begotten, and doe ensue of idlenesse.

Trauaile first commaunded by God.

WE are enioined by the law and commaundement of God, that wee must trauaile and labour in this world: For the very first Man that euer was, hauing broken Gods commaundement, was throwne out of Terrestriall Paradise, and the Earth was giuen him to enioy; but yet with this condition, to labour therein with continuall Trauaile, without any limitation of time, but euen so long as he liued. And yet this was not imposed vpon the first man onely; but it came as an iniunction also, to all his posteritie. Now, notwithstanding holy Scripture tels vs, that Trauaile was laid on Man as a matter of repentance: yet it appeareth likewise, to be a proper medicine, whereby to recouer and help some passed euils. For a man attaineth by Trauaile, to regaine that which he lost by feeding. And though this came as a castigation, yet God commaunding nothing, but what is good in it selfe; hath (in that nature) giuen man time to enioy the Land by labour, according as *Iob* saith; *Man is borne to trauaile.*

Trauaile is a Phisicall medicine for passed offences.

Iob 5.7.

The life of our blessed Sauiour.

Looke vpon our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, our Soueraigne Maister, who, as an example to vs all; trauailed continually in painefull exercises, euen till his death. And beside, in his parables, he blamed and reproued the sleepy Virgines, that were neglect and slothfull: euermore fauouring and commending such as trauailed, saying, in an especiall place of note; *Come vnto me all ye that Trauaile and are heauy laden, and I will ease ye.* If we would sit downe to read, we should finde, that the auncient Saints, imployed all their time in continual exercises and labours. Moreouer, Trauaile is not onely healthfull for the Soule, but it is likewise as beneficiall to the body; for it causeth agility, strength, and quick disposition; it cheareth and encreaseth good Spirits, and consumeth all bad and offensiue humors. And concerning the Soule, it cleanseth it from all occasions of euill doing, and conuerteth bad thoughts into better endeuours. Most certaine is it, that (without paine and trauaile) neuer did matter of any great consequence sort to good effect; but the paines seemed the sweeter, because no slothfull ease was interposed in the action. He that trauailes and takes paines, takes quiet repose and rest also, because to a weary man, all thinges are sweete and acceptable: his meate is sauoury to him, sleepe easie, and all pleasures are to him in truest contentment.

Math. 25, 34.

Trauaile is beneficiall both for soule and body.

Painefull men doe best take their rest.

But returning to the benefits of the body, trauaile maketh a man discreete, vigilant, well aduised, wise, & all goodnesse else proceedeth thence. It is trauaile that apparelleth and beautifieth a Man: it maketh lodgings for him to rest in; waies to walke in; Ships to saile in; Armes to defend him; in breefe, innumerable are the blessings thereby abounding. By trauaile, barren Landes are

The benefits ensuing to the body by trauaile.

The commendations of paine and trauaile.

are made fresh, teeming, and fruitfull: to such as are dry, it giueth water, by opening the earths Wombe, to let forth her owne moysture. It exalteth humble Vallies, where neede requireth, and throwes down high Mountaines, whose steepe passage offendeth. It turneth foorth-right Flouds and Riuers, to take their more needfull course by dry landes without waters, helping (thereby) to adorne and polliſh Nature, compelling her sometimes, to engender such things, as in her own proper wil she would not. It tameth the wildest beasts, and maketh them familiar. It maketh mens Spirits prompt and subtile, hauing the like power in all the other sences of man: and he that makes due tryall, findes the vnualuable riches which is got by Trauaile.

Trauaile is a help to nature

The way to Heauen is by paine and trauaile.

God would not haue his owne chosen Vessels to come to Heauen, but by the rugged pathes of paine and trauaile. If sumptuous buildings, goodly Pallaces, and populous Citties doe seeme mightie thinges: then know, that all those were performed by the labour, sweate, and trauaile of thy Predecessors. If likewise, Arts and Sciences doe highly content thee: why then remember, that they were the spirituall Trauaile of learned Men in times past. If thou looke vpon faire fields, beautiful Gardens, and plenteous yeelding Vines: say to thy selfe, all these proceeded from the workes of Trauaile; because idlenesse dooth not any thing, but rather destroyeth whatsoeuer is already done. By Trauaile, men attained to very great and famous renowne.

Matter of especiall obseruation in this case.

Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, &c.

It was that which made wise *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Pythagoras*, and the rest of those learned men, neuer cease to trauaile their bodies and studious Spirits; both in writing, enstructing, & disputing, without any care at all for sleeping, feeding, or cloathing their bodies: and yet, at such times as Nature compeld them to these necessities; they seemed much more sweete and pleasing to them, then they can doe to idle and sloathfull Gluttons.

Hercules Trauailes.

What was it that made *Hercules* so famous and farre honoured; but onelie his twelue labourious Trauailes? What was it that gaue such splendour to the Names of *Alexander* the Great, *Iulius Cæsar*, with all those excellent Kings and Captaines; but painefull exercise, and industrious Trauaile? Whereas on the contrary, *Sardanapalus*, and other such like idle and lasciuious Princes, both ruined and oppressed their Countries, and themselues dyed very shamefull deathes. Whereby may easily be gathered, that if the World were depriued of Trauaile; all would turne to nothing. Offices in humanity, would fall into Decadence; Mechanicall Artes, Letters, Studies, Goods, Remembrances, Iustice, Lawes and Peace, no one of all these could continue without Trauaile. All the vertues are supported, only by meanes thereof, and (without it) they could no way be exercised: because, he that will minister Iustice, ought to trauaile and take paine. To conclude, no vertue can bee set on worke, without Trauaile, and therefore *Hesiodus* said: *By sweat and painefull Trauaile, Vertue is to be wun.*

Sardanapalus.

The iniuries ensuing by lacke of Trauaile.

The vertues maintained by Trauaile.

If wee would well and exactly contemplate all the things which God hath created; we shall find, that by how much the more they are perfected in a certaine means, by so much the more may we truly say, that hee hath giuen to them great Trauaile. Let vs behold his superior handy-workes; the Sunne mooueth it selfe continually; the Moone neuer standeth still; the Heauens and the Planets haue beene, are, and shall be daily in continuall motion. The fire cannot containe it selfe, without some operation; the Ayre goes alwaies to some place or other. In the inferiour bodies, the Water, Fountaines and Riuers flow incessantly, and the Sea mooueth without cessation. For the Earth it selfe, albeit it were immoueable (for it ought so to be, & vpon necessity, both that men may Trauaile whether they would thereon, and afterward take their rest) yet notwithstanding, it neuer enioyeth any repose: but continually bringeth foorth Hearbs, Trees, and Plants, euen like a diligent and painefull Mother, that counts her selfe obliged, to maintaine and nourish both men and Beasts. And therefore, if we would bring all these thinges to due consideration, we should then finde, that Nature is intentiue to no other thing; but onely to continuall labour and trauaile: in creating, forming, making, vnmaking, producing, corrupting, altering, or gazing and toiling, without the least respite of rest or repose, in any kind whatsoeuer.

Contemplation of the workes of God, & how they labour and trauaile in their seuerall kindes.

Nature continually trauailleth for Men and Beasts.

That this which I haue saide, must needes

The labour and trauaile the body. *Virgill.*

Horace. Euripides.

Menander.

Democritus.

Hermicon.

Pythagoras.

Salomon.

The onely meanes that made any man famous.

The fruits of idleneſſe and ſloth.

Ouid concerning idleneſſe

Examples alleaged by the Author, for defence of labour and trauaile.

Of the Fire.

needes be true, the wiſe Philoſophers (in times paſt) ſignified by their daily labours, that they were neuer weary in commending the trauaile & exerciſe of the body. *Virgill* ſaith, *That continuall labour ſurmounteth all things. Horace*, the Lyricke and Satiricall Poet, ſaith in his workes: *That God gaue nothing to Man, but with paine and labour. Euripides* ſaith: *Trauaile is the Father of Fame: God helpeth him that trauaileth: without Trauaile, there is no true renowne, praiſe, nor happie aduenture.* The Poet *Menander* wrote very wiſely; *a healthful man idle, is in worſe condition then he that hath an Ague.* The ſaying of *Democritus* pleaſeth me highly, where he ſaith: *Paines taken voluntarily, are neuer diſtaſtefull when they bee enforced.* When *Hermicon* was demaunded, of whom he learned thoſe deepe Sciences which he profeſſed; he anſwered: *Of Trauaile and Experience.* It was the ſaying of great *Pythagoras*; *That a Man ought to make choiſe of a good life, and to let it appeare, by paine and Trauaile, which brings it to a ſweete and eaſie cuſtome. Salomon* ſaith; *The ſlothfull man ſhould learne example of the Ant.*

I ſhould neuer end, if I were to name heere, the plenty of teſtimonies to bee alleadged in this kinde. It ſhall ſuffice then, for me to ſay, that neuer was any man famous for Armes, Learning, example of good life, or any of the Arts; without great Trauaile. And, to ſpeak truly, neuer were any idle people great, or knowne, but if it happened that a Man being borne great, liued neglectly or idle: moſt certaine it is, that (by ſlothfulneſſe) his eſtate was ruined, or elſe hee loſt his renowne, quiet or life, the loſſe being the true fruit of ſloathes Tree, whereby all vices are multiplied, as the wiſe man wel witneſſeth, ſaying; *Idleneſſe enſtruſteth many miſchiefes. Ouid* could affirme, that, *Without idleneſſe, Cupid hath no power*, and hee ſpake truely: For in idleneſſe, wickedneſſe is dreampt on, treaſons inuented, and foule ſinnes acted. *Ezechiell* numbreth idleneſſe among thoſe ſins, which were the cauſe that *Sodome* was deſtroyed.

To ſpeak mine one owne iudgement in this caſe, I neuer knew any thing, wherein idleneſſe got entrance, but it came to vtter ruine. We ſee the fire, if it be not maintained, it quickly quencheth of it ſelfe. The Aire likewiſe, it muſt be continually mouing; for if it bee with-held and reſtrained, it will breake forth of it ſelfe. Water, compelled to any limitted place, and where it may not haue his courſe and free paſſage; it putrifieth, corrupteth, and ſtincketh. If the earth be not opened and laboured; it will produce nothing but Brambles, Bryers, Thiſtles, and other vnprofitable Hearbs. It is euident to our eies, that Gold, if it be not much laboured and purified, it will neuer appeare in his perfect beauty. Iron likewiſe, and other Mettals, will meerely ruſt and canker of themſelues; except they bee wrought to ſome kinde of ſeruice. Prouinces and Countries, if they be not inhabited and laboured; they will proue barren & ſubiect to peſtilence. Houſes and dwellings, let them ſtand voyd and empty; they forthwith fal to ruine and decay. Common high-waies, let them not be trauailed and frequented; they will ſhut vp themſelues into impoſſibility of paſſage, ſo that all knowledge of them will be vtterly loſt. All things whatſoeuer, if they be not imployed, and made vſe of by labor; they periſh, impaire of themſelues. Yea, euen the very vitall Spirits of Men or Women, if they be not quickned and vinified by daily exerciſes; they will become lazy and ſlothfull; ſo that the hart and ſoule will conſume themſelues, the powers of the body be ſo waſted and weakned, that no vſe or motion can be made with them.

I haue already (in this Chapter) told ye, that trauaile makes a man agile, and chearefully diſpoſed: and now (on the contrary) I am alſo to informe ye, that ſloath and idleneſſe ſpoyleth the complexion, corrupteth all good humours in mans body, and giues Dominion to them that are bad and naught. *Galen* ſaith: *It is impoſſible for a man, to keepe himſelfe healthfull, except he trauaile and labour.* And *Auicenne* is of the ſame mind, with *Cornelius Celſus*, and other very excellent Phiſitions. Horſes, and ſuch kind of Beaſts, if they be kept idle; they become vnprofitable. Ships rot and ſeemely vgly, if they be kept ſtill in Ports and Hauens: but when they ſaile abroad, they are both beautifull and beneficiall; and keepe themſelues from baſe

Of the Ayre.

Of the water.

Of the Earth.

Of Gold and other Mettals

Of Lands and Countries.

Of dwelling houſes.

Of common rode-waies.

All things whatſoeuer.

The vitall ſpirits, Hart and Soule.

Idleneſſe is the corrupter of all good humours in man.

The ſaying of *Galen, Auicenne*, and *Cornelius Celſus.*

Of Horſes.

Of Shippes.

Of Souldiers.

baſe corrupting. Souldiers, and men inured to Armes; they grow out of heart, in the times of reſt and peace. Beſide, I finde it faithfully recorded, that *Hannibals* idleneſſe at *Capua*, was the onely cauſe of the *Romaines* victorie againſt him. The ſloathfull man hath no other Leſſon; but that all imployment is painefull to him. He that marcheth beſt in Warre, fights alwaies in greateſt ſecurity: but hee that abideth ſtill in one place, is apt to all inconueniences, and the Sunne burnes him with the more aduantage. The Archer herein ſerues as a Schoole-maiſter to vs, who neuer drawes his Arrow at a Bird flying; but when he findes her ſlothfully ſitting.

Hanibals idleneſſe at *Capua*.

The ſlothfull mans Leſſon.

Example of the Archer.

We do ordinarily behold, and finde it true in common experience, that both voices and inſtruments, not being imploied; they loſe their vertue, ſound hoarſly and diſcordant: whereas on the contrary, vſe refineth, concordeth, and makes them moſt pleaſing. There are ſome kindes of Wines, that muſt bee rackt and roughly mannaged, to preſerue them in yeilding the better reliſh. Pretious ſtones, if they bee not polliſhed and purely cleanſed, they cannot appeare in their perfect luſter: but by painefull labour and trauaile, they are diſcerned in their higheſt excellencie. Rude Iron it ſelfe, the more it is vſed, the clearer it ſhineth. Among brute beaſts, they that take the greateſt pains, are moſt eſteemed of men. To ſupport this cauſe, I could alleadge ſo many authorities of Philoſophers and Poets, al blaming and rebuking idleneſſe: as would ſerue to compleat whatſoeuer is wanting, for full confirmation of this needfull diſcourſe. Saints haue curſſed it; Philoſophers condemned it; *Ouid*, *Plato*, *Horace*, *Claudian*, *Virgill*, and all other Poets haue ſung againſt it. All Hiſtories are full of the euils deriued from it. *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, condemning idleneſſe, doe highly exalt the Art that was called *Gymnaſtia*, whereby, all neceſſary occaſions and matters for war were enſtructed.

Of inſtruments and voyces.

Of Wines.

Of pretious ſtones.

Of Iron.

Of brute beaſts.

Plato. in Lib. 7 de Legib.

The Emperor *Adrian* had long time educated, fauoured, and (at laſt) exalted a man, named *Turbo*, who was a moſt diligent and labourious follower of his affaires, and the Emperor, noting him one day, that (in his opinion) hee was too earneſt in his buſineſſe, he ſaid vnto him. *Turbo, doe not kill thy ſelfe, but be more carefull of thy health*: whereto *Turbo* replyed. *My Lord, the Man that hath beene nouriſhed, fauoured and aduanced by an Emperour, as I haue beene, ought to aye in Trauaile at his foote*. *Quintus Curtius* declareth, that the diſeaſes of idleneſſe ſhould be cured by Trauaile. The *Romaines* had a cuſtome, to begin the day at midnight, to the end, that at the riſing and apparition of the Sunne; they might all fall to labour together: for they were perſwaded, that (already) a moity of the day was paſt, and yet no good Act performed by them. A *Roman* ſought to perſwade the Senate, that *Carthage* could not be deſtroyed; leaſt the *Romans* boaſting of ſecurity, by want of imployment there, ſhould become idle. Vpon which occaſion, *Scipio Naſica*, perceiuing that ſome held *Rome* to be in ſafety, after that *Carthage* was made deſolate, and *Greece* waſted; gaue them this anſwere. *I am of a contrary opinion, and doe thinke our ſelues now to be in much greater perill, becauſe we now ſtand in feare of no body*. Whereby this worthy man inferred, that idleneſſe was the cauſe of more dreadfull daunger, then either warre or neighbouring enemies; becauſe feare yeeldes more aduantage of ſafetie, then when we ſtand free from all doubtfull conſideration. And therefore the *French* haue a prety Prouerbe: *Make Hollidaie when the times giue leyſure*.

Quint. Curtius

When the *Romaines* began the day.

A Romaine perſwaſion to the Senate.

The words of *Scipio Naſica*.

Idleneſſe cauſeth more danger then warre can do.

Apuleius ſaide, that nothing ſeemed more commendable to him, then Fencers, who had idleneſſe in ſuch abhomination; that the Maiſters would neuer ſuffer their Schollers to eate, till they had firſt performed ſome act of vertue and man-hood. *Cicero* declareth (to the ſame effect;) *That Men were truely borne to good deedes and aduentures; whereof our Soule is a ſufficient argument, for it is neuer idle, or at reſt*. *Draco*, the famous Law-maker of *Athens*, among the moſt notable Lawes which hee deuiſed, he had one deſeruing the chiefeſt praiſe of all; which was: That ſuch men were ſentenced with death, as ſhould be found idle, or walking at their pleaſure or paſtimes, when others were ſeriouſly and honeſtly buſied. It deſerueth

Apuleius concerning Fencers.

The ſaying of *Cicero*.

Of the Emperor *Adrian* & *Turbo*.

The Law of *Draco* againſt idleneſſe.

Three Idols in great esteeme among the Gentiles.

ueth some consideration, to note in what account trauaile was among the Gentiles; in regard, that they had three Idols: the first was named *Strenna*, that is; dexterity, or agility: the second, *Agenoria*, which signified virility, or manlines: and the third, *Stimula*, which is as much to say, as a spurre and pricke to honour and vertue; and trauaile was (with them) in such precious reckoning, that they erected these *Ideaes* to eternity.

The holy Scripture bindeth vs to trauaile.

But not to stay ourselues (ouer long) on the Gentiles opinion, let vs come to the sacred Scriptures; where we are no lesse bound to trauaile, then restrained and prohibited from prophane thinges. *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, among those other places, where he so deepely condemneth idlenesse, saith: *That the sluggard or slouthfull person, which forbeareth to worke in Winter, shall be a Beggar.* Saint *Paule*, the Doctour of the Gentiles, taketh glory in nothing more, then in not beeing idle, commending labour and trauaile aboue all things. And writing to the *Thessalonians*, hee tels them, that they knew wel enough how to imitate him, for he was neuer idle among them, but it was foode to him both night and day, in that he had gained them; not by any indirect meanes or charge to them, but in giuing them good example. Saing moreouer, that hee that would not labour, ought not to eat. The like did he to the *Corinthians*, recounting his Trauailes taken for their example; and so in many other places beside. Let vs then (hence-forward) imploy our time in good and honest exercises, shunning sloth and idlenesse, that neuer can performe any act of estimation.

Prouerbs. 10.5.

1 *Thes.* 2, 9.

2 *Thes.* 3, 8, 9. 10.

2 *Corin.* 5, 7.

In what manner trauaile is commanded.

And yet wee are not commaunded, to follow labour and trauaile, with such extreamity or rigour; as to leaue our meate, drinke, sleep, or honestly taking our rest and quiet: for decent recreations, and honest repose is sometimes lawfull. In which regard, *Cicero* exalted and commaunded *Scipio*, who said: *That he was neuer lesse at rest, then when he was at rest.* Which *Cicero* maintaineth to be a notable saying: *Because* (quoth he) *he declared thereby, that in his idlenesse, he thought on his businesse, and so in solitude, he could take councell with himselfe.* Moral *Seneca* alleaged; *That idle time, without Letters or study, is death and buriall to a Man, and onely they that are exercised in knowledge, know best what sloath and idlenesse is.* *Plutarch* would haue a man to make some dispensation of his time, in exercising the difference betweene knowledge and experience. O that men (then) would but duely consider, how their time is to bee imployed; which glides away so swiftly, and remember withall, that they must render an account for euery word spoken vainely & idly. *Cato*, although he was a Pagan, yet he could say: *That great and worthy Men did stand as much bound to yeilde an account, for their time lost or neglected; as they that could best deliuer reason for their honest imployment.*

Cicero concerning the saying of *Scipio*.

The saying of *Seneca*.

Plutarch in his Morralles.

The graue saying of *Cato*.

To conclude, we should make such good expence of our time, in honest, lawdable, and blamelesse exercises: that the fruites thereof may be aduantageable to vs, and we esteemed as hyred Seruants for heauen; which is prouided for none, but such, as are called to trauaile in the Lords Vine-yard, and shall haue their Wages according to their worke. And Saint *Iohn* the Diuine saith. *The dead which dye in the Lord, are fully blessed, for they rest from their labours, and their workes and trauailes follow them.* This authority doth well approue, that trauaile is the merchandise of this World; heere bought and sold, but rewarded in Heauen. For so Saint *Paule* testifieth, saying: *Euery one shall receiue his wages and payment, according as he hath trauailed here beneath.*

The Authors conclusion concerning labour and trauaile.

Reuel. 14, 13.

CHAP. V.

The reason, why the Palme was giuen as an attributte to Conquerours; and Lawrell obserued as a signe of victory.

MOst certaine is it, that (in elder times) the Romaines gaue the Palme to Conquerours, in signe of Triumph; and it is so true, that by writing in Latine the word *Palma*, it is meerely vnderstood for victory. *Plutarch* also affirmeth, that for each kind of victory, there was a seuerall Crowne

Plutarch in Tract. de Conputat.

Seue all Crowns vsed among the Romaines for Conquerors.

Crowne designed, where-with their heads were circkled, that had obtained such honor in field. One was made of Oliue branches; another of Laurell; a third of Oaken Leaues, and others, of other trees: but among them all, the Palme was the general signe of victory. Those ancients do likewise say, that the cause why this signification (more then any other) was attributed to them: proceeded from an admirable propriety in the Tree it selfe, which (without any other proofe to confirme it) is allowed to be most certaine, by authority of thē that haue written theron; as *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Plutarch*. All which learned Writers do maintain, that the more the Palme-tree (or one of his branches) is charged with any heauy weight or burden; the more it resists and withstandeth the oppression. And whereas all other Trees doe yeelde vnder such lading, and are surmounted by the burden: the Palme only resisteth, and cannot be ouer-awed; because the greater the weight is, the more doth it still out-stand it. In this respect, both *Plutarch* and *Aulus Gellius* say: *That he which goes with an intent to Conquer another, must not suffer himselfe to be surmounted by feare of the perrill, nor waxe weake in the attempt: but rather trauaile on with height of courage, and (with resolute resistance) pursue victorie, as being a man, meete to carry comparison with that Tree, which hath the same naturall quality, both in resisting and ouercomming any weighty oppression, and therefore it is giuen as a signe of victory.*

Plin. Lib. 6. Arist. in Probl. Theophra. lib. 5. Aul. Gel. lib. 2. Plutar. in Simp

The words of *Plutarch* and *Aulus Gellius*.

Others say, that this honour was practised by the Gentiles, because the Palme was consecrated to *Phœbus*, long before the Laurell was, and was held to be a most auncient signe of victory. *Plinie* and *Theophrastus*, doe write of many other properties in this Tree, whereof we neede not speake, to auoide expence of time. And yet notwithstanding, I am very loath, to conceale that which is affirmed by so many; to wit, that as the Palme hath contrary effects to all other Trees: so is there of them both Masle and Female, and the Females are they which bring forth dates; the Masles onelie flourish, and when they happen to yeelde any fruite, they are verie small, without good taste, and no profit is made of them. It is also to be obserued, that in what place soeuer the Females grow, if the Masles be not neere vnto them, they will not beare any fruit: but if it chance, that the Masle-tree bee cut or disbranched; the Female (like a Widdowe) thence-forward, will neuer yeelde any more fruit.

The Palme was consecrated to *Phœbus*, before the Laurell.

Palme-trees that are both male and female.

But ceasing further speech of the Palme, we are heere to remember, that in the Triumphes at *Rome*, the Triumphers vsed to bee Crowned with Laurell, and the Captaine that triumphed, carried a braunch thereof in his hand. So is the Triumphe described of *Scipio Affricanus*, by *Appianus Alexandrinus*, and many others, whereof *Pliny* yeeldeth some reason, and saith. *The Laurell was consecrated to Apollo or Phœbus, because that on the Mount of Pernassus, there grew great store of them*; And hee beleeueth, that for this reason, the Triumphers Crowned themselues with Laurell.

Wreathes or Crownes of Laurel worne in the *Romane* Triumphes.

Plin. Lib. 6.

He deliuereth another reason, concerning a wonderfull propertie in the Laurell, to wit; that (naturally) it is an enemy to Fire, and Thunder; and Lightening (be it neuer so violent) hath not the power to touch it. Hereupon was it, that so often as the Emperour *Tiberius* heard any Thunder, and beheld the lightning flashes; hee tooke a Leafe of Laurell or Bayes, and layde it on his bare head, iudging himselfe (by that meanes) to bee free from the Thunder and Lightnings daunger. The Priestes of Diuination in *Rome*, vsed also to Crowne themselues with Laurel, and afterward burning them; would diuine (by the noise it made) of that which was to ensue: and therfore *Claudian* called this Tree, *The Diuiner of things to come.*

A strange propertie of the Laurell.

The Emperor *Tiberius*.

The Diuinatours wore Laurell Crownes.

Pliny and *Suetonius*, in the beginning of the Emperour *Galbaes* life, doe declare a matter very strange, saying; that *Liuia Drusilla* (who afterward was named *Augusta*, because she was married to *Octauianus Augustus*) going from *Rome*, to a place out of the Cittie, called *Veietana*; she chanced to sit downe vnder a Laurell Tree, and very soone after, an Eagle flying ouer her

Plin. lib. 7. Sueton. in vit. Galb.

Of *Liuia Drusilla*, wife to *Octauianus Augustus*.

her head in the Ayre(through the branches of the Bay-tree) did let fall into her lap, a Hen as white as Snow, that carried a branch of greene Bayes fast in her Bill. *Liuia* beeing somewhat amazed thereat, caused the Henne to bee well kept, and of it came many more beside; wherefore, the name of the Graundge where shee kept the Henne, was euer after called *Gallina*. She commaunded also, that the braunch (found in the Hennes Bill) should be planted, which grew so faire, and prospered in such plenty; as it was wonderfull to behold, what aboundance of Trees came of that one Plant. So that, from that time forward, both *Octauianus* and his Successours, (in a kinde of Custome, or superstitious Religion) when they triumphed: would cut braunches of those Baytrees, and beare them in their handes; but when the Triumphe was ended, they would plant them againe by those Trees, from whence they had beene cut, and they prospered as well as the other did. This History is (in this manner) related by these two credible Authors. *Suetonius*, whose authority is of great reputation, addeth yet another matter, whereat I doe not a little maruaile. He saith, that at such times as any Emperour dyed; the Plant of Laurell likewise withered, and all the branches cut from those boughs, which had bin planted at the time of his triumph. And when *Nero* died, who was the last of the *Cæsars* Linage, all the Bay-trees dryed vp and withered, that had grown cheerefully before, and came of that one braunch, which the Hen brought in her beake, and had bin planted by *Liuia*. Beside, all the thriuing store of the white Hennes brood, dyed, not one remaining, and in the Imperiall Pallace fell such Lightnings and Thunder: as smote off the heads of the Emperours statues, erected there in their remembrance, and the Scepter which *Augustus Cæsar* helde in his hand, was also smitten downe to the ground. Continually they placed Crownes of Laurell vpon euery Cornish of the Emperours houses. *Ouid*, among many other things in his Metamorphosis, saith; That the Romaines reputed the Laurell, to bee a very sacred Tree, and would make no vse therof, about things that were vile, vncleane, or prophane: but euer accounted it as a signe of peace, and therfore tearmed it the *Peacefull Laurell*. *Plinie* saith, that the Laurell hath a vertuous property against the Pestilence, & against all venemous Serpents. *Ouid* declareth, that the faire & chast Nimph *Daphne*, was conuerted into this Tree, and in regard thereof, it was consecrated to *Phœbus*, who (among other vanities) was adored by the ancient *Romains* as a God.

The carrying of Laurell branches in triumphes.

Another History auouched by *Suetonius*.

Nero the last Emperor of the *Cæsars* race

The *Romaines* estimation of the Laurell.

Plin. Lib. 9.

CHAP. VI.

Of the abhominable and most detested vice of Cruelty; How horrid it is to humane Nature: With many excellent examples depending on this Argument.

AMong all vicious pollutions, which are most repugnant, euen to common humanity, and make men to become abhominable; me thinks, that cruelty is the supreame and Soueraign of all other. For, man is a most Noble Creature, made in the Image and similitude of God; yea, borne to exercise nothing but mildenesse: but being seruile to cruelty; he becommeth a brute Beast, terrible, furious, wicked, and an vtter enemy to God, who is the Prince of clemency, and would not haue one man to be bitter, or tyrrannous to another. *Aristotle* saith, that fierceneſſe, cruelty, and inhumanity, belongeth only to wild and furious beasts. *Seneca*, in his second Booke of Clemency, termeth it Fellony against the Soule, and from thence concludeth; that it is opposite and contrary to the vertue of Clemency. Cruelty is the greatest enemy to Iustice and reason, and is a more detestable sin then Pride or Anger. For it seemeth, that anger proceedeth from som conceiued displeasure, to behold any euill offered to another: but in a cruell disposition, there is found far other maleuolent matter, because in smiles (and without any disdaine, but only in meere mallice) mercilesse torments are inflicted on men; yea, euen to the depriuation of life. Therfore it is capitall enemie to Iustice, which honorably defendeth, and will permit no man to receiue any domage or harme; without some fault com-

Man made a Noble Creature.

Arist. in Ethic.

Seneca. in Lib. 2. de Clement.

Anger compared with cruelty.

Cruelty the chiefest enemy to Iustice.

committed, and yet taketh order also, that offenders shal haue milde and temperate correction. *Seneca*, in his Booke of manners, saith; *If we call them Hangmen, that vse no measure in the correction of vices: what then may wee tearme them, that cruelly oppresse and murder Innocents?*

Senec. in Lib. de Morib.

Examples of cruell men are infinite, among whom was *Herod*, King of the *Iewes*, who raigned at the time, as our Lord & Sauior Iesus Christ was born. For, after the slaughter of so many Innocents (purposely performed, in hope to haue slaine him among them; that came into the world for our Redemption) he would yet make further shew of his cruelty, not only while he liued, but euen at the instant of his death. And because he well perceiued his end approaching, he called all the chiefe persons of *Ierusalem*, who being come before him: he caused them to be seazed on, and fast lockt vp in a place neere to himselfe, giuing strict charge to his Sister: that at the point of his Soules surrender, shee should see them euery one put to death; wherein she failed, in regard that God appointed the contrary. And what was his reason for his bloody intent? Onely this, as himselfe confessed a little before his death. He knew very wel, that al the people of *Ierusalem* would be very ioyful for his departure, because other matters had happened to the people, then they expected; and therefore (moued onely by cruelty) to make this the saddest day that euer they endured, he concluded this bloody slaughter and horrible murder. The cruelties of *Abimelech*, the Son to great *Gedeon*, were as wonderfull, for, that himselfe might enioy the Kingdome alone, he put to death threescore of his owne Bretheren: one onely escaping, named *Ionathas*, who fled (by the will of God) that the Traytour might liue in continuall suspition. Now, I know not whether this cruelty, or the other following, may be counted the greatest, acted by the same man, against the *Sichimites*, and in reuenge, because they had expulsed him out of their Citty. But he getting entrance againe by power, and in the night time: slew all that were therein, Men, Women, Children, great and small. And because some were fled into the Temples; hee caused them to bee round engirt with wood, & putting fire thereto; the heat and smoak was so great, that there they were all smothered. Then destroying the Citty, he caused the ground to bee ploughed, and gaue commaund, that it should be sowen with Salt.

Herod King of the *Iewes*, at the birth of our Sauiour.

The cruelty of *Herod* at his death, against the chiefest men in *Ierusalem*.

Herods reason for his bloody intent.

The cruelties of *Abimelech*, the Sonne of *Gedeon*, vpon his owne Brethren, and the *Sichimites*.

Very great also, was the cruelty of the *Carthagenians*, executed on *Attilius Regulus*, who being taken Prisoner by thē, they sent him (vpon his owne word) to the *Romaines*, to worke the meanes of peace by the permuptation of Prisoners and Captiues. But he, not regarding his owne life; but preferring the honour of his Country before all other respects: returned againe to *Carthage*, where (for conseruation of his faith) he willingly yeilded himselfe. They, in extreamity of cruelty, made him vp fast in a Tun of wood, which was stuck thick with sharp pointed Nailes of Iron, not affoording the least place, where any member of him might be free from torture: and so, rowling him vp and down their streetes, did put him to death in that miserable manner.

Of *Attilus Regulus*, the famous *Romaine* Captaine against the *Carthagenians*.

All Tyrants haue a custome, to be cruell by nature, but aboue all the rest, the execrable and bloody Tyrant *Phalaris* of *Sicily*, carrieth the chiefest place of eminence. He slew infinite men, without any offence commited against him, and (if it were well considered) he was much more cruell in affection, then in action. For he had a Bull of Brasse, which *Perillus* (a cunning workman) had made for him, wherein the party was enclosed, whom he would haue to bee put to death. Then kindling an hot Fire round about it, the voyce of the poore pacient (suffering this torture within) seemed to the Tirant, as if it had bin the bellowing of a true Bull. And this he did, to the end, that the cries of an humane voyce, in such extreamity, might not moue him to the least iot of compassion. Yet one thing is much commended in him, that *Perillus*, the inuenter and maker of this terrible punnishment; was the first (by the Tirants commaund) that made proofe thereof.

Of cruel *Phalaris*, the bloody Tyrant of *Sicily*, and his Bull of Brasse made by *Perillus*.

Nor can I well aduise my selfe, with what kinde of cruelty, to compare that of *Tullia*, daughter to *Tarquine*, king of *Rome*, who caused her father to be slain, because she might inherit the kingdom; which himselfe had willingly giuen her,

Iustice executed by a Tyrant.

Tullia slew hir owne Father, to enioy his Kingdome.

she would but haue stayed a little longer. And that which is much more note worthy in her cruelty, was; that her father lying dead vpon the ground, & she being mounted in his Chariot; would needes ride ouer the dead body. And wheras the Horses that drew the Chariot, being fearefull at sight of the dead body, refused to goe on; as also the Coach man that guided them (moued with compassion of his murdred Maister) would haue turned them another way, to the end, that the Kinges body might not be dismembred: yet took she pleasure in her cruell affection, & what the dumb beasts (in pitty) denied to do; she (in meere cruelty) would execute, compelling the Horses to obey hir wil, and trample vppon the body of her Father.

Extraordinary cruelty in a Daughter.

The horrible cruelty of the *Scythians* to liuing men.

The *Scythians*, a people very furious & valiant in warre, are likewise recorded, (by Historians) to be exceeding cruell: but among their other cruelties (which gaue much matter of maruaile) this one is especially remébred. They wold that their greatest beasts, as Horses & Buls, and such men as they would haue to be tormented, must be bound fast within the opened bodies of the slaughtered Beasts, so that they could not possiblie stirre any way. There would they giue them food to eate, that while they thus liued: the Flesh of the dead beastes might putrifie and stincke, and the Wormes issuing forth of the putrifaction, should feede on the liuing men, and they dye in this cruell torment.

The cruelty of *Maximinus* and *Maxentius*

We reade that *Maximinus*, Emperour of *Rome*, did as much, hauing deuised the most horrible cruelty, that euer entred into the heart of Man: hee caused liuing men to bee fast bound to the bodies of dead men, and left them in that manner, till the noysome smell of the dead had kild the liuing.

Virgill affirmeth the like of *Maxentius*. As strange horrid cruelties doe we read of, done by *Alexander Phereus*, who commaunded liuing men to bee buried, being bound face to face one against another. Others, he caused to bee cloathed in the skinnes of Beares, and other wilde beasts, and then threw them forth into the open fields, among Wolues and Mastiues, that they might bee torne in peeces and deuoured of them.

The cruelty of *Alexander Phereus*.

I know not, whether the cruelty done by *Astiages* (King of the *Medes*) to *Arpalus*, or *Harpagus* (one of the cheefest and deerest Friendes of his Kingdome) may be reported; without amazement and dreadfull astonishment. This *Astiages* appointed a young Sonne of his owne to bee slaine (in regard of a troublesome dreame, concerning the said Child) and gaue the charge of this bloody execution to *Harpagus*. But he, mooued to compassion, by the moanes and teares of the young Infant (which was afterward called *Cyrus* the Great) and standing in feare also of the Childs Mother, she being daughter to *Astiages*: would not kill the Infant, but with all care and diligence, tooke order for the safety and education therof. Long time after, *Astiages* was aduertised, that the Child was not dead, which smothering inwardly to himselfe, with a countenance declaring no discontentment: he closely practised, how he might repay the pitty of *Harpagus*, in breaking his commaund, and preseruing the life of young *Cyrus*. *Harpagus* hauing a young Sonne, *Astiages* (by secret meanes) got possession of him, and hauing inuited *Harpagus* to dine with him the next day, among the other viands serued in at the Table; the Father fed vpon the flesh of his owne Childe, with exceeding appetite and good liking, because the Kings cruelty was vnknowne to him. *Astiages* not satisfied with the bloody deceipt, did another most cruell deede: for, among the fruites and delicates to finish this dinner, vpon seuerall plates and dishes; the head, feet, and hands of the Infant was set vpon the table, and presented so apparantly before the father, that he could not auoyde the knowledge of his wofull dinner.

The History of *Astiages* & *Harpagus*.

The preseruation of young *Cyrus*.

The cruelty of K. *Astiages*.

An extreame cruelty in a King.

Betweene the two Warlicke Captaines, *Marius* and *Silla*, being Capitall Enemies to each other, were so many tyrannies exercised; as it seemed, they listned to nothing else, but contended which should exceede in the greatest Cruelrie. *Silla* caused foure Legions of Souldiers to bee slaine in one day. Likewise the *Prænestines*, a people of *Italy*, that desired mercy of him, because they had receiued *Marius* into their safetie and keeping; they could get no

Contention between *Marius* and *Silla*, to exceed eche other in cruelty.

no releaſe from his tyranny, but were all generally ſlaine, and their bodyes throwne into the fieldes, to feede Vultures and Rauens. The like, on the other ſide, did *Marius*, that he might not come a iot behind his enemy in cruelty.

The crueltie of the Emperor *Tiberius*.

Could the World yeelde an equall to the Emperour *Tiberius*, the Succeſſour of *Octauius?* Hee, after a feigned clemency, at the beginning of his raign, ſuffered no day to paſſe him, without ſhedding the blood of poor Innocents. Moreouer, he deuiſed a kind of cruelty, the like whereof (in mine opinion) was neuer heard: For he prohibited (on pain of death) that no one ſhould be ſo bold as to weepe, or make any ſhew of ſorrow, for them whom he had innocently put to death. Truely, this was a verie ſtrange cruelty, for I am of the minde, that there can be no greater paine, then that which hindereth an afflicted heart, from eaſing his ouer-weighty burthen of woe, by ſighes and teares, the pooreſt remedy that oppreſſion can haue.

An incomparable cruelty.

That which he afterward did to young Maides and Virgines, deſerueth no repetion, but onely to his endleſſe ſhame. For, before their death, he would haue them violated and deflowred by Ruffians and Hang-men, to the ende, that (with death) they might loſe their chiefeſt honour and palme of victory.

Violence don to Virgines.

And ſuch was his delight in putting people to death, that when newes was brought him, that one (whom he had condemned to death) had ſlain himſelfe; he cryed out, ſaying. *Oh how could this Cornelius* (for ſo was the condemned perſons name) *eſcape me? Hee ſhould haue vnderſtood, I vſe to torment patients in ſuch ſort before they dye, that death it ſelfe is the greateſt grace I can doe them.* There then liued not any man, but he was amazed at his variety of inuentions, wherby he tormented and put men to death. Whē he was diſpoſed to ſee ſome men dye, he would haue them firſt to drinke exceſſiuely, and when they were able to drinke no more; then ſhould their conduit paſſage for Vrine bee ſo ſtrictlie bound, that the leaſt droppe of Vrine could not bee voyded, and in this mercileſſe Agony muſt they be left, vntill they dyed with extreamity of anguiſh. Beſide, onelie for his pleaſure, men muſt bee throwne head-long from an high Rocke (named *Capraria*, neere *Naples*) into the Sea, and becauſe he imagined, that (thus dying in the Water) was too eaſie a death: hee would haue armed men to ſtand beneath, to receiue the bound bodies on their Pikes and Halbardes, ſo to mangle and cut thē in pieces, before they were thrown into the Sea.

The words of the Emperor *Tiberius*.

Anothe horrible torment.

After the death of this *Tiberius*, euen ſuch a death as hee worthily deſerued; *Caius Caligula* ſucceeded in the Empire, and in the violent affection of his Predeceſſours. He wiſhed, that all the people in *Rome* had but one head; that (at one ſtroke) himſelfe might ſmite it off. He thought himſelfe vnfortunate; & complained of the felicitie in his time; becauſe that (while he gouerned) there was no Famine, vniuerſall Peſtilence, Deluges, Ruines, and ſubuerſions of Countries, for vtter deſolation of the whole World together.

Caius Caligula, his bloodie wiſh to the people of Rome.

A man was brought before him, that formerly had beene baniſhed by *Tiberius*, of whom hee demaunded; what he did all the time of his banniſhment? The man made anſwer (in meere adulation) that he praied to God, without intermiſſion, for the death of *Tiberius*, & that his Maieſty might ſucceede in the Empire. Which when *Caligula* heard, he remembred himſelfe, how many thouſands of men had bin baniſhed; & thruſt into exile by him, who (doubtleſſe) might make the like Prayer for him: he forthwith gaue command, that they ſhould be all repealed, and euerie man of them put to death. Such as (by him) were ſentenced to die, hee would haue the manner of their dying prolonged by little and litle, and inflict (at firſt) but ſmall woundes on them, that their paine might laſt the longer. For he vſed to ſay to his Tormentours; *Deale with them ſo, that they may feele themſelues die.* He obſerued alſo a ſaying of his predeceſſor: *People wiſh me il, becauſe they fear me* After this *Caligula*, *Nero* ſucceeded in the gouernment; & in no leſſe fiercenes and cruelty; becauſe he was a Man, in whom (if poſſible it might be) all the others cruelties were encloſed, and all elſe that could (by Men) be imagined. For, without any regard of ſanctified thinges, or perſons (of like qualitie) priuate or publike: hee cauſed the Cittie

Of a man baniſhed by *Tiberius*.

Baniſhedmen repealed and put to death.

Death prolonged by little and little.

Nero ſucceſſor to *Caligula* in tyranny and cruelty.

Rome set on fire, and not to be quenched.

of *Rome* to bee set on fire, with expresse prohibition not to quench it, or any man to make safety of his owne goods. So the fire continued seauen daies, and seauen nights, burning the Cittie; and hee being on a high Tower, some small distance off, clapped his hands, and ioyed to behold this dismall spectacle, so far exceeding all humanity. He slew his owne Mother, and put to death the Husbands of *Octauia* and *Sabina*, which Ladies he married, and soone after depriued them of life also. Indeed this man attained to the verie height of all cruelty, for he was the first that persecuted the Christians: and in his time was the first & verie greatest persecution of the Church. And wel did he declare, that hee surpassed all the other in wickednesse, and was the Prince of all furious brutality: for he would often repeate a Greeke Verse, to this effect. *After my death, let heauen and earth confound themselues togither.* Or I could rather wish (quoth he) that such a generall dissolution might happen in my daies. For I had rather deriue mine examples from barbarous people, then anie touch of our precedent *Romain* Emperors. But the successours to these men, who imitated them in all vilenesse: barres my further proceeding, because they were such in tiranny, as no where else are they to be followed. And therefore I wil leaue the liues of *Domitian*, *Vitellius*, *Commodus*, *Maximus*, and such others: but the cruelties of *Diocletian* against the Christians, and whereof *Eusebius* maketh declaration in his Ecclesiastical History, I cannot well let passe, without some breefe note, to the end, that Blasphemers and bad people now liuing, may see what the Christians endured in the Primitiue Church, because they wonlde not denie the name of Christ.

Nero murdered his owne Mother.

Nero exceeded all other in wickednes and tyrannie.

The cruelty of *Diocletian* against the Christians

Christians dragd at Horses tayles.

This wicked Tyrant, caused men to be dragd thorow the streets, at the tailes of Horsses, and their bodies beeing thus sore bruised and broken, they were sent backe to prison againe, where they had no other beds to repose on, but broken Potshards, and such like vn-easie matter, whereon they were sure to taste no rest. He would also cause the lofty branches of trees, to be gently haled downe without breaking; and then binding the limbs of Christians vnto them, command their sudden exaltation, that so their bodyes might be rent and torne in pieces. In the Citty of *Alexandria*, he commanded many to be dismembred, their eares, noses, lippes, hands, and feete cut off, leauing only their eies, that they might beholde each others wofull extremitie. He caused sharpe splinters of wood to be made, and thrust into their naked bodies, betweene the flesh and bones, and likewise vnder the Nails of their Fingers and toes. Molten Lead and Brasse, in extremity of the greateste heat, he would haue throwne vpon their naked bodies, and into their Secrets: making Women also to haue burning Irons bound to their Breasts, and all violence else that could be deuised. By al which cruelties inflicted on their weake bodies, hee sent infinite constant soules to God, who made this Tyrant and his Tormenters, Instrumentes (thus) to aduance his glorie, and his seruants afflictions to shine more clearly. All these Cruelties are written by faithfull Authours; for, besides those recorded in Sacred Scripture, the rest are recited by *Iosephus* in his Antiquities of the Iewish Warres, by *Suetonius Tranquillus*, *Plutarch*, *Titus Liuius*, *Iustine*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Eusebius*, *Paulus Orosius*, *Iulius Capitolinus*, & others of no lesse authority.

Molten Lead and Brasse throwne on Christians naked bodies.

Ioseph. in Antiq. de. Bel. Iudaic.

CHAP. VII.

How that oftentimes wicked Kings and Tirants are Gods Ministers, and yet neuertheless, they haue continually bad and euill endes, in open viewe of the world.

SVch as haue beene, & yet are subiected to wicked Tyrants, ought to consider (for their consolation) that though they are oreawed by such oppressours, they are (notwithstanding) the Ministers of God. In many places of the Holy Scriptures, they are named the seruants of God, because (by them) God punisheth the wicked, & perfecteth them that are good. The Hæbrewes hauing beene gouerned by Iudges and Priests, *Samuel* growne into old yeares, and sinne and contempt of God encreasing among the people; Kings wer giuen

God maketh vse of Tirants to be his Ministers of vengeance.

The limbes of Christians bound to the tops of Trees.

giuen vnto them, and the people themselues required the chastisement which they worthily deserued, in asking a King to be giuen them. This King was *Saule*, a good man at his beginning; but afterward a cruell Tyrant: for he tooke from them their goodes and libertie; and although he was tainted with many wicked vices, yet we cannot deny, but that hee was called the Lords annointed, by meanes whereof, God kept them all in feare and terror.

Saul was a good King at his beginning.

But let vs set aside, both him & diuers others, who liued vnder the law of God, and knewe him; and come to Idolaters, who likewise are named by the holy scriptures, Ministers of God; for so saith the Lord by the mouth of Esay. *Let the Captaines enter by the Port of Babylon, I haue commaunded my sanctified, and called the mightie to my wrath, to the end that they may glorifie themselues in my glory.* The Prophet spake these words on the behalfe of King *Cyrus*, and King *Darius*. Behold, how he called the *Medes* and *Persians* his sanctified, who (neuertheless) were neyther holy nor iust, but only executioners of the will of God, for the punnishment of *Babylon*. In another place, by *Ezechiel* he saith, *I wil bring my seruant Nabuchodonosor, and because he hath serued me weel neer to Tyre, I wil giue him Egipt also.* And yet for all this, these men were no Seruants of God, because they neither knew him, serued him, nor beleeued in him: neuertheless, they were executioners of his Iustice, and (in this vnderstanding) were named his seruants.

Idolaters named Gods Ministers.

Esay. 13, 3.

Ezech. 26, 7.

Cruell *Totyla*, King of the *Goths*, was named the threshing Flaile of God; and iustly reputed so to be. Great *Tamberlaine*, who liued in the time of our Grand fathers, a most powerfull and cruel Captain, subduing and vanquishing numberles Prouinces; when he was demaunded wherefore he was so cruell and inhumain to men by him vanquished, Answered in great Choller; *Thinke ye that I am any other then the wrath of God?* Hence therefore may we wel conclude, that (very often) cruell and wicked men are Instruments, whereby God punisheth the sinfull, and approoueth the vertuous. And yet notwithstanding, he doth not thereby cleare these men from beeing wicked still, and worthy of greater chastisement, euen for these actions of theirs: *Because* (according to our Sauiours wordes) *it is necessary that scandals should be, but wo be to them by whose occasion they come.* Also, it is a case most certaine, that God neuer leaueth them vnpunnished, euen in this world (beside perpetuall afflictions prepared for them in the world to come) and that by most straunge and cruell deaths, answerable to such, as they haue inflicted on others.

Totila called the Flayle of God.

Tamberlaine named the wrath of God.

Wicked men are said to bē Gods instruments.

Phalaris, the Tyrant of *Sicily*, died miserably in the Brazen Bull, which hadde beene the death of many of his subiects, and made like Musicke then to himselfe, as he had taken delight to heare from others. *Plutarch* declareth, that *Sylla* was miserablie eaten with Lice, and by no possible meanes could get any remedie. Beside, *Pliny* tels vs, that he dide biting & tearing his flesh with his own teeth. *Marius* his Capitall enemie, and euerie way as cruell, inhumaine, and wicked as hee, was brought into such desperate condition: that flying to hide himselfe, he was glad to yeilde into the handes of *Pontius Thesselinus*, and entreat him to cut off his head.

The death of the Tyrant *Phalaris*.

The death of *Silla*.

The death of *Marius*.

The Emperour *Tiberius*, was murdered by his owne people, being smotherd to death with pillowes: and yet *Suetonius* affirmeth, that his death was wrought by poyson. *Caligula* hauing receiued 30 wounds by the hands of *Chereus*, *Cornelius Sabinus*, and many others sworne in the same Conspiracy, there ended his daies among them.

The death of the Emperor *Tiberius*.

The death of *Caligula*.

Cruell *Nero*, before he died, saw himselfe depriued of his Empire, & iudged a deadly enemy to *Rome*; by which means, beeing enforced to hide himselfe in hollow Vaults, which were wholly infected with humane excrements, he wold needs kill himselfe. But wanting power to execute his owne will, and calling others to helpe him in the action: three Villaines came and murdered him, mocking him extreamely all the while, which they delayed so long as they could, for his greater torment, according as *Suetonius* reporteth.

The miserable death of bloody *Nero*.

Diocletian likewise, hauing left the empire, died by poison, which he had secretly prepared for himselfe. *Domitian* also died, hauing receiued seuen woundes by *Stephanus*, *Saturnius*, *Maximus*, and others. *Tullia*, of whom we spake before, that vsed her owne Father so cruellie, being

The death of *Diocletian*.

The death of *Tullia*.

ing banished from *Rome*, died poore and miserably. *Astiages*, Grand-Father to *Cyrus*, whom he would haue murdered in his Infancie, by the aide of *Harpagus*, and whom he made to feede on the flesh of his owne Childe, was despoiled of his Kingdome by *Cyrus*, and died wretchedly. *Herod* likewise, and many other wicked Tyrants, of whom to speake, would aske a tedious relation, died all the like infamous deaths. Let such then, as now do command & beare sway in the world; shun crueltie, and embrace clemencie, that they may the better be loued of their subiects. For the verie greatest and surest safety of a King, consisteth in the amitie and affection of his people.

The death of *Astiages*.

CHAP. VIII.

The strange fortune, which happened to the Sonne of Cræsus, King of Lydia, and likewise to the Sonne of another King. In regard wherof, it is discoursed whither speech bee a thing natural to man or no: and whether man only speaketh, & no creature else.

Herodotus and *Aulus Gellius*.

Herodotus writeth, a meruelous accident happening to the sonne of *Cræsus*, K. of *Lydia*: and in the same manner, is it reported by *Aulus Gellius*. This *Cræsus* was a Rich King, and the same that was vanquished by *Cyrus*, as many good Historiographers haue declared. During the time that this King liued prosperously in his Countrey, he had by one of his Lawful Wiues, a goodly Sonne, healthfull and compleate in all his parts and vnderstanding. The Child hauing attained conuenient yeares, to forme speech, & make vse thereof, was (notwithstanding) by the meanes of some vnknowne string, or other hinderance in the tongue, debarred from speaking for long time after. Yet grew he to good stature, and aptly disposed to diuers enterprizes, which caused him to bee much pitied, & this restraint of his speech, made euerie one to repute him dumbe, albeit hee had good knowledge, and heard verie perfectly, which is against the order of Nature, for neuer was any man knowne to bee Naturallie dumbe, but he was deafe likewise.

The son of K. *Cræsus* bereste of speech.

Dumbe men are also deafe by Nature.

It fortuned, that *Cræsus* was vanquished, and the City wherein hee was, taken by the enemies, so that the forwarde Soldiers pressed on to the Pallace wherin the King and his dumbe Sonne were hidden together. But being found by a Soldier, who had perfect knowledge of them both: and lifting vp his sword, with full intent to kill *Cræsus*: his Son was so affrighted at the bloody proffer, and passion had such a powerfull working in him that he strone for speech extraordinarily. And pressing the extreame Dominion, which the soule hath of the body, immediately the corporall Organes yeelded to the strong determination of the will, and breaking the strings that had so long restraind his liberty of speech, he spake out alowd, saying; *Oh do not kil him, consider that hee is King Cræsus, and my father.* When the Soldier heard these wordes, he with-held his stroke, and wonlde not smite the King: so he escaped death, and from thence-forward his sonne continued in perfect speaking, euen as if hee had spoken all his life time till then. Surelie, this was a matter verie maruellous, and I cannot immagine, what naturall reason may be sufficiently giuen for it.

The strange extasy of a son, seeing his Father readie to be slaine.

A wonderfull recouerie of speech.

Aristotle saith, that men are born commonly dumbe and deafe, because they are not formed with such disposition of these two apprehensions, neither in such perfection as is required. Afterwards, in further growing on, they dispose them selues, and striue first of all, to begin with hearing; and after they haue hearde (for many daies together) then they labour how to speake. *Pliny* saith also, hee that is borne and continueth deafe, is compeld likewise to bee dumbe. For, most certaine it is, that if a deafe man hearde, he would easily learne to speake, and speech is impossible to be taught him that is entirely deafe.

The Allegation of *Aristotle* concerning men borne dumb & deaf.

The saying of *Plini*, *Lib.* 1.

Aristotle also saieth: It may well happen, that a Childe may pronounce some words before ordinary time, and yet notwithstanding, he will begin to lose those words againe, vntill such time as Natures allowed houre (for Infants to speake) be come, and when (by her appointment) they commonly vse to speake. To this purpose, *Pliny* speaketh of this sonne to King *Cræsus* (whose History we haue in briefe

Arist. in Hist. Nat. Lib. 2.

Plini, Lib. 15.

briefe related) and ſaith; That at the age of fiue moneths, hee pronounced ſome words, which were reputed as Prognoſticaters of his Fathers ruine: and ſo it ſeemed, that ſuch effect proceeded from that fore-telling, for he neuer ſpake afterwardes, vntill the memorable accident which we haue already declared.

Another Hiſtorie of the like nature.

I call to minde another aduenture in the like caſe, recited by *Huliben Ragel*, in his *Judiciare*, wher he ſpeaketh, as an eie-witneſſe; and being preſent in a Kinges Court, who had a Son borne, that within foure and twenty hours after his birth, began to ſpeake perfectly, and ſtirred his hands, whereat al the Beholders maruelled not a little, for with a ſtrong voice, he deliuered theſe words; *I am borne vnhappily, becauſe I come to fore-tel that the King my Father ſhal looſe his Scepter, & that his Kingdome muſt be deſtroyed*. At the ending of which words, the Childes life ended alſo. This accident (vndoubtedly) was verie dreadfull; and yet it ſeemeth to mee, rather as an Aduertiſement ſent from God, then any wonderfull woorke of Nature. Aſtrologers do tell vs, that the Child whoſe birth ſhal happen when Mercury is Lord of the Aſcendent and Orientall; hee will ſpeake much ſooner then anie other, who ſpeake not, but according vnto the ordinary courſe of Nature.

The ſtraunge wordes of a yong Infant.

The opinion of aſtrologers

I remember likewiſe another matter, conformable to the caſe now in hand, to wit; that ſome haue helde opinion, That ſpeech is not a thing naturall to man, but is learned and gotten, as other Artes and Sciences are. Others hold directly, that our ſpeaking Naturally, is not a matter proper and peculiar to man only. The firſt, who are of the minde, that ſpeech is not a thing naturall, do labour to prooue it, in ſaying: That that ſtrength, which is naturally conuenient to one kind, ſhould be, and is as meet to all of the ſame kind. As wee may perceiue by barking in all Dogges, by Lowing or bellowing in all Bulles, Oxen, &c. and ſo (in like caſe) to al other kinds of Beaſts. And yet notwithſtanding, wee behold in men, that ſome ſpeake in one manner, and others quite contrary, ſo that they do not vnderſtand themſelues naturally; and therefore it ſeemeth, that ſpeech proceedeth rather from Art, then Nature.

Whither ſpeech be naturall to man, or no.

Speech not naturall, aproued how.

Againe, according to *Pliny*, there are

Plin. Lib. 6.

ſome people that ſpeake not all, but their ſpeaking appeareth to be rather a kinde or forme of bellowing, then anie ſetled ſpeech; which neuer could ſo happen, if all men did ſpeake by the guift of nature, for, if it were ſo, then all men wold ſpeak in one and the ſame manner.

That ſpeech is not proper to man onely

Now, as concerning the other opinion, in ſuch as ſay, that ſpeech is not perticulerly proper to man, they ground their iudgement on the Words of *Lanctantius Firmianus*, who tels vs: That wee haue ſome parts, which ſeeme to vs, proper to men onely; and yet neuertheleſſe, the verie ſame are found to bee in other Creatures; as diuerſitie of voice in Birds, by the ſeuerall tunes wee heere diſcerne in one another; whereby we plainly perceiue, that they do vnderſtād each other, ſo that it can bee no otherwiſe, but as a meere forme of Language among them. Moreouer, they maintaine their argument vpon this ground, in that manie Parrats, Pies, Popingayes, and ſuch like Birds, are heard to ſpeake plainly.

Birds do naturaly vnderſtand one another.

But the truth of this matter is (albeit their opinions haue ſome apparance of veritie) that ſpeech is the guift of GOD only to man, not that he purchaſeth it by Art: but is proper and peculiar to him, and not to any other creature. True it is, that other Creatures haue voice, and yet notwithſtanding, they haue no Speech: and ſuch is the opinion of *Quintilian*, & likewiſe of *Ariſtotle*.

Speech, the gift of God, only to man.

Quintillian. Ariſtotle.

In like manner, wee haue good aunſweres to theſe contrary reaſons: As, to the firſt Argument we may well anſwere, That a thing may be Natural vniuerſally, but in perticuler, it may be exerciſed according to the will. It is naturallie euill done, and he deſerueth punishment for it, that killeth another man, or robbeth him of any of his goodes; and yet neuertheleſſe, to inflict one kind of correction or other (vpon him) for the offence, proceedeth from the will of the Iudge. Therfore, although that men do ſpeake diuers tongues, yet is it not to bee ſaid, that this their ſpeaking commeth from Nature. And ſo much the ſtronger is the Argument, that ſuch diuerſitie and confuſion of tongues, was for the punnishment of their pride, that laboured to builde the Tower of *Babel*: for, as we haue alreadie ſaid, there was then but one language in the world, which could be ſaid to be naturall. And

Anſweres to the former arguments.

Speech is not cauſed by nature.

The language of the Troglodytes.

And as for the *Troglodites*, who are are ſaid not to ſpeake at all, it is reputed, that this infirmity proceedeth, by reaſon that their tongue is ouermuch barbarous and imperfect, and they feele nothing, as it were, of humanity; and yet notwithſtanding, it is a kind of Language among them, whereby they ſeeme to vnderſtand one another. And whereas it is further ſaid, that there be diuers Birds that ſpeak, as the Parrat, whereof *Lodouicus Cælius* maketh mention, that belonged to Cardinall *Aſcanius*, which Parrat (in his preſence) pronounced (word by worde) all the Creed in Latine, without fayling in any one ſillable: We may lawfully aunſwere, that this is no ſpeaking, for they knowe not what they ſay; but it is a certaine cuſtom taught them for many daies together, whereby to forme ſuch a voyce; but a true worde is conceyued in the ſoule, before it is pronounced, whereof Birdes haue no ſuch Capacitie.

Of Birds that ſpeake, a Parrat that could ſpeake all the Creed.

The diuerſity of Voyces amongeſt all creatures.

And to that Argument, which implyeth, that wee knowe all creatures by the diuerſitie of their Voices, that they vnderſtand each other, and call one another amongſt themſelues: wee may not heereby inferre, that ſuch a Voyce is a word formed. For. as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, the Voyce looſeth it ſelfe, and ſo can wee, (without any formed word) ſignifie and giue to be vnderſtoode, either ioy or diſcontent, and all vniuerſall paſsions: as wee ſee by the Voice, when it thus expreſſeth it ſelfe in laughter, & with pleaſure, or by ſighes and laments, in deepe ſorrow and anguiſh.

Obſeruations among beaſts and birds.

And for the reſpect of brute beaſtes, that haue difference either in their ſong or voice, and may be knowne when they are diſpleaſed or contented: and the like in Birds, either by motion of their winges, loftie flying, or ſome ſuch other ſign according to the effect: theſe are matters not incident to the caſe in queſtion. For to ſpeake and vtter wordes, whereby may perticulerly be expreſſed, profit, neceſsitie, harme, Mallice, Iuſtice, Iniuſtice, honeſtie, goodneſſe, and whereby alſo paſſed actions are deliuered, and forſight of them to come, by ſolide reaſons and words, in declaring themſelues, and other things are done, anſwerable to the benefit enſuing by ſpeech: this is a bleſſing beſtowed onely vpon man, euen as

Man onely hath the benefit of ſpeaking.

Hereditarie to him by Nature, & whereof no other Creature whatſoeuer, can any way be ſaide to ſtand in neede, or is ſo meete to merrite ſo gracious a benefite.

CHAP. IX.

Of a Woman that was married manie times, And of a Man that had manie Wiues, and hapned at length, to ioyne in mariage with that woman.

I Haue many times noted that the honor of Widdowes, vnder-went cõmon and publicke taxation, if they had beene married three or foure times. Now, albeit it ſeemeth exteriourly, that men had good reaſon for this detection; yer notwithſtanding, no man ought to iudge of another bodies ſecret Conſcience.

Widdowes of ten married, ſubiect to taxation.

Marriage, was firſt inſtituted in Paradiſe, and is allowed by the Church to be Sacred and Lawful; in which reſpect no man ſhould or ought vſe any reprehenſion againſt it. And yet wee muſt not denie, but that a Chaſt life, without ſubiection to marriage, is the more perfect eſtate, and is to bee elected as the better. Neuertheleſſe, the bounty of heauen diminiſheth no iot of eithers goodnes; but both eſtates are godly and commendable. If then a Widdow do marie, ſhe offendeth not God therein; and beſides, as concerning the World, it may very well be anſwered, that it is the ſmalleſt faulte ſhe can commit. And becauſe I would no way be miſtaken by the Reader, I will produce (vnto this purpoſe) what I haue read concerning a Widdow, and it is recorded by Saint *Hierome*: of whoſe Authoritie (I thinke) no one will make ſcruple, in regard of his Religion and great holineſſe.

A chaſt life is moſt cõmendable.

He ſaith, that in the time of *Damaſus*, he both ſaw and knew in *Rome* a woman, that had lawfully beene married to two and twenty ſeuerall men, and remaining a Widdowe, after the deceaſe of the two and twentith Husbande: there was a man came thither, that likewiſe hadde beene

A Widdow in *Rome* that had bin maried to 22. men.

A man that had bin married to twenty Wiues.

bin married to twenty Wiues, and was then a Widdower of the laſt, and both of them at freedome and libertie: which being vnderſtood to either, no difference in their degrees, but both of equal mean condition: they contracted Marriage together, which was a thing verie notable, and raiſed a generall deſire in the people of *Rome*, to ſee which of this ſtrange married couple ſhould firſt die.

It fortuned that the Woman firſt deceaſed, to whoſe obſequies, all the *Roman* people mainly flocked, to congratulate the Husbands happineſſe, as beeing victorious in no ſimple Conqueſt: ſetting a Crowne of *Lawrell* vpon his heade, and placing him firſt in following the bodye of his Wife, bearing a branch of Palme in his hand, in ſigne of his victorie, and numberleſſe people accompanying him in his triumph.

A Victorie of no mean moment.

Another Hiſtory reported by S. *Ieroм*

The ſame holy Father, recounteth another matter very notable, which he ſetteth downe for truth, becauſe it was deliuered to him by ſuch as deſerued credit. The caſe concerneth a woman alſo, who to ſhewe her ſelfe ſome-what charitable, tooke a young Boy from verie poore parents, that had no releef but frō the Hoſpitall, intending to nouriſh the childe as if it were hir owne, feeding it at hir owne Table, and nightly lodging it in her bed. When the child had attained to x. yeares of age, the woman grew to be ſo incontinent, that ſhe woulds needes haue carnall knowledge of the Ladde, and that in ſuch manner, as at the terme of ſixe moneths, ſhe became quicke with Childe by him, contrary to the rule and order of nature, which neuer doth permit any ſuch conception at ten yeares of age. But, it rather ſeemeth that this happened by the permiſsion of God, to the end, that ſuch turpitude and diſhoneſty in a Woman, (vailed vnder pretence of charity) ſhould be apparantly diſcouered to the worlde. So that, although the other woman had married three and twenty ſeuerall times, yet are not we to iudge or conceite, that therein ſhe ſinned. For, I am perſwaded, that in being ſo oftentimes lawfully married, in publicke confirmation of the Church, and without any iuſt cauſe of contradiction: ſhe did much better then this other luſtfull lewd Woman, in committing ſuch a foule and inordinate ſinne; for which, no colour or excuſe can anie way be made: whereas, on the other ſide the ſaying of bleſſed Saint *Paule* ſtandeth in force: *That it is better to marrie then to burne.*

A ſtrange kind of conceiuing with childe.

The two women compared together.

CHAP. X.

The ſtrange fortune which happened to two Princes of Caſtile.

THE power of ſodain conceite, or immediate apprehenſion of ſome inward diſlike, is knowne to bee of ſuch ſtrong impreſsiō, that it is able to be the death of man or Woman, and vnto this purpoſe tendeth our preſent diſcourſe. *Don Alphonſo*, eleauenth of that name, who was Father to *Don Peter*, hauing finiſhed his raigne in *Caſtile*, left his Sonne *Don Peter*, a verie young King: In which regard, the kingdome was gouerned by two Princes of the Countrey (who were Vnckles to the King, the one named *Don Peter*, and the other *Don Iohn*) and likewiſe by Queene *Mary*, that was his Grand-mother.

Sudden conceit is very powerfull on the life of mā.

Don Peter, and *Don Iohn*, Vncles to the yong King.

In the yeare one thouſand three hundred and ſixteen, theſe two Princes, who were Vnkle and Nephew, hauing manie times (like valiant and worthy men) made warre vppon the Moores, for exaltation of the Chriſtian Faith, and returned with famous Victories, as well approued and vndaunted Captaines: concluded togither to make Warre on the kingdome of *Granado*, with purpoſed ſpoyles & damages on the Countreyes belonging to the Moores; hauing ioyned with the *Alcantara* and *Galatraua*, Great Maiſters of Saint *Iames* in *Galicia*, and the Arch-byſhop of *Toledo*.

Warre made vppon the Kingdome of *Granado* againſt the Moores.

The buſineſſe being growne to full effect, and great numbers both of horſſe and foot aſſembled, they began to inuade the Country, and ſped ſo well in the aduenture: that (with very ſucceſſefull fortune) they came before *Granade*, where they fought valiantly, and ſurprized diuers Caſtels, among which, was that named *Eliora*.

When fitting time for retirement cam, they returned backe againe by the Chriſtians Countrey, and marching in good order,

Don Peter, and *Don Iohn*, wer sharply assalted by the Moores, in their returning backe.

order; *Don Peter* was in the Vant-garde, and the Lord *Don Iohn* in the Rereward, wher he was suddenly charged by a huge multitude of *Moores*, that had assembled themselues frō all parts, and their assault was so furious, as he was constrained to send to *Don Peter*, to leaue his leading, & to come to his assistance in the Arriere. *Don Peter* verie gladly yeelded thereto, and marching back with admirable courage: founde his men to bee so daunted and weakened with dismay, as by no meanes possible, could he cause them to returne with him. By meanes whereof, he entered into such a sudden alteration and conceiued displeasure, that albeit he contended woorthily to essay a fresh march vppon the enemie, inciting both his horse and foot thereto, and by no reason could preuaile; hee drew foorth his sword, and smote some, thereby to terrifie the rest, and that terror might make them become obedient. But all prouing in vaine, his trouble in minde was so excessiue, that perceiuing he could no way helpe his Vnkle, he was no longer able to manage his sworde, but speech presently forsooke him, & vnderstanding likewise, so that he fell downe from his horse dead to the ground, without either stirring or speaking one word.

Don Peters soldiers wonderfully danted.

The strange and sodaine death of *Don Peter*.

This wofull accident, was (by some) too speedily reported vnto Prince *Iohn*, who fought manfully against the *Moors*, and had (in a manner) quite vanquished them. When he vnderstood the occasion of his Nephews sudden death; as suddenly likewise entred he into an extream passion, and gaue outward testimonie of such a violent inward alteration, that he fell also from his horse, losing the strēgth and vigor of all his members, and neuer after could vtter one word, so that he was taken vp by his people, and kept (in that strange maner) from midday to the Euening. In which time, the *Moores* being ignorant of these seuerall mishaps, were put to flight by the Christians: who marching onward in forme of battaile, at the instant, as the body of *Don Peter* was laid vppon an horse, Prince *Iohn* gaue vp his lateste gaspe. These accidents were verie remarkeable, and the like very seldome heard of: whereby plainely appeareth, that sudden conceit may cause the death of a man.

The violent apprehension in Prince *Iohn* of his Nephewes death

CHAP. XI.

¶ *The strange and variable complexions of two Philosophers: the one of them weeping, and the other laughing, at the gouernment & condition of the world.*

IN the recitall made by *Diogenes Laertius*, concerning the liues & diuersity of Philosphers: he speaketh perticulerly of two; the one being named *Heraclitus*, and the other *Democritus*, because each of them was in Nature and Complexion verie strange. *Heraclitus* obserued (as a common Custome) that alwayes as hee walked along the streetes and publicke passages, hee would weepe and shedde abundance of teares, in regard of the compassion hee had on humaine Nature. For, hee was absolutely perswaded, that all our life time, consisted in nothing but miserie, & that all the trauailes, labours, and endeauers of men, seemed worthy both of pittie and compassion, both in their paines and afflictions, as also for the sins by thē daily committed. This is much better, and more amply described, in a letter sent by this Phylosopher to King *Darius*, according as our fore-named *Diogenes Laertius* reporteth, and in these very words. *All men that walke vpon the earth, are verie farre off from Iustice: for they serue Auarice and Vaine-glory, with too much affection and losse of time. As for my selfe, I neuer thought any euill thing; and to the end that I might shunne the paine, which I feele by beholding and knowing these thinges: I haue euermore beene desirous, that I might containe my selfe in some such place, where I might neuer looke on men, because I can sufficiently content my selfe with that which is onely necessary for me.* We read of this Philosopher, that (in all things) he was conformable to this perswasion. For he liued the very greatest part of his time in solitude, and in the fields, contenting himselfe with hearbs and food of slender substance. All the while he was yong, he said he knew nothing; and when hee attained to greater growth, he saide, hee knew all things, and that nothing els had bin

Diog. Laert. in vit. Philos.

The Naturall Disposition of *Heraclitus*.

The Letter of *Heraclitus* to King *Darius*.

The manner how *Heraclitus* liued.

beene his enstructer, but contemplation onely.

The Complexion of *Democritus* was no lesse strange then this mans. For, although he would leaue his lodging, and frequent mens companies, yet would he laugh immeasurably at al the actions and behauiours of men, tearming the life of man to bee vanity and folly, and that all appetites and desires, were fooliſh, true subiects to such Masters, and meere matter of laughter. And such was the immagination of this Phylosopher, that it was only enough for him, to go laughing along the streets, as the other went weeping: and considering the paines and trauails of men, it seemeth that ech of them had reason sufficient to do as they did.

Seneca in his Booke of the Tranquility of life, speaketh of these two Philosophers, approuing rather the Opinion of laughing *Democritus*, and aduising to immitate his merrie humour, rather then that of weeping *Heraclitus*. And it apeareth, that *Iuvenal* was of the same mind, when speaking of them both, hee sayeth, *That he was amazed, whence and how Heraclitus could receiue so great quantitie of moisture, as satisfied his liberall expence of teares.* And to speake truly of both these follies (for I hold these two complexions to be no otherwise) that of *Democritus* is allowed for the better, because wee read that he was a man taking no dislike at any thing whatsoeuer, and liued an 109. yeares. I find of him, that he vsed verie often to feed on Hony, and beeing on a time, demanded whither it were good to preserue the health of man, or no, he answered; *These are only fittest for mans Health, Hony taken inwardly, and Oyle outwardlie*, giuing thereby to vnderstand, that Hony was good for feeding, and Oyle for annointing.

Laertius reporteth many thinges of him, whereby is euidently discernd, how great his knowledge was in naturall thinges. He saith that one day among others, a messe of milke was brought him, & after he had looked on the Milke, he saide; *This Milke is of a Goat that hath had young ones, & this is the first time of her Kidding*; and indeed it was so. Another time, hee met a yong maid vpon the way, and with doing reuerence to him, he said; *God blesse ye Maid.* Meeting her againe on the next day following, he made no reuerence to him, but said; *Farewell Woman.* Such as had heard these seuerall salutations, greatly merualled thereat, and gathered thereby, that thee had companied that Night with a man, which *Democritus* knewe to be true, onely by the Womans countenance. *Tertullian* likewise telleth vs, that this *Democritus* did put out both his eies, because he would not bee tempted with carnall concupiscences, which ordinarily are occasioned by the sight of weomen. But *Aulus Gellius* saith, that he did it only the better to addict himselfe to the contemplation of natural thinges, for which, this Phylosopher was very highly commended by the learned.

Cicero writeth the like of him, so doth *Pliny*, and many others. *Pliny* reporteth in diuers places, that hee was a great Astrologer, and a Magitian, and that to learne al the Arts, and practise them among the skilfull; he trauailed through all *Asia*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and many other Prouinces. And *Solinus* maketh mention of his Disputations against Magitians. Concerning mine owne opinion of this man, I will conclude further speech of him, with a matter merualous, and not to be omitted, to wit; that by the means of naturall light only, he sought for and beleeud the immortality of the soule, and the resurrection of all the dead, in which contemplation, and many other of like quality, he spent the length of life before remembered.

But as for *Heraclitus*, by his wretched Complexion, and feeding on nothing but hearbs, and such like Viands, which continually kept him hungrie: Hee dyed consumingly, and full of Gowtinesse, being wrapt in an Oxe-hide, wherein hee had put himselfe, in hope to bee cured. And some do say, that being thus hidden in an Oxe-hide, hee was deuoured by Dogges, that knew him not to be a man. Neuertheless, he wrote Books of great Learning, but so difficult and obscure, as few attained truly to vnderstande them: which is a fault wherein many great persons haue sinned, only thorow presumption and arrogancy.

The strange Nature of *Democritus*.

Tertul. in Apol. Cap. vlt. Aulus Gellius.

Cicero lib. 5. de Tusculan. Plin. Lib. 24.

Iul Solin. in Polhist.

The words of *Iuvenal*.

Senec. in lib. de Tranq. Vit.

The life time of *Democritus* an 109. years

Concerning Hony & oile.

A rare vnderstanding by Nature only.

The great Iudgement of *Democritus*, in natural thinges.

The Authors iudgement concerning *Heraclitus*.

CHAP. XII.

Of some perticuler notable occasions, which haue happened in one and the same maner, and rather in one place more then in another.

THose things whereof wee haue spoken in our precedent Chapter, may well cause great meruaile in the consideration of men, whose Conditions and Opinions haue beene so extreamely estraunged from one another; that the verie same thing, which hath made one man to weepe incessantly, hath caused another to Laugh without any intermission. It is likewise a matter well woorthy of Contemplation, to obserue, that in such rarietie of humaine occasions: and amongest so many of diuers difference, som are found that do seeme as if they were meerly constrained, and that it ought vppon necessity, that (in some places) aduentures shold perticulerly happen, as we shall discerne by our ensuing discourse.

Extreamitie in both kinds.

Variety of humaine accidents.

First of all, it was a matter very admirable (as wee haue alreadie saide) concerning the Cittie of *Constantinople*, to witte; That the first Emperour which builded it, and made his abiding there, should bee named *Constantine*, and his Mother *Helena*. In like manner afterwarde, that the last Emperor there raigning, and during whose time the Cittie was lost, shoulde bee called *Constantine*, and his Mother also named *Helena*.

Concerning the Citty of *Constantinople*.

It deserueth likewise due consideration, that there should be two such most Valiaunt men, as were *Hercules* & *Sampson*, and that both of them began their great deedes of Armes, with each mans encountering of a Lyon, and both of them deceyued and vndoone by Weomen, euen as if the one were obliged to the others Fortune. It is yet a matter more notable, that in *Arabia*, sur-named Happie, *Cham* the Sonne of *Noah*, and his Successours, should forsake the Adoration of the true GOD, to vndergo the Idolatrie of Men. And that in the same Prouince also, after so great and long reuolutions of yeares, shoulde bee bred and borne *Mahomet*, the persecuter of the true Faith and Doctrine giuen by our Sauiour Iesus Christ, God and Man.

Of *Sampson* and *Hercules*.

Of *Cham* and *Mahomet*.

The Cittie of *Carthage*, a most powerfull Common-Wealth, had so manie seuerall forces in Armes, that no King or Captaine could resist against it. And yet notwithstanding, it was two seuerall times vanquished by two *Romaine* Captaines, both bearing one name, and called *Scipios*; so that it seemed, in that verie name consisted the power of Conquest.

Of the Cittie of *Carthage*.

It is likewise verie remarkeable, in the Historie of the Byshops of Rome, that al the Popes which bare the name of *Alexander*, were all Anti-popes, and that (in their times) grew the Scismes in the Church, as in the time of *Alexander* the second, third, fift, sixt, &c. Another meruailous matter was noted in *Spaine*, that commonly all the Kings which were named *Ferdinands* or *Alphonsus*, were very good and excellent Kinges. *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were two Captains of *Rome*, very famous and most puisant, great enemies and competitors one against another: yet it happened, that they both died on their very Birth-dayes, yea violent kindes of death, and by weapons. As worthy warriors likewise were *Hannibal* of *Carthage*, King *Phillip*, Father to *Alexander*, King *Antigonus*, Father to *Demetrius*, *Sertorius* the Romaine, *Viriatus* the Spaniard, and in our time, *Fredericke* Duke of *Vrbine*, and diuers others beside, resembling one another in behauiour and Regiment of Warre; but in one thing, they were all truly equal, to wit, they halted euery one vpon one and the same leg, and each man lost his left eye by misfortune. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, was borne on the day of S. *Mathias* the Apostle, on which day also (in course of his life) vvas King *Fraunces* taken by him in battaile, and the victory likewise woonne at *Biccoque*: Hee was also elected and Crowned Emperour on the same day, and many other great Fortunes befell him still vpon that day.

Of the Popes of *Rome* named *Alexanders*.

Of the King of *Spaine*.

Of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.

Of other famous warriours, equall in their fortunes.

Of *Charles* the fift Emperour

Yet I cannot choose but reproue such men, as in their woorkes and especiall actions,

Of obseruation of particular dayes, for vndertaking of our affaires as dayes of good or euill fortune.

actions, do obserue perticuler dayes and names, wherein to beginne or vndertake their purposed businesse: neuertheless, seeing that such things haue formerly bin considered and read of, I make the lesse account of their humour. It hath beene noted, that not onely the *French*, but som others Nations beside, do holde diuerse dayes to be vnfortunate, and that no respect in the world whatsoeuer, can cause them then to vndertake any fight or combate, because vpon those daies) commonly some great mis-fortunes haue befalne them. And yet they esteeme some other dayes, to haue a kinde of happinesse attending on them, because that on them no losse or euill mischaunce hath happened to them. All these things may wel vrge amazement, in regard that the causes are vnknowne to vs, albeit neuer so good a rule or reason may therto induce vs: such secrets are only known to God, and such hath beene, and is his appointment. Of Accidents that haue hapned, and actions of notable successe (ensuing by one and the same meanes) both vnto the *Romaines* and *Graecians*, *Plutarch* hath Written a Treatise called his Paralelle, wherein hee alledgeth manie excellent examples, which the curious Searchers of Nouelties, may there reade more at large.

Secret causes are onely knowne to God.

CHAP. XIII.

That diuers men haue beene so really alike, both in shape and countenaunce, that they haue many times taken one for another.

A wonderfull secret in Nature.

Occasion doth heere freelie offer it selfe, to make mention of some perticuler persons, that haue (in figure & gesture) beene alike and semblable each to other. And indeed, it is one of the greatest secrets and wonders in Nature, to behold such an infinit number of men, the varietie of their gestures, and all hauing one kind of forme: ye t notwithstanding, it seemeth a matter of much more meruaile; when (in such a variable multitude) scarsly but two men can be culd out, that do truly resemble in all parts each other. Of which two seuerall matters, wee will relate the causes natural, after we haue first produced example of some, that haue held true and perfect resemblance vnto apparant Iudgement.

Plin. Lib. 4. Solinus in Polhist. Valerius Maximus.

First of all then, we will speake of one named *Arthemius*, who liued in the court of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, being (according to *Pliny* and *Solinus*) but of meane condition, albeit *Valerius Maximus* affirmeth, that hee was Kinsman vnto the King, and resembled him so truelie, that the Queen (hauing murtherd *Antiochus*) concealed her Wicked Act by the meanes of this *Arthemius*, whom she had acquainted with hir purpose diuerse dayes before. *Arthemius*, was laide in the Kings bed, as if he had beene the Queens sickly Husband, for so shee then called him, and so was he reputed to bee, being visited by all the Princes of the kingdom, euen as if it had beene the King himselfe. Thus vnder shew and supposition of the King, hee made a Will, and named (as heire to the Kingdom) such an one as the Queene had determined: wherein hee was obeyed, for euerie one tooke him to be the true King indeed, which was a verie straunge and admirable deceipt. But (to this purpose) the aduenture of Queen *Semiramis* is much more notorious, of whom so many commendable Authors haue Written memorable actions. *Iustine*, and diuers others say, that hir sonne *Ninus* resembled her so perfectly, both in speech, gesture, and disposition of body, that after the death of the King her husband, she cloathed her selfe in the habite of a man, and representing the person of her Sonne, held and gouerned the kingdome for the space of forty yeares, with absolute beleefe generally, that shee was her sonne *Ninus*, whom she so neere resembled, that in this maner was the State abused. In the time of *Pompey*, there were two men in *Rome*, the one named *Biblius*, and the other *Publicius*, who wer both so like to *Pompey*, as if there had bin no other difference, then in the plain figure, it was very difficult (as *Pliny* reporteth) to know which of them was *Pompey* or no, and euery man supposed, that this resemblance cam from the father to the son by succession. In the time of *Pompeyes* father, there

The History of *Arthemius*.

Of the great Q. *Semiramis*, according to *Iustine*, *Lib.* 2.

Of *Biblius* and *Publicus*, that were like to *Pompey*.

Of *Menogenes* that resembled *Pompeyes* father.

was in *Rome* a Cooke, called *Menogenes*, that so liuely resembled him, as (for that very cause) the people imposed the name of the one vpon the other; and this is assured for trueth, both by *Pliny* and *Solinus*.

Two infant Slaues broght to *Rome*, and bought of *Turannius* by *Marke Anthony*.

There was one likewise, named *Turannius*, that brought two Infant Slaues to *Rome*, of equality in age, and they both (in gesture and all other thinges) were of such resemblaunce, that people went to see them as a matter of meruell. *Turannus* also saide, That they were Twin-brethren by birth, but it was false; for the one was of *Asia*, and the other of *Allemaigne*. In regard of their so neere likenesse to each other, *Marke Anthonie*, Cozen vnto the great *Octauius*, bought them. But after hee had intelligence of the Deceite, and that they were not Naturall borne-Brethren: hee sent for the seller of them, and tolde him, that hee must restore the monie backe (which was a great summe) because hee had beguiled him, in making him beleeue that the Slaues were Twin-borne Brethren. But *Turannius* (very cunningly) auoyded repayment of the Money, in replying, that (in this respect) hee ought to haue a farre greater summe paide him; considering, that it was a matter of more meruaile, that the two Infants (being borne in diuers Nations) shoulde haue such a perfect resemblance, as if they had beene borne vpon one selfe-same day, and of one Mother. Which defence, was well accepted by *Marke Anthony*, the reason appearing to be sound and good, and therfore he held himselfe well contented.

The cunning answere of *Turannius*.

A pleasant accident happening to the Emperour *Octauius*.

Concerning this case of so meere resemblance, a matter of pretty merriment happened vnto the Emperour *Octauius*. There chanced a young Ladde to come and dwell in *Rome*, who had the feature of his face and bodie; so absolute in likenesse vnto the Emperour *Octauius*, that no man in *Rome* could discerne anie difference. This being brought vnto the Emperours knowledge, hee foorthwith sent for the youth, and then the portrait of each other was more apparantly discouered. Which when the Emperour hadde well noted, hee being a man verie affable, pleasantly disposed, and mooued (with the least occasion) to mirth, he saide to the young man, *Tell me Brother, did thy Mother vse at anie time to come to Rome?* As inferring thereby, that then his Father might haue knowledge of hir. The youth perceiuing the facetious and pleasant humour of the Emperour, replyed to him in as merrie a Disposition, with these Wordes: *My LORDE, concerning my Mother, shee neuer came vnto Rome, but my Father resorted hither many times.*

A witty and merry answer made to the Emperour.

Plin Lib. 17. Of *Surras* the Proconsull, and a Fisherman.

Pliny writeth of a man, named *Surras*, Pro-Consull to *Sylla*, and borne in *Sicily*, to whom, there was a Fisherman of verie neere likenesse, both in speeche and behauiour, for they both stammered in equall manner, and fashioned all their actions in one forme: so that when they were cloathed alike, it was impossible to make any distinction, neither could anie man directly say, this is the Pro-consull, and this the Fisherman; which was no meane meruell to the people. And yet *Albertus Magnus*, in his booke of beasts, declareth a much stranger matter. Hee saith, that he both knewe and behelde in *Allemaigne*, two Infant Twinnes, who resembled each other so truly, that when they were seperated assunder, the one could not bee discerned from the other. Moreouer, beside their iesture and actions, they had such a conformitie in all things els, as the one could not liue without the other. So that when they were sometimes for triall sundered, they indured verie straunge Agonies. They spake both alike in sounde of voice, and when the one was sicke, so was the other likewise: whereby plainly appeard that they were two bodies formed of one Nature and complexion. For my iudgement in this case, I say, that this likenes must needs proceed, that they were both begotten in one instant, of one and the same matter strongly disposed: by reason whereof, all parts were equally and perfectly conditioned. S. *Augustine*, in his Booke of the Cittie of GOD, reporteth the verie like Story. And although these thinges doth seeme verie maruellous, yet may we not scornfully seeke to discredite them, in regard of Natures powerfull working, and vndoubted Authority of such as confirm them. For, we could speake of matters more lately happening, yea, euen in our times; as of the Lord Count *Iohn Giron*, who so absolutely resembled his brother, the Great Maister of *Calatraua*, that was slaine by the *Moores*, that by their owne parents

Albert. Mag. in Lib. Animal. Of two infant twinnes in *Allemaigne*.

The Authors opinion concerning these Twinnes.

S. August. in Lib. de Ciuit. Dei. 9.

Like accidents happening in later dayes. *Counte Iohn Giron* in *Spaine*.

rents and houshoide seruants, they were equally taken the one for the other. I remember that I haue read in the Historie of the Dukes of *Millaine*, that *Fraunces Sforza* (of whom somwhat hath bin saide already) had among his warlicke troops, a Gentleman belonging to the company of his Light-horse-men, that was of such perfect resemblance vnto the Duke himselfe; as he was verie often both taken for him, and called by the name of Duke. I could alledge many other examples, which I am forced to forbeare, because I would not willingly offend anie Reader: wherefore, I will speake of the occasion of such neere resemblance, wherof I find three principall, that (according to their degrees and places) shall speak for themselues.

Of *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*.

Three occasions of neere resemblance.

The first is, that nature euermore trauaileth and striueth, to make the best Workemanship that possibly shee can; and this reason is helde by all Naturall Philosophers. Hence it proceedeth, that she essayeth to make the Male childe, rather then the female, and to fashion him more like the Father, then the Mother; in imitation of the Painter, that portraiteth one thing (according to Nature) by another. Now, if Nature be noted sometime to faile heerein, wholly, or in part, it is alwaies by defect and debilitie in the matter: For, when a man hath not sufficient perfection in him to procreat, then is he said to forme a female childe. Likewise, concerning the gesture and figure, when that Vertue which makes the form (which the Philosophers call the Vertue informatiue) is most strong and powerfull in the partes of man: the childe doth then more resemble the Father, then the Mother. But when (in this Vertue) there happeneth some indisposition and defailance in strength, and that the Vertue and power of the Woman prooueth to be the stronger, the Child dooth then resemble the Mother. There are some other causes beside, whereof wee shall speake heereafter; and principally (in this case) the good or euill disposition in the matter of the parties generatiue, is much auaileable.

The first reason of natures working, in masle or female.

Concerning gesture and figure.

In the first place, it behooueth, that the Woman should be as the partie patient or suffering, and the man as the Agent which maketh the worke, because that (according to the disposition) nature busieth hir selfe in the similitude, and frameth not only the vertue of the Paternall or Maternall party, in the likenesse of gesture, and of the members: but likewise in the complexion, disposition, strength, and (beside) in some passions, diseases, & other things. As wee may and do manie times obserue, that the Sonnes of Baldeheaded men, doe likewise become balde theselues, & deaf mens sons, are deaf also

Of the parties patient and agent in their seuerall vertues.

Very often (in like manner) as *Galen* affirmeth, the Sonnes do becom heires to their diseases, as to the Gout, the dropsy, Palsie, falling sicknes, &c. *Auicen* addeth Leprosie, Tisicke, and Melancholy also. And that which is yet much more admirable, Nature, in meer deceiuing hir self, doth giue sometimes to Children, such hurts and woundes, as their fathers haue formerly receiued; which is plainly to declare, that shee continually laboureth to make true likenes. *Columella* maintaineth the same argument, and so doth *Pliny* the yonger likewise, in an Epistle which hee wrote; where speaking of the wife to *Cornelius*, he saith; That she died of the gout, which was the disease of hir father, & of all his linage. This Author further saith, that infirmities discend from the father to the son, and oftentimes from children to children: as it hapned to *Nicetus* the the Poet, borne in *Constantinople*, of whō *Pliny* writeth, that his Father & Mother being white, yet he was borne blacke, because that his Grandfather (by the mothers side) was black. These accidents we daily behold by proofe, in horses & other creatures, that doe resemble their Sires most of al, not only in colour, but also in greatnes and disposition. This is the reason of *Aristotle*, and of *Empedocles*, as also of *Albertus Magnus*. In this maner is formed the variety of gestures in men, the disposition and shape of their members, according to them of father and mother, euen then in the generatiue action.

Sonnes do grow as Heires to their Fathers infirmities.

Natures endeauour in forming likenesse.

Columell. in Lib. 8. de Reb. Rust. Plin. secund. Lib. 1. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

Plin. secund. Lib. 2.

Aristotle. Empedocles. Albertus Magnus.

The second reason, is likewise deriued from *Aristotle* and *Plinie*, and they say, *That it is the immagination of the Father, euen in the instant, and likewise the present affection or passion then woorking in the soule.* For, sight, or present immagination, is greatly auayling in this case, and is a most strong occasion, being ioyned to the former; because the Father or the mother then thinking on som beauty, it is a great ocasiō of begetting a beutiful

The second reason. *Arist. in Lib. de Aria et Arist. Plin. Lib. 7. c. 7.*

Childe, and forming it anſwerable to the immagined ſubiect. And becauſe it many times hapneth, that Fathers haue diuers immaginations; they do likewiſe engender diuerſitie and difference of geſtures, ſo that the Infant will reſemble diuers perſons. And this matter is reputed of ſuch importance, that *Empedocles* ſaieth, *Some Women haue beene noted, that they haue conceiued, and beene deliuered of Children, that haue reſembled Statues, Figures, and Pictures, that hung in the chambers, at the time of their conception.* That this hath hapned in Beaſtes, is ſufficiently probable in the Hiſtory of *Iacob*, who layed the pilled rods (being White and Blacke) in thoſe places where the flockes conceyued, by meanes whereof, partie coloured Lambes were alſo engendered. And it is further to bee obſerued, that not onely this immagination hath powe'r on the Corporall Members; but likewiſe on the Soules of Children. In regarde whereof, Naturall Phyloſophers haue aduiſed, that when a man is angry, or Melancholy, or Drunke, he ſhoulde not companie with his Wife: Becauſe (commonly) Children are of the ſame Complexion, wherein the Father was, at the generatiue action. And yet, it hath oftentimes come to paſſe, that a merrie-hearted Father, and deliberate of Nature, hath gotten a Melancholly Childe.

Emped recit. per. Petrarch in lib. de placitisph Alb Mag in lib. 16, & 18. de Anim.

Gen. 30, 40.

Aduiſe of naturall Phyloſophers.

To this purpoſe, *Alexander Aphrodiſeus* declareth a verie notable thing; that (manie times) Baſtard Children, begotten in Adulterie, are wicked and vicious, in regard of the bad immagination, and fearefull terrour, wherein their Fathers were at the time of their begetting. From the verie ſame reaſon, may an anſwere be framed to the caſe following. For, if it bee demanded, whence commeth it, that among men onely, there is ſo great diuerſitie in figure? *Ariſtotle* replyeth, it is, becauſe that Beaſtes haue no Cares, Thoughtes, or Immaginations, but onely in their preſent Action: whereas (on the contrarie) men haue their thoughts in many places, and on diuerſitie of thinges; whereby enſueth, that manie children are borne, which neither reſemble the father or mother.

Alexan. Aphroſ. concerning Baſtard children.

Ariſtotles aunſwer concerning diuerſity in figure.

Ariſtotle giueth (almoſt) the ſame anſwere vnto the Queſtion propounded: Wherefore are fooliſh Children begotten by Wiſe Fathers? Hee ſaith, That men which know little (as wee haue formerly ſpoken of Beaſtes) are very intentiue in the generatiue acte: by meanes whereof, the matter being diſpoſed, and without any alteration, children are then borne perfect, becauſe nature (in the verie ſame inſtant) was buſied about no other occaſions. But in wiſe and learned men, it doth not alwayes ſo fall out: becauſe they (commonly) hauing their ſpirits more ſubtle and penetratiue, haue alſo their thoughts otherwiſe buſied moſt part of the time, which is a great hinderance, when the power is not wholy imployed in the action. From whence it proceedeth, that the matter being not perfectly diſpoſed; Nature coulde not perfectly perfourme her Workemanſhip.

Ariſtotles anſwer why wiſe Fathers doe beget fooliſh Children.

The third reaſon, rendered for aunſwere to this doubt, is from Aſtrologye cauſed by influence of the Stars, according vnto the opinion deliuered by *Ptolomie*. For, by the diſpoſition of heauen, and the ſigne or Image aſcendant, & the Aſpects which the Planets haue, both in the Conception and Birth of man: the manners and Naturall diſpoſition are infuſed, rendering themſelues ſemblable or different to the Father, according to the proportion and conformitie of the Father, or of the Childe, at the time of Generation. Wee might heere rehearſe the Influences of theſe Plannets, by their ſeuerall proprieties, but it would require too long a time: Beſides, *Ptolomie* hath ſpoken thereof ſufficiently; ſo hath *Iulius Firmicus*, *Haly ben Roſel*, *Guy*, *Bonatus*, and others: And the reaſon is ſo ſtrong, as it cannot bee denied; Conſidering and perceyuing the Influxion and power, which the Superiour Bodies haue ouer the Inferiour, with their Effects.

The 3. reaſon deriued from Aſtrology.

Ptol. in Cetiloq.

Ptolo. in Quadripart.

Now, in regard that this enſueth by motion or agitation, which is the cauſe of generation and corruption, and is that which firſt diſpoſeth the matter, and afterwardes formeth it: it followeth, that as the motion of time dooth neuer ceaſe, and that there are diuers times, and diuers Motions. And beſides (as vvee haue alreadie ſayde, that they haue diuers Natures; euen ſo, the matter diſpoſeth it ſelfe diuerſly: and cauſeth variable actions and diſpoſitions in the creatures, ſome-

The cauſe of generation & corruption.

These three causes concurring together

sometimes resembling one another, according to the conformity that was in Heauen, and in the one time, and in the other. Likewise, sometimes these causes and occasions are occurrent all together. Sometimes, one, or two: And (very often) the one proueth contrary to the other, from whence ensueth such diuers effectes, which daily offer themselues to our view. By the very same occasions, wee may easily discerne, whence it commeth, that goodly Children are begotten by deformed and vgly Fathers, and likewise the contrary: wherein there can nothing else bee alleadged, but the good or bad disposition of the matter, and the imagination of the parties agent and suffrant, with the Celestiall influence at the instant, all which we haue deliuered to be doubtfull, according as other things are of the like nature.

Goodly children proceeding from vnsightly fathers

CHAP. XIIII.

Of a very strange and memorable fortune, which happened in one kinde, though at sundry times, to two Knights of Rome.

The chiefe conspiratours of *Cæsars* death

THe chiefe men in the conspiracy for the death of *Iulius Cæsar* (according as *Plutarch* and others haue declared) were *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who afterward (with their Adherents) were prosecuted, and proclaimed open Enemies to the people of *Rome*, by *Octauius*, *Lepidus*, and *Marke Anthonie*, that had gotten possession of the Citty. Among the complices of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Marcus Varro* was a principall man, who (beeing present in the battaile, which *Octauius* and *Marke Anthonie* had against the conspiratours, and when *Octauius* was the Conquerour) for safegard of his life, and escape of apprehension, chaunged his habite with a poore Souldier, and appearing as one of the common Prisoners, was rancked among them, and sold (in confused manner) as the rest were. It was his happe to be bought by a *Romaine* Knight, named *Barbulas*; who (within some while after) seeing his faire demeanor, and honest carriage of life, began to suspect, that he was a *Romaine* borne; albeit, he coniectured the same by no other relation. To be resolued in this doubt, he tooke him (one daie) aside, and instantly entreated him, to tell him of whence, and what he was, promising him withall, to pursue his pardon to *Octauius* and *Marke Anthonie*. But *Marcus Varro*, dissembling still his aduerse fortune, by no meanes would disclose himselfe: so that *Barbulas* altered his former opinion, and perswaded himselfe, that he was no *Roman*, according as his iudgement had before imagined. Soone after, *Octauius* and *Marke Anthony* returned to *Rome*, and *Barbulas* also with his Slaue, who (perhaps) was a better man then himselfe.

Marcus Varro a chiefe man in the action.

Marcus Varro sold as a slaue

Marcus Varro not to be discouered.

Marcus discouered by a Romaine, and set at liberty.

It fortuned afterward, that *Marcus Varro* being at the Senate-doore, attending for his Maister, that stayed within vpon some vrgent busines: was known by a *Romaine*, that presently aduertised *Barbulas* thereof. *Barbulas*, not seeming to know any such matter, and vsing no further speech thereof; so laboured with *Octauius* (who gouerned then in *Rome*) that he obtained his pardon, by meanes whereof, *Varro* enioyed his liberty, and being brought to *Octauius*, hee was honourable entertained, and thencefoward respected in the number of his friends.

Within a while after, *Octauius* and *Marke Anthony* fell at discord and variance, & *Barbulas* taking part with *Mark Anthonie* (who was vanquished in the triall of fight) grew to bee doubtfull of *Octauius*, and made his recourse to the same remedy, as formerly *Marcus Varro* was forced to vndergoe, by changing his habite, and feigning himselfe to bee another. *Marcus Varro* not knowing him, by some length of time since last he saw him, but especially by the pouerty of his habite, bought him in like manner as himselfe had been. But comming afterward to knowledge of him, he wrought so with *Octauius*, that his offence was pardoned, and hee set at libertie. So that, in satisfying what he stood bound to doe, and repaying the kindnesse which he had formerly receiued: hee left a liuely example to vs; of the inconstancy of our liues best condition, with a rule and enstruction to all men,

Barbulas in the like distresse as was *Marcus Varro*, aduentured the same fortune.

Courtesie equally requited.

men, that in what prosperous estate soeuer a man is, he should not forget to feare a fall; and in the greatest distresse likewise that can happen, not to dispair of helpe.

CHAP. XV.

The Ages of Man seuerally distinguished, according the enstructions of Astrologers.

BY common deuision of Astrologers, *Arabians*, *Chaldeans*, *Greekes*, and *Latines*, and perticularly by *Proclus*, a Greek Authour, *Ptolomie* and *Haly ben Razell*; the life time of man is diuided into seauen Ages, ouer each one of which Ages, one of the seauen Planets is said to rule and gouerne. The first Age is called Infancy, containing the space of foure yeares, during which time, the neereſt Planet to the Earth hath Dominion, that is the Moone, becauſe the qualities of Infancy hath vrged men to say; that the influence of this Planet is wholelie conformable to this Age, wherein the body is humide, tender, weake, moueable, and altogether like vnto the Moone. For the very leaſt matter causeth alteration, his members (by the ſmalleſt Trauaile) is weakned, and the body (in little time) encreaſeth, euen plainely to bee diſcerned by the eye. Theſe thinges doe happen generally in all perſons, by reaſon of the Moones gouernment, neuertheleſſe, more in ſome then in others, and not equally alike; in regard, that other particular qualities, which hold no ſubſiſtance of the Moone, doe receiue their originall, in manner as the Childe commeth into the World, according to the eſtate and diſpoſition of other Plannets.

Mans life time deuided into seauen Ages.

Infancy the first Age.

The Moone gouerneth the first Age of Infaney.

The second Age, is called Child-hood.

The ſecond Age continueth tenne yeares, vntill he attaine to the yeares of foureteene: this Age is called by the Latines *Pueritia*, or Child-hood, which giueth a ceſſation to Infancy, and proceedeth on toward adoloſencie. In this Age raigneth another Planet, named *Mercury*, ſeated in the ſecond Heauen. This is a Celeſtiall body, apt and eaſie to change, being good with the good, and bad by the aſpect of euill. During this time, nature compoſeth it ſelfe, according to the quality of this Planet. For then doe young Children declare ſome principles, whereby to make relation of their Spirits: bee it in reading, writing, or ſinging, then are they docible and tractable, and yet notwithſtanding, light in their ſpeeches, inconſtant and mutable.

Mercury gouerneth the ſecond Age.

The third Age, conſiſteth of eyght yeares, being named by our Auncients *Adoleſcencie*, or Youth-hood, and it laſteth from foureteene, till two and twenty yeares be fully compleate: during which time, the third Planet, called *Venus* ruleth. For a man then beginneth to be prompt by Nature, powerfull, and able for procreation: as enclining to loue, to Women, and addicted to Muſicke, ſports, pleaſures, bankets, and other worldly delights. This is to be vnderſtood, of naturall prouocations in Man to any of theſe; for, hauing loſt the benefit of his own free will and election, hee leaueth or taketh ſuch inclinations by influences. And yet wee are to know, that neither the force of the Planets, nor power of the Starres, hath priuiledge on the liberty of the Soule; although they incline the ſenſitiue appetite, the members and Organs in the body of man.

The third age is cald youth-hood.

Venus gouerneth the third Age.

Naturall prouocations in man.

The fourth Age paceth on, vntill a Man haue accompliſhed two and fortie yeares, & is tearmed young man-hood, the courſe whereof continueth nineteene yeares; and hath *Soll* the Sunne for Gouernour and Commaunder, which is in the fourth Heauen, called by moſt ancient Aſtrologians, the fountaine of light, the principall eye of the whole World, King of the Planets, and hart of the wide vniuerſe. In like manner, this Age is Prince of all other, and the floure of life, during which time, the faculties and powers of the body & of the Spirit, doe acquire and attaine to their ſtrength, and man beeing then apprehenſiue, bold, and hardy; knoweth how to order and diſpoſe of his owne affaires. He then deſireth and purchaſeth Treaſures, he coueteth to be excellent, and well famed, and is ſtill enclined

The fourth is young Man hood.

Sol gouerneth the fourth age

The Prince of Ages, and floure of life.

enclined to well doing. Briefely, in all thinges generall, he delareth apparantly, that the Sunne raigneth ouer him.

The fift Age is ripe manhood.

The fift Age, named Mature Manhood, hath (according to the said Authours) fifteene yeares of continuance, and therefore makes his Prograce so farre as six and fifty yeares, being subiect to the Planet *Mars*, which (of it selfe) is euill, dangerous, and hot, enclining men to Auarice, and making them cholliericke, sickly; yet temperate in eating and drinking, and constant in their actions.

Mars gouerneth the fift Age.

The sixt Age is Old Age.

Afterward, in adding twelue to fiftie sixe, you shall make vp sixty eight years, which reach to the end of the sixt Age, and is called Old Age, whereof *Iupiter* is the great Gouernour. This is a Noble Planet, the signifier of Equity, Religion, Piety, Temperance, and Chastitie; prouoking men to finish al pains and hazzards, and seeke quiet repose. In this time, men addict themselues to holy works, affecting Temperance and Charitie, desiring honour, accompanied with due praise; they are honest, fearefull of shame, disgrace, and reproach.

Iupiter ruleth the sixt Age.

The seauenth Age is decrepite Age.

The seauenth and last of these seuen Ages, is limitted from sixty eight years, so farre as fourescore and eight, and few there are that attaine thereto. It giueth a true and apt name to it selfe, being called, weake, declining, and decrepite Age, in regard whereof, *Saturn* commaundeth ouer it, as the most tardy, and yet the very highest Planet, and which enuironeth all the other before named. His Complexion is cold, dry, and melancholly, wearisome, and troublesome. By this meanes, he cloatheth aged men with sollitude, choller, meagerneſſe, disdaine, and anger. He enfeebleth their memory and their strength, then doth he ouercharge their bodies with griefes, long sadnesse, languishing diseases, endlesse thoughtes, and with an earnest desire to enterprise secret & concealed matters; and, which is more, they will be alwaies Maisters, Superiours, and wholly obeyed. If any man chance to goe beyond this Age, which is more admired, then noted in many: you shall euidently perceiue, that hee will returne to his first condition of infancy againe, and haue a part of the Moone to bee his Gouernour, which was his first Planet (as I haue already declared) in his first Age of all. In regard whereof, they are then vsuallie dealt withall, euen as we doe to young Infants, according to their conditions and daily inclinations.

Saturn gouerneth the last Age.

Saturnes greatest kindnesse to decrepite Age.

Old men become childrē againe.

The deuision of these seuerall Ages, in manner as formerly hath beene discourſed, was the inuention of Astrologers, whereto euery man may giue credit, as himselfe best pleaseth. Let vs now come to the deuision made by Philosophers, Phisitions, and Poets, who were of diuers opinions: yet because in this Argument there are some notable things, we wil enter into some part of their report, that young Spirits may exercise themselues a little. The great Philosopher *Pythagoras*, how long soeuer the life of man was; made but foure partes thereof, comparing it to the foure seasons or quarters of the yeare. He said, Infancy is the Spring-time, when al things are in their floure, beginning to encrease and augment themselues. Youth-hood, he compared to Summer, by the Ardour and strength that men haue in that Age. Manly Age is Autumne, because (in this time) a man hath experience, is ripe and apt for good councell, with certaine knowledge of all thinges. Old Age he figured in winter, being a fruitlesse time, cumbersome, and hauing no benefit of any blessings, but what haue proceeded from the former seasons.

The Astrologians deuision of Ages.

The deuision made by Philosophers, Phisitions, and Poets.

The deuision made by *Pythagoras*.

Spring-time.

Summer.

Autumne.

Winter.

Marcus Varro, a learned man among the *Romaines*, deuided the life of man into fiue partes, attributing the space of fifteene years to each one of them. The first fifteene he named *Puerttia*, Childehood, as being but an entrance into further growing. The second was *Adolescentia*; the springall or stripling estate of a youth; which hee tearmed the encreasing time, for then the body goeth on by encreasing. The third fifteene yeares, mounting vp to forty fiue years, he called *Iuuentus*, as comming of the Latine word *Iuuare*, to signifie the time of helping; because men doe then serue as helpers to their Countrey, eyther in warlike occasions, or other affaires fit for the Common-wealth, and this Age is held for the stability or firmenesse of life.

The deuision made by *Marcus Varro*.
Puerttia.
Adolescentia.

Iuuentus.

life. After forty fiue, euen to threescore, the Age of man is called *Maturitas*, maturity, full of ripenesse, because (in Latine) such men are named *Seniores*, that is to say; Ancient men, or graue aged men, in respect of the precedent conditions. Also, in these times men doe begin to decline, and walke on toward Old Age, which accomplisheth the last fifteene yeares, after threescore, and containeth the rest of mans life time. Behold how *Varro* deuided the life of man, according as *Censorinus* hath declared.

Maturitas.

Senectus.

Hippocrates the Philosopher, he deuided it also into seauen Ages, the two first seauens, rising to foureteene; The third, ascending from foureteene, to eight and twenty. The seauens that make vp the fourth and fift, doe rise to forty two: The sixt, from forty two, to fifty sixe; And the rest of mans life, he attributeth to the seauenth Age. *Solon* the Philosopher, as the same *Censorinus* relateth, brought these seauen parts into sixe, deuiding the third, the sixt and the seauenth in the midst, so that each of the sixe parts should last seuen yeares; And the like description is made by the other Philosophers. But *Isidore* hath distinguished it into sixe Ages, agreeing in the two first with *Hippocrates*, making euery one seauen; naming the first Infancy; the second childhood. Afterward, from foureteene to eight and twenty, he tearmeth *Adolescentie*, or the encreasing age. From twenty eight, to forty, he nameth it *Iuuentus*, or the helping time, which is the 4. in order. The fift, which he calleth declination, or the beginning of Olde-age he maketh to consist of 20. yeares, and amount (in all) to sixty. The remainder of life, he attributeth to Olde Age, and nameth it the sixt Age.

Hippocrat. in L. b. de Diet. Nat. And his deuision.

The deuision made by *Solon*

Isidor. lib. 11. de Etimol. And his deuision.

Horace, the excellent Poet, hath likewise made deuision of mans Ages; but it is into foure partes onely, according as *Pythagoras* did, to wit; Child-hood, Youth hood, Man-hood, and Old age: all which he hath elegantly described in his Art of Poesie, with those conditions belonging to men, in all those seuerall times. Neuertheless, according to the rule of naturall Philosophy, the life time of man should not be deuided, but into three Ages: The first, the encreasing Age; The second, the continuing Age, or, while a man remaineth in one estate; And the third, the Age of Diminution: For, according to *Aristotle*; *All thinges that doe procreate or engender, haue augmentation, retention of Essence, and diminution*: so, in like manner, three Ages ought to be assigned to Man. The Phisitions of *Arabia* haue beene of the same opinion, and yet notwithstanding, *Auicenne*, a very learned man, distinguisheth our life into foure Ages, or principall partes. The first, which lasteth thirty yeares, hee calleth *Adolescencie*, because, during this time, all things go on by encreasing. The second, from thirty, so farre as forty fiue, he calleth the stayed and setled Age, or of beauty and comelinesse; for at this time, a man is in his best perfection. From thence onward, and so farre as to threescore yeares; he tearmeth, secret diminution, and the way to Old Age. The rest that a man liueth afterward, as being his fourth and last estate; he nameth it, clearely discouered Old-Age, or falling, and downe-stooping Age. Now, notwithstanding this opinion of his, it is to be noted, that albeit he haue made this principall deuision: yet hee forgetteth not, to deuide the first of these foure (which containeth thirtie yeares) and maketh three parts thereof. Whereby wee may well say, that hee consenteth with such, as deuided it into sixe.

Deuision into three Ages onely.

Aristl. in lib. 3. Anima.

Auicen in pars. 1. de Cap. 1. de Complex. And his deuision into four ages.

The first age deuided by *Auicenne* into three parts.

Now, after wee haue considered all these variable opinions, I cannot tell to which I should betake my selfe, as beeing the truest; and, to speake vprightly, no man knoweth how to giue an assured rule, or any certaine ayme; as well in regard of the diuers complexions & dispositions of men, as also their dwelling in sundry Landes and Prouinces, and their nourishing by good or bad foods, by meanes whereof, men arriue sooner or later at the state of Old Age. For which cause, *Galen* would haue no man to giue any limitted times to our ages: which being well considered, it maketh all these discordances of so many Authors, need no matter of strange maruaile, considering that each man had a seuerall consideration. Accordingas *Seruius Tullius*, King of *Rome* had, who (according to *Aulus Gellius*) had

Doubt, how to be resolued in this case.

The deuision of *Galen*. *Gal. in lib 6. de Regim. Sanit*

Seruius Tullius his deuision of the life of mã.

had no respect but to common benefit, when he deuided the people of *Rome* into fiue estates. And yet he distinguished the life of men, but into three parts, calling the first age (which he assigned to be seauenteene yeares) Childhood. From that estate to forty sixe; he declared them to bee men, able for the Warres, and so caused them to be set downe in writing. Lastly, from fortie sixe onward; he called them, ripe and mellow men, fit for graue imployment and counsell.

This deuision not contrarying the former.

This deuision doth not contrary any of the other, because it is vniuersall, and includeth the meanest particulars in it, and it seemeth, that he grew conformable to the common deuisions, when it was vsually obserued, to separate (in diuers kinds) the Greene Age, Ripe-age, and Old-age. The Greene-age, from the time of our birth, euen to the ending of our youth, which goeth so farre as forty fiue yeares, little more, or little lesse; according as *Virgill* saith, *Viridisque iuuentus*, that is to say; *Green-youth*. The Ripe and Mellow Age, proceedeth on to threescore yeares, which time was attributed by *Seruius Tullius*, to men of Wisedome, meete for graue counsels and consultations. The rest is tearmed to be decrepite Old-age. These three parts, may likewise be deuided into other proportions; and (by that meanes) be answerable to the varietie, which appeareth to haue beene (by diuersitie of coniecture) among so many good Writers.

Greene Age. Mellow Age. Old Age.

Viridisque Iuuentus.

CHAP. XVI.

That there be certaine yeares in the life of Man, which our Ancients haue iudged to be more dangerous, then any other; And for what cause.

Yeares called *Climactericall*, dangerous to mans life.

ANcient Philosophers & Astrologers haue obserued, that there are certaine yeares in our course of life, of much more perill and danger, then others be; which they named *Climactericall*, by reason of the Greeke word *Clima*, that is to say; a Ladder or forme of degrees, signifying thereby, that such yeares are limitted, in the fashion of degrees or steps, but hard to passe, during the race of this mortall life. For, like as they maintaine in daies, that the seauenth, ninth, and fourteenth, are dangerous during mens sicknesses and infirmities: In like case, they haue especiall respect, that such a numberd limitation, taketh place also in the course and yeares of our fraile life; in regard of the members strength, whereof great account hath beene made by *Pythagoras*, *Themistius*, *Bœtius*, *Auerroes*, and many others. Also, in regard of the influences and domination of euill Planets; as I may alleadge of *Saturne*, who reigneth in diuersity of seasons, and sundry Ages. Whereby they gather iudicially (according as *Marsilius Ficinus*, *Censorinus*, & *Aulus Gellius* doe testifie) that all the Septenary yeares, or those comprised of seauens; doe portend great alterations, changes; & impossible (as it were) that such tearmes can bee passed, without mighty hazzard, alteration of life, estate, health, or complexion. Vpon this occasion, the yeare seauenth, fourteenth, twenty one, twenty eight, thirty fiue, forty two, forty nine, and so for euery seauenth yeare, is to bee feared.

Daies maintained to be dangerous.

Pythagoras. Themistius. Bœtius. Auerroes.

Marsilius Ficinus. Censorinus. Aulus Gellius.

And because they defend the number Tenarie, or of three, to be likewise of great efficacy; they say, that three times seauen (which maketh one and twenty) is of maine importance. The like speech doe they make of the yeare forty nine, because it is composed of seauen times seuen. But the yeare (most of all other) to be feared, is that of sixty three. For, like as the number of one and twenty, ariseth out of three times seauen: so, likewise the number of sixty three, begetteth it selfe of three times one and twenty, or of nine times seauen, or of seauen times nine; which compleateth the number celebrated & recommended by the very wisest. When a man therefore commeth to the age, of entring into the yeare threescore and three; he ought to be carefull of his health and life, waiting (daie by day) for some change therein, or what-soeuer else may happen vnto him; according

Of the number of three, in danger of yeares.

The dangerous yeare of threescore and three.

cording as *Iulius Firmicus* affirmeth in his Books of Aſtrology.

Iulius Firmicus in lib. Aſtrolog.

To this purpoſe, *Aulus Gellius* maketh mention of the Emperor *Octauius* his Letter, whereby he ſignified to his Nephew *Caſſius* (hauing eſcaped this yeare of ſo much danger) how carefull he ought to be of the yeare ſixty foure, becauſe he had preuented the yeare ſixty three; ſo that he declared a good intention, to celebrate his ſecond Natiuity. For theſe reaſons, our Elders made doubt of this yeare threeſcore and three, perceiuing many worthy men to die, euen at the arriuall thereof: for in the ſame yeare dyed *Ariſtotle*, and diuers other notable perſonages. And, as I haue formerly ſaid, the number of nine was alſo feared, becauſe they ſaid, that he which eſcaped the yeare ſixetie three, could not paſſe the boundes of foureſcore and one; in regard that this age was compoſed of nine times nine: at which age died diuine *Plato*, the great Geographer *Eratoſthenes*, *Zenocrates*, the Platonicall Prince of the auncient *Academie*, *Diogenes* the *Cinick*, and other famous perſons.

The Letter of *Octauius* to *Caſſius*.

The death of *Ariſtotle*.

The death of Diuine *Plato*, &c.

Gentlemen, I was willing to make ſome obſeruation of theſe matters, more for curioſitie and exerciſe, then for any credence giuen to them: albeit they are not vtterly impertinent, nor voide of naturall reaſon. For, as wee may behold, that ſome ſickneſſes and humours doe end in a man, and, that in other Creatures, the change of teeth, encreaſe of Beard, the voyce augmenting, and nature worketh other effectes and notable changings, on ſuch complexions as are knowne by the tearmes of yeares: wherefore ſhould not wee credite, that (by the ſame meanes) limited times doe make other alterations and impreſſions? Why ſhould we not beleeue, that our humaine body hath communication with the Celeſtiall influences, as with humours; by ſome eſpeciall meanes; which is hidden from vs? Becauſe, man is ſubiect to the will and gouernment of God. And God, although he hath formed all things miraculouſly, and ſuper naturally: yet notwithſtanding, he will haue his works to be naturall; onely ſuch excepted, as were created by him againſt the Lawes of Nature, and according to his owne ſecret and inſcrutable iudgement.

The Authors defence for this argument

Man ſubiect to the will of God.

CHAP. XVII.

That Orpheus, Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, and other of the ancient Philoſophers and Poets, did read the Books of Moyſes, and haue taken many particuler points out of them.

IT is not to bee found, that any man (before *Moyſes*) hath left any thing written; except it were *Abraham* and *Enoch*, whoſe learning, *Moyſes* (as their lawfull Inheritor) hath comprehended in his Bookes, adding thereunto, thoſe things which he heard from the mouth of the liuing God, by Oracles daily receiued from him. At ſuch time as *Pythagoras* and *Plato* learned the Sciences in *Ægypt*; they would (firſt of all) ſtudy the Doctrine of *Moyſes*, whoſe name (in thoſe times) was in great admiration through all *Ægipt*, & out of his Bookes they conceiued the reaſon of God; to wit, of the firſt cauſe. After whom, *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*, wrote down in his Bookes, many thinges concerning Moyſaicall Doctrine, as *Baſile* the great witneſſeth; and the ſame *Numenius* ſaith, that *Plato* was no other then *Moyſes*, ſpeaking in the Greeke Language. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, doe both ſay, that the Gentiles receiued their very greateſt Myſteries from the *Iewes*, wrapping & enfolding them in their Fables. That of *Deucalion*, was taken from the Hiſtorie of the Deluge: The fixion of *Phaeton*, from the retrogradation and going back of the Sunne, which was in the time of *Ezechias*.

Whether any man wrote before *Moyſes*.

Pythagoras and *Plato*.

Numenius the *Pythagorian*.

Clemens Alexandrinus and *Euſebius*.

They that would behold the building of the Tower of *Babell*, which *Nimrod* and his partakers vndertooke, meaning (by Ladders) to climb vp into Heauen, and ſee what was done there: ſhall find it vnder certaine Allegories, amply deſcribed in *Homer*, vnder the Fable of the Gyants *Oetus* and *Ephialtes*, Sonnes to *Iphimedia*, where hee deſcribeth their height

The Tower of *Babel*.

The Gyants *Oetus* and *Ephialtes*. *Homer Odyſ. Lib.* 11.

height and wonderfull greatnesse, and how they would lay the Mountaine *Ossa*, vpon that of *Olympus*, and *Pelion* vpon *Ossa*. The Poet *Ouid*, borne in *Sulmo*, tooke that which hee singeth, of the beginning and Creation of the World (like as *Homer*, *Hesiodus*, and *Linus*, borrowed their Songs, of sanctifying the seauenth day) from none else but *Moyses*. Many haue sung the golden Age and raigne of *Saturne*, hauing gathered it from the most happy estate, wherein *Adam* was before hee sinned. Many more before them; as *Orpheus*, who learned diuers things from the doctrine of *Moyses*, especially in the Booke which he made of the sacred word; he confesseth, that he took out of the Moysaicall Tables, that which hee singeth concerning God, knowne to the onely *Chaldean Moyses*, by these Verses, which *Frances George*, in his Hermony of the world, hath reduced into Latine.

Ouid, Homer, Hesiodus, Linus.

Saturnes golden Age.

Vnus perfectus Deus est, qui cuncta creauit
Cuncta fouens, atque ipse ouens super omnia in se:
Qui capitur mente tantum, qui mente videtur:
Qui nullum, ue malum mortalibus inuehit vnquam:
Quem preter non est alius: tu cuncta videto:
Hic ipsum in terris melius quo cernere possis.
Hic etenim video: ipsius vestigia sortem:
Hicque manum video: verum ipsum cernere, quis sit,
Nequaquam valeo, nam nubibus insidet altis.
Nemo illum nisi Chaldeo de sanguine quidam
Progenitus vidit: quem cœlorum aurea sedes
Sublimisque tenet: cuius se dextera tendit
Occani ad fines: quem de radicibus imis
Concussique tremunt montes: nec pindere quamuis
Immensos sint, ferre queunt: qui culmina cœli
Alta colens: terris nunquam tamen ille sit absens,
Ipse est principium, medium quoque, & exitus idem,
Priscorum nos hæc docuerunt omnia voces:
Quæ binis tabulis Deus olim tradidit illis.

Fran. Georg. in lib. de Hermo de Mund.

Some haue been of opinion, that *Orpheus* meant by this *Chaldean*, *Noah*, others, *Enoch*, and the *Platonists* tooke him for *Zoroastres*, who was the Sonne of *Cham*: but to none of them were the Tables of the Commaundements giuen, but to *Moyses* onely.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Mysticall signification, concerning the body of Eliseus, and of the dead man raised to life in the Prophets Graue.

IT is written in the *second Booke of the Kinges, and the thirteenth Chapter, that as they were burying a Man, they espyed the Souldiours of the *Moabites*: wherefore, they threw the dead man into the Graue of *Eliseus*, and the man beeing downe, and hauing touched the bones of *Eliseus*; he reuiued, and stood vppe on his feete. This History containeth in it, the figure of our Lord Iesus Christ, and vnder the superficies thereof, is hidden a very great Mysterie. Dead *Eliseus*, is mysticallie vnderstood to be Iesus Christ, who died for vs; and the Souldiers or Theeues of *Moab*, doe represent wicked spirits, and the sinnes of the world.

*It is the fourth booke, in the vulgar edition.

The mysticall applicatuon of this History.

The Men that espied the *Moabites*, and threwe the dead bodie into the Graue of *Eliseus*; doe signifie the Apostles, who prouided for the peoples sauing health, against the mallice of wicked Demons, and against the burthen of sinnes: and therefore plunged mankinde (being dead) into the Sepulcher of Christ, that is to say, into the Water of Baptisme, because the Water of Baptisme is Christes Graue or Sepulcher, wherein wee are sanctified three times in the name of the blessed Trinitie, in regard that Iesus Christ continued three dayes and nights in the Sepulcher. Whereupon, Saint *Paule* saide to the *Romaines*: *We are buried with him in his death by Baptisme*. Concerning the dead man, that hauing touched the bones of *Eliseus*, reuiued; and rose vpon his feete: read but the same Apostle, in his second Chapter to the *Colossians*; and there you shall finde him perfectlie described.

Rom. 7, 9.

CHAP. XIX.

The Interpretation, of the Dreame of the great King Nabuchodonosor.

NAbucadnezzar, otherwise called *Nabuchodonosor*, King of *Babylon*, beheld

Dan. 3.

Nabuchodonosors Image.

beheld (in a Dream) a very great Image or statue, the glory whereof was high, and it had a terrible regard. His head was of fine Gold; his Breast and armes of Siluer, his belley and Thighes of Brasse; his Legges of Iron; and his Feete were partly of Iron, and partlie of Earth. He saw afterward, that a little stone (came of it selfe) out of a Mountaine, and descended from such an height; as by the very blow of his fall, the Image was broken in all parts, and beaten into Powder. *Daniell* Interpreted this statue, and gaue the signification thereof in the Kinges presence, as is contained in the second Chapter of his Booke: but heere it is more amply interpreted, and in a larger manner.

The significatiō of the Image, which *Nabuchodonosor* saw in his Dreame.

The Image or Statue, denoted the Monarchies of the World; the head of Gold was the Kingdome of the *Assirians*; the Breast and Armes of Siluer, the Empire of the *Persians*; the Belly & Thighes of Brasse, the Monarchy of the *Grecians*; the rest remaining (consisting of Iron and Earth) the State and Dominion of the Romaines. The stone is Iesus Christ, who descending from the Celestiall Mountaine, hath humbled al these Kingdoms, & brought them to nothing. By this it appeareth, that we are in the last age, and that smal time of passing hence remaineth: because, this world must be ouerthrowne and ruined, all the Kingdomes hauing already passed, and all Propheſies fullie accomplished. All which, if we were not able to coniecture; yet might wee easily comprehend by good reasons.

Good reasons to perswade that we liue in the lateſt age.

In the first place, wee cannot deny, but that vertue is at her chiefest height, and all Vices at their pitch of extreamity. In the second place, who euer beheld Diuinity and Learning more exalted, then it is at this day? Philosophy, Musicke, Armes, Caruing, Painting, and Eloquence more common, then now they are? very children neuer grew so soone to be perfect. We daily behold, that men do not now reach to the yeares of an hundred, or if they do, it is very sildome; as in former times they did. And we may perceiue withal, that at the age of 18. yeares, a young Springall shewes himselfe of as good shape, and prouided of as able strength; as a young man at the age of thirty in elder daies. I cannot deliuer any reason, why men doe liue in this World so short a while; except it be thorough their bad gouernment, and that dissolutions and vices are the maine cause thereof: or rather, that God being willing to haſten the end of the World, would haue all these predictions, to be as warning pieces of his neere approach. We can deliuer another Allegory, or Exposition of King *Nabuchodonosors* Dreame. The Statue or Image, is this World, wherein we are Inhabitants, and where the more part of Mortall Men, are called Rich, Noble, and Mighty, vnder which Titles, we compriſe the head of Gold. The cleare shining Siluer, and of very good sound; is the Learning of Men, tearmed wise, religious, and vertuous. By the Brazen part, wee vnderstand inuented Artes, by which ensue the benefits of life and maintenance. As for the feete of Earth and Iron, wee may well admit them to be our bad actions, the very best whereof, will scarse allow any boasting: becauſe they are full of filthineſſe, soyled with hatreds, enmities, and rancours, that (too soone) get possession of our harts. Our stupidity and vnaptneſſe to good workes, and our iniquity of life, which is all made of Earth; both gouerneth and supporteth this huge masse, this vaine corruption, despoiled of all this, euen by it selfe, by this ouer-burdening and loading it selfe. But our Lord will descend from Heauen, the little Stone, euen that (I say) which became so great; and at his second comming, he shal cast downe to the ground, all humaine Estates, and shall iudge (in the last day) the Gold, the Siluer, and all the rest of the actions of our life.

Exaltation of the Arts and Sciences.

Shortneſſe of life.

Forwardneſſe in growth.

Reasons for the breuity of life.

Another exposion of this Dreame.

Gold. Siluer. Brasse.

Earth & Iron

The litle stone.

CHAP. XX.

When the ending of the world shall come, by the coniectures of diuers learned Doctors, and other great personages.

SOme haue deliuered their opinion, that the Worlde is to endure sixe thou-

The world to continue 6000. yeares.

thousand yeares, to wit; two thousand without the Law; two thousand with the Law; and another two thousand after the first comming of the Sonne of God. This was not the Propheſie of *Helie* the *Thesbite*, but rather the inuention of another *Helie*, a *Rabbie* of the Iewes, vppon the *Talmud*; in the tract *Sanedrin*, Chapter *Helee*; in the tract of Idolatry, Chapter *Libne*; and in the Tract of the *Sabbath*. The coniectures of whom, are reported by *Rabbi Isaac*, vpon the first Chapter of *Geneſis*, the principall whereof are theſe that follow.

Genebrad in Chron.

The first Verſicle of *Geneſis*, containeth the Summary of the workes of God, expreſſing ſix times the Letter *N*. Now, *Aleph* ſignifieth a thouſand. Moreouer, God perfected the World in ſixe daies, the ſeauenth hee ceaſſed from his works, and ſanctified the Sabboth: And, a thouſand yeares are with God, euen as yeſterday which is paſt, ſo ſaith the Pſalmiſt. Finally, the ſixe firſt Fathers, *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enos*, *Caynam*, *Malaleel*, *Iared*, are dead; the ſeauenth, to wit; *Enoch*, was tranſported aliue vp into Heauen. After ſixe thouſand yeares then, during which time, trauailes, and death wil be in their vigour: ſhal begin the ſeauenth thouſand of repoſe, and of the life immortall.

The coniectures deliuered by *Rabbi Isaac.*

Nicholas de Cuſa, a very wiſe Cardinall, gaue many other coniectures of the laſt times, which I wil relate here at large. If wee deſire (ſaith he) to haue knowledge of the time (how little ſoeuer it be) concerning the ending of the world, and the laſt daies: wee haue iuſt cauſe then to meditate on the trauailes, which our Sauior Ieſus Chriſt endured in this World. For, as himſelfe hath taught vs, if we will liue as Chriſtians, we ought to follow, and learne of him. *Learne of me* (ſaith he) *for I am humble & meeke of heart.* In like manner, himſelfe hath giuen vs example, to doe as hee did, if wee deſire to bee his followers. Moreouer, hee aſſureth vs, that all the faithfull are his members, when hee ſaith; that which is done to the leaſt of his, he reputeth it as done to himſelfe. The Church then is his myſticall body, and ſhee, in her totall perigrination in this World; imitateth her head Ieſus Chriſt, who opened Heauen by his aſcenſion. He hath gone before, as her rule and example; his Church followeth after, as his Image and reſemblance. *Moyſes* behelde the truth, in the flaming Mountaine *Sinay*, by viſion of the verity, and after the Viſion was vaniſhed, hee did according to the example which he had ſeene. Ieſus Chriſt entred into this World, in the forme of a young Infant, he encreaſed in age and Wiſedome, became a man, enſtructing the truth, and walking in it; vntill ſuch time, as (to bee a Teſtimonie thereof) he was taken from this world, by the mallice of the Iewes, who made him to ſuffer death vppon the Croſſe. Neuertheleſſe, hee hath left his ſeede, which is his Church, in whom he abideth, as *Adam* in *Eue*, his Wife formed of his Fleſh, and brought forth of his ſide: to the ende, that his Spouſe the Church (full of his Seede) ſhould afterward be nouriſhed in the Houſe of his heauenly Father, by her glorious aſſumption vp into Heauen. The Church was regenerated from hir Infancy, euen like an Infant; ſhee hath encreaſed in yeares and diuine wiſedome, and (by litle and little) ſhe ſhall accompliſh and finiſh the time of her Trauailes in this World.

The coniectures of *Nicholas de Cuſa*, Cardinall.

Christ his entrance into this world.

The Church the Spouſe of Chriſt.

Now, if we would haue a liuely example, we may ſay by coniecture, that the time which Ieſus Chriſt liued vpon the Earth; is repreſented and declared by his Militant Church. We know, that hee is called the Sonne of Man, and the Lord of the Sabbath. Likewiſe, in him was accompliſhed, that which was propheſied by *Eſay*, to wit; *The yeare of the Lord*, which yeare of the Lorde, is the yeare of Iubilie and freedome. (For *Iobell* in *Hebrew*, is as much to ſay, as the fiftith yeare, at which time of Iubily in *Iſraell*, euery ſeller might (by right) recouer againe the things which he had ſold, without reſtoring the price receiued.) All this time is reuolued by the ſeptenary number, to wit; from ſeauen dayes, from ſeauen yeares, and from ſeauen times ſeauen yeares, which are fortie nine yeares. After which, the fiftith yeare following this laborious reuolution, is the yeare Iubilie, free and full of liberty, in which all ſeruitude ceaſing, liberty returneth freely againe. And it is to

The time of Chriſts being on earth, figured by the militant Church

The trauailes of our Sauior in this world.

Math. 7, 9.

The yeare of Iubilie.

This Parentheſis is not ſet downe in *Nicholas de Cuſa.*

Math. 25, 40.

The Church is the myſtical body of chriſt

be noted, that fifty yeares of common account by the Catholique Church, do make one yeare of Iubily of the Lord our God. And the Church, who (as his owne Image) followeth her Lord and Patrone; doth both demonstrate and explicate by the number of fiftie, onely one of the yeares of Iubily of her Spouse. So that, the reuolution of one yeare of the Lord, made in peregrination of his Church, is answerable to one sunny reuolution of Iesus Christ, the true Sun of righteousnesse. By which reasons, wee make coniecture, that the Church cannot trauaile in this World, aboue fifty Iubilies, which are 2500. wherof already we haue had 29. *which are past; considering, that since the ascention of our Sauiour, euen to this present, 1452. yeares haue runne their course. This is the alotted space, and very greatest continuance of the Church, after her Bridegroome, wherof there is much to be abridged.

* This is out of *Cusa*, who liued & spake this, in the yeare 1464. made Cardinall vnder Pope *Pius* the second. So that, in perfect account, the instant yeare, is the 31. Iubily, since Iesus Christ.

Now if we will consider further, the things which our Lord & Sauior hath done, and those which he suffered after the twenty ninth yeare of his age, vntill the day that he arose, triumphing ouer Sin, Death, and Hell, and then, if wee extend those yeares into Iubilies: wee may (by coniectures) foretell what shal happen to the Church. So that, in the foure and thirtith Iubily, after the resurrection of the Redeemer of al mankind; she may well hope (by the goodnesse of God) to be raised vp into the glorie, to the ruine of Antichrist. And this is thought, that it will happen, after the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ into the World, 1700. and before the yeare 1734. And as in the time of *Noah*, the consummation of sin came by the Deluge, the 34. Iubily after the first *Adam*, according as wise *Philo* the *Iew* hath written: we may also fore-tell by coniectures, that in the 34. Iubily after the second *Adam*, both sin and the World shall be consumed by the fire of the holy spirit. And then shall the Church be transferred out of this corruptible world, into the glory of the liuing, by the comming of her Spouse to Iudgemen. And yet the houre of his second comming will be vncertaine, for come he will, & when least doubt is made of him; like as a Thiefe commeth in the night, and as the deluge came vpon the earth. *Philo* the Iew declareth, that *Moyses* (at the houre of his death) desired God to reueale vnto him; how much of the time was passed, and how much (as then) remained: whereto God aunswered, that two had already passed, & two wer as yet to come. And so *Moyses* being full of vnderstanding, yeilded vp his Soule. Heerein then (saith he) God reuealed four times to *Moyses*, two past, and two to come: of which, from *Adam* to the Deluge or Floud, passed the first time. The second, after the floud, vntil *Moyses*. The third, from *Moyses* to Iesus Christ. And the fourth, from Iesus Christ, to the end and consummation of the world. Now, the last time took beginning at the Resurrection of the Son of God, and continueth to the ending of the world, vpon which good reason, the Saints (oftentimes) called them the latter daies, and the ends of the world.

Philo the *Iew*, of a reuelatiō made to *Moyses*, concerning the times.

Now, notwithstanding that these supputations of yeares are very diuers, according to the truth of the *Iewes*, according to the 70. *Greeke* Interpreters, as also according to *Iosephus* & *Philo*: I am of the minde (neuertheless) it is much more true, that there hath passed so many Iubilies from the death of *Moyses* to Iesus Christ; as from *Adam* to the time of *Noah*, and as many from the floud vnder *Noah*, vnto the death of *Moyses*. In like manner, as many Iubilies haue and shall run their course, from the resurrection of our Sauiour, to the end of the last times, and of 34. Iubilies. *Moyses* died (according to that diuine reuelation) in the midst of these 4. times, whereof two were finished, & two were then to come. * There are many other coniectures of the latter daies, which are found written, and yet are so diuers; as no one agreeth with another. And to speak truly, the ending of the world, and the generall iudgement is vncertaine to any creature: for it is onely in the hand and power of God, whose secrets are concealed to himselfe, and he being God reserued them to his owne peculiar knowledge. So that, if those auncient men would needs vndertake to write thereof som perticularities; yet they al deceiud themselues by abusing coniectures, far off from all verity. We then of these daies, who haue much lesse learning & iudge-

Concerning the supputations of these yeares.

* All hitherto is out of *Nicholas de Cusa*.

This is onely conceiued in opinion.

A comparison betweene the first and second *Adam*.

The ending of the world onely known to God.

2. Pet. 3, 10.

iudgement then they had, without any comparison, and enioy not a sparke of the like sanctity; ought to cease and desist, frō ouer-curious search into things to come, especially daies, houres, and moments, which God hath so restraind to his owne power, that the Angels in heauen do not know them. For so himselfe saith; *Of that day and houre, no Man knoweth, no not the Angels of Heauen, but my Father onely.* But sure and certain are we, that the world shall perish by an vniuersall flame, and shall bee renewed: which the Spirit of God deliuered by *Moyses*, in his Song in *Deutronomy*: *Fire is kindled in my wrath, and shal burne vnto the bottome of Hell, and shall consume the earth with her encrease, and set on fire the foundations of the Mountaines.*

Actes 1, 7.

Math. 24, 36.

Deut. 32, 22.

Sophocles the Pagan Poet, seemed to touch with his finger (as it were) the ending of the World, in diuers verses, translated by *Iohn de Maulmont*, the meaning wherof briefely folowes thus. *The Age shall come that wil bring vs riches from the high Heauens, when they shall be filled, and round engirt with fire. All places on the earth the flames shall enclose, and burne all things, as well in the water, as in the Ayre. Not any thing in this world, vnder earth, or in the deepest Sea, shall scape from burning. When then, by so cruell a flames fury, all things shall be consumed: the springes of all waters shall be without course, like a bottomles gulfe. No fields shal produce any more fruits, nor the earth be inhabited: No ships shall floate vpon the Sea: No Birds fly in the Ayre. But a cruell tempest of fierie thunder, shall hurle Heauen and Earth into eternall ruine; burning the Earth and all things into Cinders. Then shall her great backe re-assume no other essence, or yeelde any nourishment, for all is brought into putrifaction.*

Sophocles related by *Iohn de Maulmont.*

Saint *Peter* writeth; *That Heauen and Earth which is at this instant, are reserued for Fire at the day of Iudgement, and the Elments shall resolue themselues into fire.* Saint *Augustine* aunswered a demaund which might be made, as thus. When after the Iudgement is ended, this World shall bee burnt, before (instead thereof) a new Heauen be created, and a new Earth: in what place shall the Saints be, when this burning is performed? Considering, it followeth necessarily, that they should be in some corporall place, because they all haue bodies. *They shall be* (saith he) *in high places, whereunto the flames can neuer mount, as likewise the Waters of the Deluge could not. For they shall then haue such bodies, as they may bee where they will be, without fearing the Fire of burning, beeing made immortall and incorruptible: as the corruptible and Mortall bodies of the three Men, Sidrach, Misaack, and Abednago liued, without being offended in the fiery furnace.*

2 Pet. 3, 12.

August. in Lib. 20. de Ciuit. Dei.

Dan. 3, 24.

Now, if we will be Christians, wee ought to beleeue, that the Resurrection of the dead, is in Flesh, and that it will bee done in a moment, or in the twinckling of an eye, saith the Apostle: but our Faith heerein is not vnprofitable, although our vnderstanding doe not perfectly comprehend, howe, and in what manner it shal be done. Let vs leaue then to God, the causes and reasons whereby this is to bee done, and let not vs enquire (ouer busily) after his admirable secrets. I could continue on this discourse, with diuers other Chapters, and handle in them this Resurrection, setting downe the solution and aunswers of Doctors in Diuinity, touching those high questions and demaunds, which may be made in this matter. But I will saile no further in so high a Sea, nor enter into an * *Euripus* of reasons, where the Billowes may cause the sincking of my poore Spirits ship; therefore here shall be my Hauen and landing.

1 Cor. 15, 23.

* A narrow sea betweene the hauen *Aulis* and *Euboa*, which ebbeth and floweth seuen times a day, and so violently, that it carryeth (with it) ships with full saile against the winde.

CHAP. XXI.

The Conquest of the Kingdome of Naples, by Charles the eight, King of France.

THE *Hillip de Comines*, a worthy learned Gentleman, who was Counsellour to King *Charles*, and serued him in the action: giueth notable testimony thereof, and therefore I think it not amisse, to vse his own words, in regard of his grauity and authority. He relateth first, the cruelty & tyranny of *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, and of his Son *Alphonso*, in causing 24.

Phillip de Comines in Carolo 8.

Noble-men (their Subiects) to be moſt cruelly murdered in Priſon: then, diſcourſing of their vices and wickednes, he afterward ſpeaketh of Gods iudgements vpon them, proceeding in this manner.

The Iudgement of *Phillip de Comines*, of the Conqueſt of *Naples*, for the ſinnes of the Kings thereof

No man (ſaith hee) was euer more cruell, more wicked, more vicious, nor a greater Glutton, then *Alphonſo*, though his Father *Ferdinando* was more daungerous then he: for, in making men faire weather (as we tearme it) and good cheare; he commonly betrayed them. As he dealt by Count *Iaques*, whom he murthered villainouſly, though hee were Ambaſſadour with him for *Frances Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*, and ſo he dealt likewiſe with many other, neuer vſing mercy to any, no, not ſo much as to his owne Kinſ-man. Beſides, he neuer had any pitty or compaſſion on his poore people, for hee made a very merchandize of his Kingdome, inſomuch; that hee forced his Subiects to feede and fat his Hogges, and pay for them if they chanced to die. He bought vp all the Oyle and Graine in the Countrey, before it was ripe, and ſold it afterward extreamely deare, compelling them to take it at his price, and, while he ſold, no man elſe might ſell any. If any Noble-man or Gentleman were richer then the reſt; hee forced him to lend him great ſummes of Money. He tooke from his Nobility their races of horſes, or elſe made them keepe them for him, whereby he had many thouſands of Horſes, Mares, and Coltes. Both the Father and the Son tooke many Women by force. They neuer had reuerence or reſpect to the holy Church; but ſold Byſhoppricks, as for example, that of *Taranto*, which *Ferdinando* the Father ſold for 12000. Ducates, to a Iew for his Son, who (he ſaid) was a Chriſtian. He gaue Abbaies to Faulconers, with charge, to keepe him a certaine number of Haukes at their expences. *Alphonſo* the Sonne neuer kept any Lent, nor made ſo much as any ſhew to keepe it. He neuer made conſcience of any committed ſinne, nor euer communicated: and, to conclude, it is not poſſible to doe worſe, then they both did.

The tyranny, cruelte, and vicious life of the Kings of *Naples*.

Biſhoppricks and Abbaies ſold for mony

Thus ſaith this Authour, of the liues and manners of theſe two Kinges, and then hee further addeth, concerning Gods Iudgements vpon them. It may (ſaith he) ſeeme to the Readers, that I haue ſpoken this on ſome particular paſſion, or hatred towardes them. But (in good faith) I haue not ſaid it to any other end, then to continue the courſe of my Hiſtory, and that it may appeare, that this voyage to King *Charles* to *Naples*, proceeded onely of the will of Almighty GOD, who ordained, that ſo young a King, deſtitute of Councell, Mony, and all ſufficient meanes for ſuch an enterpriſe: ſhould be his Comiſſary (as it were) to chaſtice theſe Kinges, who were wiſe, potent, and rich, and had many wiſe Counſellours and graue perſonages about them; yea, many ſubiects, friends, and allies, abroad in *Italy*, whom it imported to conſerue and defend that Kingdome. And yet neuertheleſſe, though they fore-ſaw the ſtorm long before: they could not find meanes to auoid it, nor make reſiſtance any where. For, excepting onely the Caſtle of *Naples*, there was not any place, Town, or Fort, that ſtayed King *Charles* at one whole day. Inſomuch, that Pope *Alexander* ſaid very wel; *That the French-men came with Chalke in their hands, like Harbingers to make and take vp their lodgings wher they pleaſed:* For they had not occaſion, ſo much as to put on their Armour, in all the Voyage.

Phillip de Comes Ibid.

Charles the 8. king of *France* the Comiſſary of God to chaſtiſe the kings of *Naples*

The admirable facility of the Conqueſt of *Naples*.

Therefore I conclude, according to the opinion of very many good and religious men, and other ſorts of people (& the voyce of the people is the voice of God) that GOD did punniſh theſe Kings viſibly, and in ſuch euident manner; that it might ſerue for an example and admonition to all Kinges, to liue well, according to the commandement of God. For theſe Kinges whereof I haue ſpoken, loſt their Honours and Realme, great riches, and mooueables of al ſorts; yea, and their owne perſons in the ende, three of them in the ſpace of one yeare, or little more. And, as I haue vnderſtood of ſome (that were very neere them) they found (in pulling downe an olde Chappell) a Booke, whereof the Title was; *The Truth, with her ſecret counſell*; in which Booke, was contained all that had happened after vnto them: And when they three (onely) had read it, they burnt it.

The euident puniſhment of God vpon the Kings of *Naples*.

A Propheſie of the Conqueſt of *Naples*.

Thus

Thus much I thought good to ſet down in the words of this wiſe and graue Authour, to the end, that not only the bad liues of theſe Kinges, but alſo his iudgement may appeare concerning Gods Iuſtice ſhewed vpon them and their whole Kingdome for the ſame. And this may alſo bee confirmed by other perticulers, which *Guicciardine* recounteth of them, and of the ſucceſſe of that warre, ſignifying, that *Ferdinando* the Father being verie wiſe, and vnderſtanding of that intention of King *Charles*, to come and inuade his Kingdome; he feared ſo greatlie the ſucceſſe (in reſpect of his owne bad life and his ſonnes) that hee laboured by all meanes poſſible, by Ambaſſadours and Friends to diuert him from his purpoſe, offering to pay him yearely Tribute, of 100000. Ducates, and to holde his Kingdom of him, by fealty and homage. And when hee ſaw that nothing woulde preuaile, hee fell ſicke with ſorrow, and died before King *Charles* entred into *Italy*.

Guic. lib. 1. hiſt.

King *Ferdinando* of Naples, died for ſorrow.

And *Alphonſo* his Sonne (who then ſucceeded him in the Kingdome) though he bragd long before that he woulde go ſo farre as to the Mountaines, to meete King *Charles* if he came forwards (which he ſaid, he would neuer beleeue he durſt do) yet afterward, when the *French* were in *Italy*, and came ſo farre as Rome, hee tooke ſuch a fright, that he cried out euery night, he heard the French-men comming, and that the verie trees and ſtones cried *France*. And, as *Guicciardine* affirmeth (who was not a man either eaſily to beleeue, or raſhly to Write Fables) it was credibly and conſtantly reported, that the ſpirit of *Ferdinando* his father, appeared to one that had beene his Phyſition, and bad him tell his ſonne *Alphonſo* from him, that he ſhould not bee able to reſiſt the Frenchmen. For God hadde ordained, that his progeny ſhould (after many great afflictions) bee depriued of their Kingdome, for the multitude and great enormity of their ſinnes. And eſpecially, for that which he had done (by the perſwaſion of *Alphonſo*) himſelfe, in the Church of S. *Leander*, in *Chaia* neere to *Naples*, whereof he told not the perticulers.

The idle bragging of King *Alphonſo*.

Guicciard. ibid

The ſpirit of King *Ferdinand* apeared after his death

The Kings of *Naples* depriued of their Kingdome.

Furthermore, the ſame Authour ſignifieth, that *Alphonſo* was exagitated with ſuſpitions and feares, whiles he was waking, and in his ſleepe, with the repreſentation of the Noblemen, whom hee had cauſed to be ſecretly murdered in priſon, (as I haue declared before) and that being in this miſerable perplexitie, he reſigned his Crowne vnto his ſonne (that was called *Ferdinando*, after his grand-fathers name) and ranne away into *Sicily*, in ſuch haſt, that his Mother in law (with whom only he communicated his intention) being deſirous to flie with him, coulde not perſwade him to ſtay for her ſo much as three dayes, which ſhe earneſtly deſired, to the end, ſhe might haue that comfort at leaſt, to be Queen of *Naples* a ful year. But he told her, that if ſhe would not go preſently with him, he would leaue her: proteſting (as *Phillip de Comines* teſtifieth) that if any ſought to ſtay him by force, hee would caſt himſelfe out at the Windowes. Asking hir further, if ſhe heard not euery one crie *France*, *France*. Thus being tormented with the horrour of his owne Conſcience, and the terrour of Gods Iudgements alreadie falne vppon him: he fled into *Sicily*, taking with him diuers ſortes of delicate Wines (which he had alwayes loued ouer-well) and ſom Garden ſeeds to ſowe, and a few Iewels, and a little mony, without taking any order in the Worlde, for his goodes and Moueables, which he left in great quantitie and aboundance, in the Caſtle of *Naples*.

Guic. ibid. The torments of a guiltie Conſcience.

Phillip de Comines in Carolo 8.

K. *Alphonſo* being ſtrangely tormented with the horror of his own conſcience, fled into *Sicily*

But being arriued in *Sicily*, and touched with Gods grace, he fell into the account of his bad life paſt, and of Gods iuſtice executed vpon him, he becam verie penitent, gaue great almes, and entered into Religion, in which eſtate, hee dyed ſoone after of the ſtone, with the extreameſt torments that could be immagined, as ſome of the Religious, with whom he liued, tolde after to *Phillip de Comines*, as himſelfe writeth. And to conclude the Tragicall Hiſtory of the Kings, his ſonne *Ferdinando*, to whome hee reſigned his Crowne, hauing aſſembled al his forces, durſt make no reſiſtance any where vnto the *French*, but fledde before them from place to place, vntill at length, almoſt all his ſubiectes forſooke him, and rebelled againſt him; whereupon, he fled alſo into *Sicily*, and within awhile dyed there. Loe heere the miſerable calamity which (for the ſinnes of theſe Kings) fell not only vpon them, but alſo vpon their whole Kingdome, ſerning for many yeares after,

King *Alphonſo* died in Sicily, very repentant.

Ibid. Cap. 15.

K. *Ferdinando*, forſaken of his ſubiects, fled into *Sicily* and died there.

ter, for a prey and spoile to forrain Nations, vntill at length it inioyed the repose, which now it hath vnder the K. of *Spaine*.

CHAP. XXII.

Of a Courtier; And what manner of man he ought to be.

Popular opinion concerning a Courtier.

THe reason inducing mee to write of a Courtier, is to take away a false perswasion, imprinted in common and popular Iudgement, in thinking; that a Courtier is none other, thē an afronter of Merchants, a Dissembler, a Flatterer, Inciuil, a Lyer, a ruffian, a Swaggerer, a troublesome fellow: In briefe, a man made vp of all Vices, because that in the Kings times, the Sonnes to late King *Henry* the second, raigning in young yeares, many then were such, which being well obserued by that worthie and great man, the Lord *de Pybrack*, in his Poesie of *Quatraines*, hee sung thus:

Le Sieur de Pybrac in son Quatrains.

Go not to Reuelles, if thou loue no dancing,
Nor venter on the Sea, if thou feare danger:
Go not to Bankets if thou canst not eate,
Nor to the Court, if thou speake what thou thinkest.

The Authors determinate Proposition.

Now at this present, liuing in such a time, when wee haue a King of a constant age, of a ripe vnderstanding, and Princes and Princesses, that will haue none in their Courts, but people of vertue; I purpose to propound, what manner of man a Courtier ought to bee, and his ends. To qualify this errour of the people, wherein they haue beene led ful manie yeares. Moreouer, such as would or else pretend themselues to be Courtiers, may heerein marke and learne, by what meanes, and with what great facility, they shall attaine thereto.

A Courtier ought to be Noble by race

First of all, he that desireth to followe the Courts of Emperors, Kings, Queens, Dukes, Dutchesses, Marquesses, and Earles, or other illustrious persons, ought to be a Gentleman by birth, and of a noble house of Antiquity: because it is lesse reproachfull for a Yeoman, to fail in the exercise of Vertuous actions, then for him that is Noble borne; who erring from those steppes which his predecessors walkt in, soyleth the name & honor of his house and race. Before hee go to Court, he must be past the age of Adolescencie, which is about twentie or fiue and twenty yeares of his age: for beeing much older, he will not finde it to his liking. Hee must bee well featured and formed, both of his bodye and countenance, least he be misprized and scorned. He must bee of an indifferent stature, to wit; neither extreamly high nor low: for men of such sort, are lookt on like things of monstrous shape. Beside, men of so great stature, ouer and aboue their common addiction, to dull vnderstanding are verie vnapt to all exercises of agility, matters verie commendable in a Courtier.

Of what yeares.

Of what forme.

Of what stature.

He must be expert in all kind of arms, to helpe himselfe, as neede shall require, both at all times, and in all places. He must be a good Horseman, and actiue in managing him; that he may bee knowne (among others) to be hardie and valiant. He must be loyall and faithfull vnto him whom he serueth, and addicted to acord quarrels and contentions, his own honor safely kept, and his for whom hee maketh the agreement. Besides, as hee ought to be skilfull in Wrastling, Leaping, dancing, and playing on some or manie Instruments of Musicke, so should he likewise readily sing any Poet or Historian. He must be exquisite in speaking diuers Languages: if he be French, English, or what else, he ought to speake Latine, Italian, Spanish, yea the Germaine tongue tongue also, if it be possible. And for his better attaining thereto, before hee practise any of them, he must haue visited the Countries where the Languages are naturally spoken. For, to learne them by Bookes, he shall neuer pronounce them truly. I meane the like of other Nations, in regard that the *Frenchmen*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Germaines*, do ordinarily conuerse together.

Of skill in armes.

A good horseman.

A loyall Seruant.

A Peace-maker.

Actiue in exercises.

A good Musitian.

A ready speaker of manie Languages, by visiting Countries.

No learning of Languages by Bookes.

Concerning his goodparts

He must not vse any sottish presumption, nor bee a reporter of wearisome Nouelties, or so vnaduised, as to speake Offensiue speeches, in steade of such as may better please. Hee must not bee Opinitiue, or Contentious, as some doe seeme to haue no other delight, then in being

No troblesom person.

Bad and vndecent qualities.

Fame pursueth Vertue.

No vanter or iester.

Iests cõmended for wit & reading.

The Historie of a Mason of *Lymosine*.

Habit oftentimes makes the man.

*The Spanish pieces of sixe pence Value.

A kind of dealing scarse commendable.

being crosse and troublesome, like Flies or Waspes, and make it their profession, to gainsay euery man despightfully, without any respect at all. He must bee no prater, Vaine-glorious Boaster, Lyer, Flatterer, or Knaue; but moderate and peaceable, vsing euermore (especially in publicke) reuerence and respect towards his Lorde, which is most commendable in a seruant. Fame and renowne do follow all good parts, if they appeare in action, both in due time and place, and he canot faile in these things, but to his own great dishonor. He must make no vants of himselfe, except he be truly valiant, & haue acted some great enterprizes, or done some memorable Stratagems. Neither must he vse any iests, that may offend his Prince, or others: except hee order his iests, and so sauor them, as the Prince may speake their woorth for wit and discretion, and not reproue them with want of Iudgement; but, insted of displeasure, thinke them to deserue both respect and recompence.

To this purpose, wee may alledge the Historie of a Marshal of *France*, tearmed of S. *Andrew*, who knowing that King *Henry*, second of that name, could hardly finde an Architect to his liking, to forme him a model for two bodies of lodgings, which he purposed to build at *Fontainebleau*, brought him a man of *Lymosine*, a Mason by his trade, yet ignorant. But hauing fitted him with sufficient habite, he made the King beleeue, that hee was a great Architect, verie deepely experienced in that Art, & that it was the same man, who had proiected al the buildings which *Charles* the fift, Emperor and king of *Spaine*, had caused to bee made. And indeed, this poore man had bin in *Spaine*, in his yonger years, to gaine some knowledge by Trauaile, for his best practise could not maintain him in his own countrey. And hauing gotten in *Spaine* (in the compasse of sixe or seauen yeares) some fiftie *Reals of siluer; thinking himselfe to be the richest man in his Countrey, hee returned home againe. Hauing spent a good part of his Money, he had married another Wife; for all *Lymosines*, or people of those parts, vsing Mechanical professions, when (for lucres sake) they trauaile into *Spaine*: they marrie there (for the most part) to weomen that doo but lend themselues (as it were) for that time; and comming into their owne Country, there they are at libertie againe to take other Wiues.

This poore Mason came to dwell at *Orleance*, hauing spent well-neere all his Reals, and eaten vp his Wiues Dowrie beside, which might amount to twentie pounds; he heard there of som other Masons, that earned daily seauen or eight *Sols* or *Sous*, and in his Countrey, they had no more but two *Sols*, or six *Blanks. The Lorde Marshall meeting with this Mason by chance, as hee walked one day abroad in the Fieldes, to passe awaie the time pleasantly: he fell into Conference with him, and found that he had a verie proude and ouer-weening presumption of his owne sufficiency. So much the rather, because hee was a workeman at the building of the new Conuent of *Nostre Dame de Monserrat*. Wherein indeed he holpe to supply the Masons with Morter, which made him of opinion, that he was the verie best Architect of his time: Albeit hee vnderstood little or nothing, scarsly knowing howe to order or lay a stone in a wall in his right place.

The King crediting the Lord Marshals wordes, spake a long time together in good French to the Mason, and yet vnderstood nothing backe again from him: for he stoode with his Hat on, without vsing any reuerence to the King, or respecting him any more, then if he had beene his daily companion. Sometime, hee called his maiesty *Mounsieur*, or my Lord the King, speaking one while *Limosine*; then again thrusting forth a word or two of *Spanish*: the King perceiuing nothing all this while, but continued his speeches earnestly to the Mason, that hee might at full vnderstand his mind.

At length, the King beholding that all the standers by smiled, and aboue all, the Lord Marshall, desired to knowe the reason of their Laughter; which beeing disclosed to him, himselfe fell into a verie mirthfull humour, and laughed heartily, because he had no better noted the Language, the Crispe countenance and ignorance of the poore Mason. Nor did the King any way take the iest offensiuely; but contrarywise, was well pleased, & much commended the Lorde Marshall for it. The like maner of iesting, inuented by a quicke and apprehensiue spirite, with obseruation of time and place; may bee

*The French shilling, ten whereof doe make one English. *Halfe a *Sol* is a Blanke.

Presumption neuer wanted folly.

The foolish impudence of the Mason.

The King seriously speaking, discerned not the Iest.

An aduertisement vnto a Courtier.

be permitted in a Courtier, not offending his Prince, but vſed with ſuch diſcretion, as may rather procure recompence, then any diſgrace.

Of mockes, girds, & tants

In theſe pleaſant behauiours, he muſt vſe no bitter or vnſauoury mocks, girds, or tants, neither towards poore or Rich, and eſpecially not to women, who (in regard of their imbecility) are to be reſpected.

of the Princes Chamber.

He muſt forbeare entrance into the Princes Chamber, except he be called, or commaunded thither.

Of Speeches to the Prince.

If the Prince haue retired himſelfe, to recreate his ſpirit, beware of vſing any ſpeeches to him, that may ſauour of irkeſomnes, but rather of Delectation.

Of Requeſts.

Let him not requeſt any thing for himſelf, that formerly hath beene mooued by another, and may be to his aduãtage, euermore ſhunning importunity in ſuch proceedinges.

Of Princes fauours.

Let him attend the fauors of his Prince, and not demand them; auoiding ſolitude leaſt either he be thought vain glorious, or weake ſpirited.

Of vndecent ſeruices, if they be vrged

By foule and vnfitting actions, neuer ſeeke to compaſſe fauour, as ſeruing in murderous or Bawdy employments: but if ſuch occaſions be offered, let a diſſembled deafeneſſe excuſe it, or ſome other priuate matter, cauſe preſent retirement, which may returne anſwere, without any other reply.

Of reprehenſions.

For a Courtier that falles into ſuch imployments for his Prince, vpon ouer-much preſsing, may well declare the caſe to be diſhoneſt: and if hee ſtill perſiſt, let wiſedome giue direction to withdraw from his Court. For, reprehenſions may not bee giuen to Princes publickely, but priuate and apart, albeit he exceed his Prince in yeares.

A Courtiers aime and end

For, a Courtiers aime only ſhould be, to teach his Prince.

Of Garments

A Courtiers Garmentes ought to be of blacke colour, or of ſuch darke decencie, as may rather expreſſe grauity, then giddineſſe or glory. Except it be in Armes, Maskes, or Triumphes, where gay and goodly colours are more fitting, and Imbroideries, Iewelles, and Magnificent pompe.

Election of friends.

Let him entertaine one only Vertuous friend, and not two (for two will carrie themſelus better together then three) conformable to himſelfe in life and manners. Neuertheleſſe, hee muſt loue, honor, and reſpect all other friends, according to their worth and merit.

Companie keeping, and behauiour.

He muſt alſo endeuour daily, to conſort himſelfe with men of eſteeme, Noble by Nature and birth, and ſuch as are truely knowne to be men of Honor and Honeſty, rather then Villaines, or people of no credite.

His care likewiſe muſt be, to be beloued and honoured of them, which he cannot faile of, if he be courteous, humaine, liberall, affable, and kind in company; ready to pleaſure any, diligent in ſeruice, & carefull of his friends honor, eyther abſent or preſent; ſupporting their naturall and tollerable defects, without breach of amity betweene them, for ſmall matters, correcting ſuch errors in himſelf, as ſhall be louingly ſhewne him, without eſteeming himſelfe aboue others, or affecting the higheſt and moſt honourable places.

Not too much eſteem of him ſelfe, or Vilipending others.

And he muſt not imitate ſome humours, that ſeeme to deſpiſe the world, & ſtriue (by a kinde of troubleſome auſteritie) to preſcribe Lawes or directions to others: ſo that, beſides their molleſtuous and quarrelling condition, euen for the leaſt Trifles in the world; they will reprehend where they ſhould not, and ſeeke all occaſions to complaine of their verie beſt Friends, which is an odious and bad behauiour.

Auſtere life vndecent.

Of the *Duello* or ſingle combate.

If it happen that he bee called or challenged to the *Duello* or ſingle fight (as oftentimes it fals out in the courts of Princes) and by indiſcretion or raſhneſſe, he muſt not ouer-violently and vnaduiſedly preſent himſelfe thereto, but with a cool and temperate carriage, euen as compelled or enforced to his aunſwere. And if the buſineſſe can fall out no otherwiſe, but he muſt needs proceede to the acte: for ſafety of his honor, he may boldly vndergo it.

Of ſports and Paſtimes.

It is alſo abſurde and vnſightlie in a Courtier, to carry himſelfe extreamelie or enragedly in any ſport or recreation: for then hee reſembleth rather a furious Madman, then one of ciuill and ſetled condition.

Violence in ſports.

His conuerſation muſt be ſober, and (aboue all things) hee muſt auoid drunkenneſſe, and beware of thoſe trickes, which are too ordniarily vſed in Courtes, in ſtriuing who ſhall ſooneſt make a man drunke, onely to ſhame and diſgrace him.

Of Drunkenneſſe.

In being a man of ſuch behauiour, euery one will bee ſure to note and ſcorne him; and the Prince himſelfe will ſtande doubtfull of his honeſtye: or, how he ſhould truſt him with any caſe of Conſequence, for Drunkardes are vnapt per-

persons for State affaires.

Playing with the Prince.

If he bee inuited by his Prince to anie play or pastime; he may safely yeild therto, not in hope to make gaine of him, but only to yeild him contentment. And let him be careful, that he be not too opinitiue in any accident against him: but giue way to him in all, and by al meanes, in regard of so great inconueniences, that thereby do daily happen.

Too much delight in play or sport.

Likewise, let him not immitate some, who will spare no time (either daie or night) from playing, but thereby do lose many faire occasions, of performing som good Offices vnto their Prince, whence might be deriued great merit and fauors.

Extreamities to be auoided

Some haue beene noted so assiduate and earnest, that they would play away lands, houses, Garments, yea, their verie Horses and Armours: and afterwards, borrow (by importunitie of their Friendes) without any re-payment, whereuppon, haue ensued Contempts, Quarrels, and Bloud.

How to couer his ignorance and imperfection of bodie.

Let him not speak of any thing which he vnderstandeth not, wherein hee shall expresse more Wisedome to bee silent: for it is an honest shaddow and cloake to his ignorance. Likewise, if he haue anie imperfection in some part of his body, let him hide and conceale it by all possible meanes. As did *Ferrand* King of *Naples*, who would neuer plucke off his Gloues, because his hands were not white. *Iulius Cæsar* also did daily weare a Chaplet of Bayes, because he was bald.

Ferrand King of Naples.

Maintenance of credit.

He must keepe his credite with Merchants and others, not following the dealing of many, who are beholding to such as lend them: yet must be daily importuned to make repayment, euen vnto such enforcement, as their goodes and landes must be seazed on, yea, sometimes their bodies confined to prison. These behauiours, do rather relish of a man vtterly lost and forsaken, then of a Vertuous Courtier.

Report of nouelties & lies.

In his talke and discoursing, hee must report no Myracles, that is to say, things that are not likely, nor neuer were. They that make profession of relating such nouelties, are euermore held for Lyers; and euery man that is a lyar, will cary the like credit of beleefe, when he speaketh truth. Laughter likewise, except it light vppon good ground, is no way commendable: For any man, that is subiect vnto long laughter, and without some sounde subiect, deliuers no better vnderstanding of himselfe, then of a meere Foole.

Behauiour in case of Ladies and loue.

Now, because no Court appeareth to be compleat, except it be accompanied with Ladies; let vs admit the case, that our instant described Courtier, bee in such a Court so worthily furnished, and where he may bee become an amorous seruant to some beauty, and to an honest end: for (otherwise) he will find his own perill. He must not immediatelie make knowne his passions by parlaunce, with furious gestures and obstinations, as many vnaduised Courtiers haue done. But the best bewrayer of his affections, are continence; a sigh, respect, fear, & humble meekenesse, which auaile more then a thousand fond words can do; and hee may so order his carriage, that his eyes may serue as his best messengers, & beare the true Embassie of his heart, to his dearest esteemed.

The best Ornaments in an amorous Courtier.

Afterward, by equall degrees, he may attaine to speak with his Goddesse, when a touch, or kisse of the hand, and such like honest fauours, may ciuilly be deriued from any Ladie of respect, honourablie affected. Wherefore, hee that hath not lost the restraint of reason, will Gouerne himselfe wisely, obserue fit times and place; and (when neede requireth) will containe due regard verie diligently, although it bee in neuer so sweete a pasture, because publick and apparant loue, is a matter of great difficulty to order.

The respect of good Gouernment.

The ends then of a perfect Courtier, such an one as I cannot heere sufficiently describe; is (in mine Opinion) to win by the meanes of those qualities which I haue set downe to him, the fauour and affection of his Prince in such sort: that his seruice may bee alwaies commendable, and to tell him the truth in all things that are conuenient for him; to wit, without feare or danger of displeasing him, & so to order himselfe, that when he knowes his mind enclined to matters inconuenient for him, to bee so hardie as to gainsay them. Serving him in gentle maner, and gaining fauour by the good parts in him; to the end, that he may preuent all bad intentions in him, and conduct him the pathes of Vertue. And so, our Courtier hauing nothing but goodnesse in him, accompanied with promptitude of spirit, chearefulnes, prouidence, wise-

The end and aime of a perfect Courtier is to make his Prince Vertuous.

The qualities of a compleat Courtier.

wisedome, knowledge, in learning, and all other vertuous qualities: hee shall (in all occasions) woorthily make apparaunt to his Prince, what profite and honour commeth to him and his, by meanes of Iustice, Liberality, Magnanimity, Affability, Familiarity, and all other Vertues which are conuenable for a good prince. And contrariwise, what infamy and losse proceedeth from those Vices, which are sworne enemies to these Vertues. And for a full conclusion, as manie times it happeneth, that a Vertuous Courtier maketh the Prince good; so a vicious Courtier maketh his Prince wicked and detestable. Of this mind were all such, as haue medled in Writing of a Courtier; and among others, *Balthazar* the *Castillannois*.

A Vertuous Courtier maketh a good Prince.

CHAP. XXIII.

How a man may giue praise and commendation to himselfe, without impeache or preiudice to others.

Cicero, in the third Booke of his Oratour saieth; *That no man can honestly commende himselfe, but others will conceiue enuie thereat, and reproue him for it.* Concerning this saying, albeit it hath beene allowed by many; yet it is not generally receyued and warranted. For, a man may lawfullie commend himselfe, without attraction of enuie vpon him: especially, if hee be a worthy Soldier, or a man of such merit, as can speake of generous actions, or valiant employments, if they beene perfor-by him, and their Carracter apparant. *Iulius Cæsar* may serue for an example, who hath spoken great matters of himselfe, and yet (for al that) no way discommendable therein. His Commentaries which discourse of nothing, but his braue and generous exploits in the *Gaulish* Warres, were seene and read of all men in his time, yet no way blamed or despised, so farre as we know: but on the contrarie, were highly praised, both in regard of his eloquence, as also his singular expeditions.

The saying of *Cicero, in lib. 3. de Orat.*

An exceptiõ against the saying of *Cicero.*

Of *Cæsars* Cõmentaries.

But, if he had attributed to himselfe, or made vaunt of more then was performed by him: hee could not haue stoode cleare from mallice, yea, in great men, who durst and would haue boldly tolde him, that hee lyed. And all such persons as doe make vaunt of small matters, or of any thing done by the meanes and helpe of others, attributing such actions soly to themselues: they cannot doe it, but with great shame and infamy.

Shame gotten in Coueting praise.

In men of good and worthy respecte, it hath beene, and is permitted (euen for the benefit of others) to speake deseruedly of themselues, and to their owne aduantage. As, if in procuring to bee credited, we render a reason of an honest integritie, by some effects of our owne past before; to the end, that hauing the meanes to continue our Vertuous actions, for the profit of manie: we may imbrace their praise, in despight of their owne spleene (as we tearme it) and constraine them to receiue both profite and pleasure from vs, euen such as would else shun all like occasions.

Of persõnes permitted to praise and commende themselues.

Themistocles to the *Athenians* in his own behalfe.

This was it, which made *Themistocles* vse these wordes in the Counsell of the *Athenians*, euen when he sawe them fully glutted with his good deedes. *O poore people* (quoth hee) *why doe you suffer your selus to receiue so manie benefits from one and the same person?* At another time hee vsed these Wotds to them. *In time of Raine and Tempestes, you make your recourse to me, as vnder the spreading armes of a Tree: And when faire weather comes againe, you teare downe each branch as you passe by.*

Homer of *Nestor.*

Homer maketh *Nestor* to speake his owne Valiant deedes, to encourage *Patroclus*, and nine other Knightes, in attempting the Combate (bodie to bodie) against *Hector*. In like maner, the words of exhortation, action of the hande, and example with the Spurre of æmulation; is liuely, and pierceth meruailously; yea, it bringeth (with courage and affection) hope to attaine vnto the heighth of anie thing, which otherwise woulde appeare impossible.

The Vertue of words well deliuered.

Against ingratitude.

A man may also commend himselfe before an ingratefull person, to shewe him

him his fault, in forgetting former benefits receiued. A straunger, to gaine the good opinion of Inhabitants, amongest whom he is newly arriued; may attribute some honourable Title vnto his present condition, and speake well of himselfe. As it is to bee noted in *Virgil*, that *Æneas* did, after the Destruction of *Troy* his natiue Countrey, wandering by Sea and Lande, to seeke a newe dwelling, vsing these Wordes (when Enquirie was made of him) *Sum pius Eneas*; that is to say; I am *Eneas* the *Troyan*, full of Pietie and Religion, shewing the Goddes his aged feeble Father, and his verie young sonne, whom (with great perrill) he had saued from the ruine and destruction of his Countrey; and this was not vnfitting in him.

A straunger may commend himselfe, and the reason for it.

I haue many times beene amazed at *Cicero*, who Writes (as I haue sayde in the beginning of this Chapter) that a man in praising himselfe, dooth but attract Malice and Enuie on his own head. And yet notwithstanding, there is an Epistle of his owne, which (in verie vehement affection) he wrote to an Historiographer; wherein hee entreats him, not to bee vnmindfull of inserting in his Histories of memorable actions, what hee hadde written perticulerlie of himselfe. In mine opinion, there was neither manners nor Modesty, but excesse beyond al reason.

Cicero approued to be forgettful of himselfe.

There is nothing more vaine, or further off from equity, then for men to pursue the Quest of their owne praise & renowne. *Chrisippus* and *Diogenes* were the first Authors, and firmest of al other, in the contempt of glory; for they saide, *That among al desires, there is none more daungerous, or with greater care to be auoided, then that which commeth to vs from the approbation of others. And all the glorie of the world, is of no such merrit, as, that a man of vnderstanding, should so much as stretch foorth his finger, onely to gaine it.* There are manie men in these dayes, that will neuer aduenture in the perrilles of Warre, or where their duty most commandeth them: if they thought that they should not be seene, or it should not bee publickely reported, that they haue performed some perticuler deed of praise, beyonde the honour they pretended to enioy, only because they are couetous of glory and reputation.

Men shoulde not couet their owne praise.

Chrisippus and *Diogenes*.

The vanity of such as seeke after praise.

If this might be allowd for good, then men needed not to bee vertuous, but in publicke; and the operations of the soule (where is the true seate of Vertue) should serue vs to no other end, but to vse them as a rule and order, without any endeuor to attain the knowledge of them in other persons: Vertue then should bee a verie vaine and friuolous thing, if shee deriued her commendation from Glorie. For, what is more casuall and accidentall then reputation? To cause that our Actions should be seene and knowne, belongeth to the Handie-worke of Fortune. Oftentimes, the reputation of an action wel performed, continueth (it may bee) but three or foure dayes: Other-whiles, so long as hee and his liueth; and yet soone after, no more memorie remaineth of either.

The powerfull operations of the soule.

Not to be noted, is to do well continually.

Some there are, that will rashlie and willingly fall into daunger; to purchase false Honor; and dying so, he is neuer after so much as talkt of: whereby, both he and his renowne dooth perish together. It hath been meere hazard, that is reported of some Captaines, *Grecians*, *Romaines*, *Persians*, *French*, *Germaines*, and others; as also of an hundered thousand men, that are dead, in execution of worthy enterprizes, or hindering of them, yet none spoken of, because all depended on Fortune. Wee reade, that *Cæsar* was neuer wounded; yet was he present in more then fiftie battailes, and at infinite Citties surprizing. Whereas others, vpon much lesse occasions, haue beene maimed and slaine: and what can be said of *Cæsar* heerein, but that it was his good Fortune?

False honour soone gotten.

Fortune much auaileth in purchasing commendation.

It hath beene, and yet is an ordinary Vice, that we are more desirous of great then of good Reputation: And it appeareth to be sufficient, that our names run thorowe other mens mouthes, as receyuing there both life and lasting, and must bee there kept, out of our owne possession. But Wise men do propose vnto themselues a more iust and certain end, in any important enterprizes, to wit; actions of Vertues, which are so Noble of themselus, as there needs no other praise or recompence to be sought for, but cuē their owne worth & value, and Namely, not to seeke for their esteeme, in the vanitie of humaine iudgements. And yet notwithstanding, this false opinion ser-

The common vice of these times.

The duty and endeauor of a vertuous man.

For women of what degree soeuer.

ueth to containe men in their deuoire, that it may bee executed with a certaine caution and modesty. In this manner, Women of what degree soeuer, may be aduertised, when they are sought after by lasciuious men; not to make refusall, by saying, they holde their Honour in account: but rather to tell them, that it is their dutie to gouerne themselues chastly.

Of *Lysander* the famous *Lacedemonian* Soldier.

Lysander, the great *Lacedemonian* captaine, answered a certaine odde Fellow, who told him; That he would commend him euerie where, and counter-checke all his Dispraisers. *I haue two Oxen* (quoth he) *in the fielde that cannot speake, and yet neuertheless, I know that which is good for labour, from the other that is not.* Heereby he gaue to vnderstand, that vertue stood in no neede of mens Commendations, considering shee carrieth with her selfe good renowne and honor: but such men as do not performe any Vertuous acte, they (indeed) haue need of popular praises.

Of *Antisthenes* the *Athenian*.

Antisthenes the *Athenian*, made a mockerie of such, as by sumptuous buildings, Statues, Trophies, and composition of Books, promised vnto themselues an immortall reputation: for he taught them, that the true and only means of compassing praise, was to liue iustly and Religiously. It was also one day told him, that certaine scelerous and bad persons commended him: whereto he replyed, *If such men praise me, I feare that I haue committed some foule offence:* perswading himselfe, that such kind of people can neuer giue any good reputation.

Of *Erethrion* the Sophister.

Erethrion the Sophister, hearing that he was ordinarily commended by *Alexinus*, answered; *That is a great meruail, for I do nothing but detract and speake euill of him in all places where I come.* Declaring by this answere, that he would not haue his renowne to be wronged and baffeld by such an one as was worthy of nothing but reprehension. And to speake the truth, this *Alexinus* was a man of no reckoning, or deserued to haue anie good speeches vsed of him. For, vpon a time, as hee was verie vehemently deprauing *Stilpo* the *Megarian*, reputed in those times for a great Philosopher, one suddenly told him, that it was not long since that *Stilpo* had spoken verie well of him, and with great respect, giuing him extraordinarie Commendations: *By Iupiter* (answered *Alexinus*) *I say at this present, that Stilpo is a very braue & excellent man.* Thus yee may discerne, what vanity and inconstancy was (in an instant) apparantly discouered in *Alexinus*.

The praises of bad & wicked persons, are worth nothing.

The Reader may gather by this Discourse, that hee should neuer giue anie praise of himselfe, except hee haue done something that commendeth it selfe, and may thereby incite others to Vertue, although thorough want of Modestie, he shall otherwise bee blameable. In like manner, not to deferre or keepe himselfe from dooing well and Vertuously, when any occasion shall aptly offer it selfe, and where his owne perticuler dutie both bindeth and commandeth him, albeit no Witnesses, Beholders, or Scriueners stand by, to Register or set downe his actions in Writing. So banishing from vs all such vanity, wee shall well content our selues with that recompence, which Vertue draweth after her continually; becaus it is immortall, and subiect vnto no perrishing, as that Renowne is, which dependeth wholy on mens iudgements.

The Authors Conclusion on this Argument.

CHAP. XXIIII.

By what varietie of meanes, Frances Sforza, and Nicholas Pichiniue wonne the renowne, of being the most skilful men in the Art Military, that liued in their dayes.

Pursute of Fame and reputation.

IT appeareth, according to Naturall Reason, that he who hath attained to any degree, in anie Art or Facultie whatsoeuer it bee, ought whollie to accomodate himselfe thereto, following his beginning, thereby to purchase his Fame and Reputation. Neuertheless, we do daily see, that (by diuers meanes) men reach to one & the same end, whereof we haue infinite examples: Among which, it likes me to nominate *Fraunces Sforza*, who afterward was Duke of *Millaine*,

The time when they liued.

laine, and *Nicholas Pichinine* the *Italian*, men verie ſinguler and expert in Armes: who were in the time of King *Alphonſus*, of *Arragon* and *Naples*, and of *Lewes Maria*, Duke of *Millaine*. Theſe two Captaines were very contrarie and enuious againſt each other, becauſe they ſeuerally pretended, to beare chiefe honour in Armes aboue his competitor. In which reſpect, they both declared ſuch courage and dexterity of ſpirit; as for a long while it was vehemently doubted, whether of them merited moſt to be preferred. This equall contention ſo long continued; till after expence of many yeares, and ſundry well fought battailes on both ſides; *Pichinine* was Conquered: by meanes whereof, *Sforza* hauing the right apparantly on his part, got the glorie, was made Duke of *Millaine*, and was the ſole Maiſter, or (at leaſt) the more fortunate man.

long contention concluded at laſt.

The reaſon of *Pichinine* name.

The deſcription of *Pichinine*.

His martiall courage and diſpoſition.

His maner of ſeruice.

His fortune & ſucceſſion in warre.

Theſe two Contenders, attained (by diuers meanes) to great eſteeme and reputation. *Nicholas Pichinine*, was ſo litle of bodie, as for that cauſe only he was called *Pichinine*. But albeit he was of ſo litle ſtature, he was contrarie thereto, in greatneſſe of heart, and vndantable reſolution. He was a man of few Wordes, and them he vttred but badly too; yet he comprehended in them many great matters. With his Soldiers he was of a chear full and recreatiue ſpirit, and bountiful to his friends; but ſharpe and furious to his enemies. In warre, he was euermore deſirous to come to the point, and alwayes (as occaſion gaue way) hee would giue preſent battaile, wherein he wanted neither wit or counſell, and was prouident in expoſing himſelfe to perils: euermore hating eaſe, and of ſuch a prompt diſpoſition, as many times he would take his enemies vnprouided. Hee much delighted in Watch-Towers, Beacons, and Ambuſcadoes, affecting more to vſe the ſeruice of Horſſe, rather then Foote, in warre; coueting ſtill to haue his followers Valiant, ſharpe of Nature, & dreadfull. This Captaine was of ſo great ſpirit, that he could no way be daunted, or declare any ſigne of feare, albeit his enemies were neuer ſo many in number. He had a ſinguler grace and dexteritie, in cauſing his men to march faire, and guiding them ſafely: and to conclude, hee won ſo many excellent Victories in diuers parts of *Italy*, that he was renowned for a ſinguler good Captaine.

Of *Francis Sforſa* quite contrarie in manie reſpects to *Pichinine*.

His deſcription.

Now, as concerning his Competitor, *Frances Sforza*, his qualities and diſpoſitions were quite contrary to thoſe of *Pichinine*. He was bigge of body, well proportioned, and ſtrongly limbd of gentle countenance, a quicke ſtirring eye, bald-headed, a good preſence, copious in diſcourſe, and well ordered, a liuely ſpirite, and well aduiſed, deſirous to reach high enterpriſes, and patient in aduerſities. He alwayes auoided the meanes of breaking Warre, labouring more to vanquiſh by beſiedging, or temporizing, then preſent fight. He would neuer giue battaile, except he were enforced thereto, or that he ſaw himſelfe vpon a great aduenture. He would haue his men march in good Order; and by the beſt meanes to be valiant, and yet gracious: making more account of his Infanterie, then his Compleateſt Horſſemen, continually preferring them to the greateſt ſtratagems, becauſe hee placed beſt truſt in them. He was firme and conſtant in all his enterprizes, quick and wiſe in beguiling his enemie, and diſcouering his Fallacies in all Brauadoes made vppon him. In Nouell inuentions, he would ſtand vpon his guard; being a man of readye counſell, and apteſt ſpirit in all occaſions.

His warre ſeruice, and marſhalling his men.

His minde & reſolution.

By which Rules and Obſeruations (although they were ſo different from thoſe in the other) he was eſteemed as a woorthy Soldier, attaining (by diuers meanes and deuiſes) to the Dukedom of *Millain*, and to be one of the cheefeſt men in the world. Of theſe two men, ſo deſeruedly famous, manie Moderne Hiſtorians haue largely written: eſpeciallie *Æneas Syluius*, Pope, in his Coſmographie, and *Anthonius Sabellicus*, in his *Eneades*, wher ſuch Readers, as are deſirous to bee further informed, concerning theſe men; may read more amply their liues and actions; for in this place (according to our method in all obſeruations, which barres vs from ful report, and bindes vs to breuitie) we are perſwaded, that we haue ſpoken well and ſufficiently.

Hiſtorians that haue written of theſe two worthy men.

CHAP. XXV.

That the Lyon naturally feareth the Cocke: with many other notable matters concerning the Lyon.

GOD hath not made any creature in this Worlde so strong and powerfull, but there abideth in him some cause of feare or terror, and something is ordained to offend him. In like maner, there is nothing in this world firme and assured, for one thing is destroyed by another; and the same also afterward, ruined by some other thing: so that we know not what may bee warranted, or which thing can bee kept from corrupting.

Nothing in this World of assurance.

Hence it ensueth, that oftentimes we shunne such thinges as are likely to hurt vs, and fall (some other way) into perils, which we least suspect or imagine. Moreouer, among Beastes and other thinges created, there is a kind of naturall Loue or Hatred, by a secret and conceald propriety; by meanes whereof, some seeke and pursue, and others shun and auoyde each other. What Beast is more strong then the Lyon, the Prince of Beasts? Not any, and therefore beares he that name, because (according to som Iudgements) the worde Lyon in *Greeke*, signifyeth a (King): Or, according to others (*Sight*) & that in regard of his perfection in seeing, he is so named. But bee it howsoeuer, this powerfull Beast which euerie one feareth, so soon as he espieth a Cock, he fearfully gets him gone: and that by a secret propertie in Nature, euen as the Hare shuns the Hound: and not onelie doth the sight of the Cocke cause this auoydance, but the verie smell, if he feele it far off; or hearing him Crow, it makes him maruailously affraid. Nor doth hee shun this creature only, but also the noise of a Charriot or Waggon running on the way: and by no meanes can hee bee compelled to stay, if he see a man bearing any light in his hand. Which seemeth to bee an incredible matter, that a Beast so furious, should stand in awe or dreade of so small a thing: and yet notwithstanding, it hath been noted by experience: Besides, that which is Written by *Plutarch*, in his Booke of the difference betweene Hate and Enuie: *Pliny*, Saint *Ambrose*, and *Albertus Magnus*, who sayeth and maintaineth, that if the Cock be of a White Colour, hee maketh the Lyon stande much more in feare of him. Nor can there any assured Reason bee yeelded in this case, but euen (as I formerly saide) that it commeth by a secret proppertie in Nature. And yet *Lucretius*, the Auncient Poet, sayth; That the Cocke and his Feathers haue a certaine propertie or qualitie, which the Lyon seeing, hee receiueth great terror thereby, and is not able by anie meanes to endure it.

Naturall loue or hatred among al creatures.

The Lyon dreadeth the sight, smel, or noise of a Cock, or any light in a mans hand.

Plut. in lib. de differen. Inuid. &c. Plin. lib. 8. S. Ambr. lib. 9. de Examer. Alb. Mag. in lib Animal.

Lucretius the old Poet.

Some others do attribute the cause of this feare, vnto the supreame and celestiall Influences, and not vnto the Beastes Sight, Smell, or the matter it selfe. For, (say they) these two Creatures are subiect vnto the Sunne, the Vertue whereof toucheth the Cocke more then the Lyon: and thence it ensueth, that the Inferiour and lesse Vertuous in this kinde (albeit the bigger and greater in strength) feareth and obeyeth his superiour. And they say moreouer, that in regarde the Cocke is of the Sunnes Nature, hee reioyceth and singeth in the morning at the comming and rising of the Sunne. But be it howsoeuer, we know that the Lyon is more strong, and of greater spirit then all other Beasts; also, extreame in fury & crueltie, against all other of the like Nature. Neuertheless, wee haue infinite plain and manifest examples, of his great Mildenesse and Clemencie, whereof it shall not bee amisse to alledge some, according as I finde them crediblie recorded.

The opinion of others in this case, concerning the Celestiall influences.

why the cock singeth at the Sunnes rising

Appion the *Greeke* writeth (according as *Aul. Gellius* declareth, of a matter seen by himself, & the same is likewise affirmd by *Ælianus* in his Book of Beasts) that in certaine feastes, solemnly obserued in the Citie of *Rome*, it was vsed as a custome in the great Theater (where diuers kinds of Saluage and cruell beastes were kept, as Lyons, Leopards, and others) men condemned to death were brought and put in, to the end that either they might bee deuourd of them, or to deserue life by valiant

Elian in lib. Animal.

Men exposed to wild beasts in the Theater of Rome.

The history of *Androdus* & his Lyon.

liant defence of themselues, a Spectacle (indeede) verie cruell and inhumaine. It happened vpon a day, that among other offenders thus brought thither, a man named *Androdus*, Seruant to a Romaine Senator, was to take his Fortune, and amongst the other Beasts in the Theater, there was a Lyon of insigne power and greatnesse, as also verie cruel, which had bin brought lately out of *Affrica*, and the eyes of all the Beholders were fixed on this Lyon. The Beast walking Maiestically about the place, beganne to looke aduisedly vpon *Androdus*; and seeming to consider, or take some acknowledgement of him; went steppe by step toward him verie gently, albeit, in opinion of all the By-standers, to rent and teare him in peeces. But their expectation was deceiued, for the Lyon bowing downe his head, came curteously to *Androdus*, who (trembling) awaited nothing else but immediat death; and walking along very louingly by him, stroked his bodie on the legges and thighes of *Androdus*, kissing and licking his hands and feete, Leaping famiarly & gently on him, euen as yong Whelpes, and other waiting Dogs are wont to doe, when they haue not seene their Maisters in a long time.

A wonderfull vertue in a Lyon to a mã in misery.

Androdus perceiuing the particular affability of the Lyon vnto himselfe, without any shew of the least kind to any of the other condemned persons: cheared his dismayed Spirits, and made much of the Lyon, smoothed his head & hayre with his hand, and looking aduisedly on him, came to former knowledge of him, deliuering manifest signes of ioy and gladnesse, conceyued by this notice taken. Whereat the people were not a litle amazed, & stricken with great astonishment, giuing forth straunge and variable speeches, according as each fancie made coniecture. By meanes whereof, the Emperor caused *Androdus* to be sent for thence, and beeing brought instantly before him; desired to vnderstand som reason for this priuate and familiar acquaintance, and where hee had formerly seene that Lyon. Whereto he answered, that hauing beene in *Affrica*, at such time as his Lord was Lieutenant Generall, and great Gouernour there and of that Prouince: in regard of some wrongs & outrages done to him by his saide Lord, hee was enforced to become a fugitiue, and hauing no other place of shelter or safetie, went secretly into a great Forrest, where he tooke vp his lodging in a Caue or Den. Not long had he staid there, but this Lyon entered in vpon him, and not only abstained from doing any harm but lying downe before him, shewed him one of his pawes, which was wounded and bleeding, euen as if hee would haue desired helpe and remedie of him for his griefe. *Androdus* dreading no danger by this milde behauiour, tooke vp the Lions legge, and looking vppon the bleeding wound, found a great sharpe Thorn sticking in the foot; which plucking forth so gently as possibly he could, hee stenched the blood, so that the paine appeared to be indifferently appeased. This beeing done, the Lyon laying his head in the lap of *Androdus*, slept verie soundly; & from thence-forwardes, the Lyon walking abroad daily, would bring the best preyes he could get (by his hunting) to *Androdus*, who dreste his food in the Mid-dayes Sun, because hee had no other fire, and was well contented with such prouision.

The first meeting of *Androdus* and the Lyon, and the curtesy done by him to the Lyon.

Androdus liu'd with the Lion more then 3. yeares.

After hee had liued thus continually with the Lyon, for more then the space of three yeares; he grew to bee wearie of this kind of life. Wherefore vpon a day, when the Lyon was gone abroad about his wonted game; *Androdus* departed thence, to take such fortune as might befall him. Not farre had he trauailed from the Forrest, but he was met by some, that knew him to be a fugitiue seruaunt: and therefore brought him home to *Rome* to his Maister, who iudging him worthie of death; as others in the like case were vsually sentenced, sent him with the other offenders, to the publicke Theater, there to be torne in pieces by the wilde Beasts, and there the Lyon tooke knowledge of him, as formerly hath bin related. When the Emperour had heard this admyrable History, in his owne gracious Nature, & at the peoples importunity: *Androdus* was deliuered and set at liberty, so was the Lyon likewise, because he had extended such fauor to him. Thenceforward, and a long time after, the Lyon daily walked thorow the streetes of *Rome*, in the company of *Androdus* onely, without doing harme to any body, which was the cause, that manie *Romaine* Cittizens affected *Androdus* greatly, and bestowed diuers liberall giftes on him; tearming him the

Androdus is brought to his Maister, and sent to death.

Androdus cometh to take knowledge of the Lyon.

The Emperor sendeth for *Androdus*, and vnderstandeth by him his former knowledge of the Lyon.

Androdus and his Lyon, are both set at liberty.

Lyons Phyſition, and the Lyon the hoſt to *Androdus*. Thus the Lyons misfortune, to bee wounded in the foote by a Thorne: inſtinct of Nature taught him, to make his recourſe to man for helpe. And this appeareth to be verie true, becauſe we haue manie more examples to the ſame effect, aledged by Authors worthy of credit.

The Lyon wounded, comes to man for remedie.

Plin. lib 8. Of *Mutor* the Syracuſane, that holp another wounded Lyon.

Pliny, in his Booke fore-named, ſpeaketh of a *Syracuſane* named *Mutor*, who being in *Syria*, mette with a Lyon, that preſented himſelfe gently before him, & couching downe on the grounde, made ſignes (as it were of entreaties) to him; but the *Syracuſane* beeing fearefull of his life, fled away from him, with all the haſt he could vſe. The Lyon ſtill followed, and got againe before him, fawning on him, and licking him verie kindely, till at length the *Syracuſan* perceiued the Lyon to bee wounded in the foote: which the Lyon lifting vp vnto him, euen as if hee deſired to be eaſed; *Mutor* tooke foorth a ſharpe ſplinter of Woode, which (by treading thereon) was runne farre into the Fleſh, and ſo the Lyon was releaſed. This Hiſtorie, being painted in a goodly Table by the ſame *Mutor* in *Syracuſa*, continued there long after, as a true Teſtimonie thereof.

Plin. lib. 9. *Elpis* of *Samos*, who cured another Lion wounded.

The ſame Authour ſpeaketh alſo of another man, named *Elpis*, borne in *Samos*, who being diſimbarqued in *Affrica*; eſpyed ſomewhat neere vnto the Hauen, a Lyon roaring, making towardes him, moaning and complaining verie greeuouſly. The man beeing fearefull, for ſafetie of his life got vppe into a Tree, at the foote whereof, lay the Lyon flat vpon his backe, deliuering manie cries and moanes, lifting vp and ſhewing his paw all bloody, euen as to mooue the man to commiſſeration.

Elpis looking more aduiſedly, with better courage deſcended from the Tree, and drew a great Thorne out of the Lyons foote. In acknowledgement of which good turne done vnto him, ſo long as the Shippe remained in that Hauen: the Lyon brought him and his men dayly, great ſtore of Fleſh, which hee hadde kild in hunting, in a neere neighbouring Forreſt, wherewith they were long time releeued.

Theſe Hiſtories, are the better to be credited, by that which (in like manner) happened vnto Saint *Hierome*, who healed a Lyon, that hadde receiued the like hurt; in recompence whereof, the Lyon kept companie with Saint *Hieromes* Aſſe, that was Laden with Wood, euen till he brought him home vnto his Hermitage.

S. *Hierom* cured another wounded Lyon.

Wee read moreouer, that *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, after hee had Conquered the Holy Land, rode vppon a day on hunting in *Iudea*, where hee found a Lyon fighting with a Serpent: which Serpent had ſo writhed and knit his taile and body about the Lyon, that he was in verie great danger of death. But the Serpent beeing ſlaine by *Godfrey*, the Lyon in remuneration of this benefite, followed and accompanied him daily, without departing from his guard: and euer when he went on Hunting, the Lyon ſerued in ſtead of his Grey-hound.

The Hiſtorie of *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, and a Lyon ſuccoured by him.

It chaunced afterwardes, that *Godfrey* ſayling vpon the Sea, the Lyon was leſte behinde him, and his Maiſter returned not, to take him with him in the Shippe: yet ſuch was the Loue of the Lyon vnto his Maiſter, that he would needes ſwim after him in the Water, and was drowned before he could be ſuccored. Concerning thoſe Lyons of *Babylon*, that did no harme vnto the Prophet *Daniell*, and diuers other beſides, that (in the times of *Diocleſian* and *Numerian*, Emperours of *Rome*) not ſo much as touched thoſe Chriſtians, which were nakedly throwne vnto them, for foode and ſuſtenaunce: I ſet not them downe as examples of the Naturall loue or qualitie in Lyons, becauſe God had a woorking power in ſo high a buſineſſe; and thoſe bleſſed Fauours proceeded only from his appointment.

The ſtraunge loue of a Lion to his Maiſter

Amongeſt other notable thinges of Nobleneſſe in this Beaſt, one Writeth; That he will neuer do anie hurt to man, except hee be thereto conſtrained thorough great neceſsitie and Hunger. If hee then chaunce to meete a man and a Woman together, hee addreſſeth himſelfe rather vnto the Man, then vnto the Woman; and neuer (or verie ſeldome) doth he anie hurt to Children. It appeareth, that the Lyon (in immitation of man) hath ſome Audacitie in thinges that concerne honour, with a kinde of feare to derogate from it. For, if hee finde himſelfe to bee purſued, and knowe

Of noble nature in the Lyon.

The Lyon in ſome immitation with man regarding honor.

knowes that he is seene: he goes with a slow and tardy pace, to declare no want of courage in his flight. But if he know himselfe to bee in the thickest Woodes, and where no eye can catch hold of him: his flight is then to his vttermost power. It is further saide, that when hee flyeth in this manner, he neuer looketh behinde him, to declare thereby, how much hee contemneth them that follow.

Wonderfull knowledge in the Lyon by instinct of nature.

The Lyon, by meere instinct or motion of nature, is of such great and perfect knowledge, that if any man wound him with a Lance, or any other kind of Weapon: let him bee in the company of neuer so many men, yet length of time is no hindrance to him, but hee will select him out among them all, and be reuenged on him, if he can. To this purpose, *Ælianus* declareth the History of a young Infant, nourished and brought vp by *Iuba*, King of *Mauritania*, who growing further in years, and riding on hunting with the King; wounded a Lyon with his Launce. But the Lyon recouering his hurt, within some long while after, the King passed by the same Mountaine where the Lyon was wounded, accompanied with the same young Gentleman that did the deede, and a great many more in the same assembly. The Lyon knowing him that formerly had hurt him, came with great fury and animosity, and entring into the thickest of them; vsed his sight and sauour in such sort, as, if the young Gallant had not beene stronglie defended, the Lyon had torne him ther in pieces.

Aelianus in lib. de Animal.

A strange story of a wounded Lyon.

Of a Lion and his Lyonnesse

The same Authour, and sundry others beside doe assureus, of matter (in my mind) very marualous, to wit; that if a Lyonesse haue companied with another Lyon: her Male doth take knowledge of it by her smell, and then will beate and punnish her very grieuously. Likewise, when the Lyon waxeth so old, as he can fight no longer, neyther chase any other Beastes: his young Lyons, that are more strong and able, doe helpe to prouide for him, and killing their seuerall preyes, they bring it to him where he is, to feede thereon. The Authours to approue al these thinges; are *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Iulius Solinus*; who doe write many other matters, which now I speake not off. Onely I thought it good to set downe these examples, for to confound cruell and vnthankfull men; in shewing them, that among brute and sauage Beasts, clemency is not only found, but also acknowledgement of good turnes receiued.

Plin. in Lib. 8. Aristot. in lib. 8. et 9. de Anim. Albertus Magnus in lib. 22. de Animal. Solinus in Polihist.

CHAP. XXVI.

Who was the first Man that tamed the Lyon; And of Lysimachus, a Captaine to great Alexander, what hapned between him and a Lyon.

He powerfull Beast, whereof we haue discourse in our precedent Chapter, although he is so cruell & furious; yet notwithstanding, he hath beene tamed and made gentle, by diligence and dexterity in Man. The first that euer vndertook that labour, was a *Carthagenian* by birth, and named *Hanno*; but the reward he receiued therefore, was banishment from his Country. For they said, that this act of taming the Lyon, was a presaging of such a Spirit in him; that hee would make himselfe Lord of the country. But *Plinie* saith, that the reason why the *Carthagenians* banished *Hanno*, was; because he hauing thus qualified the fierce Lyon; he might the more easily perswade the Cittizens, and worke with them what himselfe pleased. He maketh report also of *Marke Anthonie*, Cozin to *Octauius*, who caused Lyons in such sort to be tamed, and brought to gentleneese: as hee would put their neckes into yokes, and make them draw his Chariot where soeuer he rode. We finde that the like was done by *Heliogabalus*, of whose prodigalities and lubricities, we shall finde fitter place to discourse. King *Iohn* of *Castile*, second of that name, had a Lyon so domestick and familiar; that at all times when he sate in his State, the Lyon would lye downe close at his feete. *Messire Iacques* of *Dessa*, Arch-bishop of *Seuile*, had the like. *Lodouicus Cœlius* writeth, that hee read in a good and approued Authour, of

Hanno of Carthage first tamed the Lyon

Plin. in Lib. 16

Marke Anthony caused Lyons to be made milde.

Heliogabalus.

King *Iohn* of *Castile.*

Lod. Cœlius in 7. lib. de Ant. Lect.

of an Ewe, which conceiued and eaned a Lyon, a matter very monstrous in Nature. We likewise read of men, that with their hands haue slaine Lyons, as *Sampson*, *Dauid*, *Hercules*, and others.

The History of *Lysimachus*, and *Calisthenes* the Philosopher.

I remember also, I haue read that *Lysimachus*, one of the Captaines to *Alexander* the great, slew a Lyon in this manner following. *Alexander* had then in his company *Calisthenes* the Philosopher, who was a man free, learned, and wise; and (according to the true quality of such a man) would oftentimes giue him good enstructions, and reprehensions also, when hee did not as became a King. Whereupon, *Alexander* growing into displeasure against him; caused him to bee put into a Cage among his Dogs. This was such a shame and ignominy, as so free and vertuous a Spirit as *Calisthenes* had, was no way able to endure: but rather would voluntarily haue embraced death, and wherein he was holpen by his Scholler *Lysimachus*, who grieued not a little, to see his Maister so dishonorably dealt withall. When *Alexander* was aduertised thereof, in a great rage; he caused him to be throwne before a Lyon, that the Beast furiously might deuour him. But *Lysimachus*, beeing a Man of excellent courage, secretly armed his right arme and hand, afterward, when hee was exposed to the Lyon, and saw him come running (greedily gaping) to deuoure him with a bold and vndaunted Spirit: hee thrust his Arme into his throat, and held him by the root of the tongue so strongely, that albeit the Lyon did him much harm with his pawes, (whereof he was afterward in daunger of death) yet would he not let goe his hold, vntill the Lyon seemed as quite choaked and strangled, by keeping his Arme so long in his throat. *Alexander* hauing intelligence thereof, desisted from all further anger and rage against him, and commaunded him to be carefully recouered: holding him (thenceforward) for one of his very chiefest fauourites, yea, and in such account, as (after the death of *Alexander*) hee was one in the number of his Successors, & a most powerfull King. The Authours that doe auouch the truth heereof, are *Iustine*, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Demetrius*.

Calisthenes cast among Dogs.

Lysimachus exposed to the fury of a Lion

The admirable courage of *Lysimachus*.

Lysimachus killed the Lyon.

Iustine in lib. 15. Plutarc. in vit. Demetri.

CHAP. XXVII.

That the most and greatest part of people in the world, spake at the first but one language onely, which was giuen them by the will of God: And after the destruction of Babell, then it was changed.

PORphyrius, *Iulian* the Apostat Emperour, and other enimies to sacred letters, do confesse with the learned, that from the beginning of the Worldes Creation, as there was but one Man and one Woman: euen so there was likewise but one Language onely, which continued to all the people on Earth, vntill the Deluge; yea, till the destruction of *Babell*, for seruice of the people which made their abiding thereabout, and (by presumption) had made a Tower, or rather a high mounted causey, to warrant and defend themselues from another flood, if so be there should any other happen. But me-thinks, that the people of those times were very grossely conceited, in seeking to fortefie themselues by such cunning: because it had beene much better to hinder, then to whet on the anger of God.

One language proceeding from one man and one woman.

Grosseneſſe in men of the first Age.

There was neuer any man found, or heard of, how great an enemy soeuer he was to the holy Scriptures, that could euer render any reason of the variety of Languages, which are spoken in so many Nations: but onely that which *Moyses* alleadged; to wit, that it was done by the will of God, to the end, that the Earth might be wholly inhabited, as it was before the flood, and the great race of *Noah* (finding themselues dissemblable in tongues) might therefore disperse themselues abroad. For men deuided not the tongues, but the deuision of tongues deuided Men, neither was it any intention of men, vsed then sufficiently by necessary knowledge of Nature, and by the inuention of Arres and Sciences; but a punishment of God inflicted on mankinde. It is a case very cleare and euident, that Languages are not profitable, but in their diuersity, and

Variety of languages the work of God.

The deuision of tongues deuided men.

and if there were but one onely vsed in the World, it would bee meere vanity to know many: for all the first tongues had diuers originals, and depending (in any thing) one vpon another.

Conquerours do giue language to the conquered.

Neuertheleſſe, after that Warres began to be moued through the world, the people that were brought into ſubiection, receiued the Language of the Conquerours. And it is a true marke of Soueraignty, to conſtraine the ſubdued to change their Language; which the *Romains* much better executed, then any Prince or people whatſoeuer: wherby they ſeeme (as yet) to commaund in the moſt part of Europe. Likewiſe, the laſt King of the *Hetrurians*, beeing vanquiſhed, did all that the *Romaines* pleaſed, but yet he would neuer receiue the Latine toong. And by the like reaſons, the *Gaules*, who ſpake as the *Heluetians* (as *Glareanus* and many other Authours thinke) in the time of *Cæſar*, as by coniecture may bee gathered in the Commentaries of the ſaide *Cæſar*: did afterward learne the Latine Tongue, becauſe they wereconquered by the *Romaines*. After that againe, they ſpake the language of the *Franconians*, a people of *Allemaigne*, who were mingled among them, by their victories gotten ouer the *Romaines*. In following time, the *Gothes*, *Vandals*, *Hunnes*, and other people, that ranged thorow the world; left them alſo their tongues. In briefe, of all theſe ſeuerall languages, the *Gauls* (at this inſtant called the *French*) builded and framed one perticuler tongue, euen that which to this day they enioy. So that all the fore-ſaid tongues, haue had their variant changes, in leſſe then fifteene hundred yeares, very neere three times each ſeuerall tongue: for at this day, and ſo hence-forward, it will bee impoſſible to vnderſtand the language, that hath beene ſpoken for the ſpace of foure hundred yeares in *France*.

Glareanus concerning the *Gaules* and *Heluetians*.

Whence the language of *France* had originall.

This hath happened in the very ſame manner at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, ſince the time of *Cicero* and before, for he ſaith; that no man can vnderſtand thoſe Hymnes, which the Prieſts called *Salij*, or *Saliens* ſung in their proceſſions, which were compoſed in Latine, that Language being then there ſpoken, and very ſoone after the foundation of *Rome*: As alſo the *Sibyls* Verſes, and many other ancient bookes of thoſe times, that contained very ſacred things. But being fearefull to offend the Gods, or to induce any nouelty in Religion, a matter which draweth after it daily too many calamities: the Senate would haue no other Hymnes to be made, nor that any one ſhould mingle other matter among them, or comment or correct thoſe Bookes of the *Sibylles*.

Italy, hath alſo changed her language.

Salij, the Prieſts of *Mars*.

It is generally knowne, that the auncient Language which *Rome* vſed firſt of all, was pure, delicate, and moſt eloquent Latine: and now at this day, there is hardly any one word thereof truely retained. The *Italian* tongue now ſpoken, declareth in plaine apparance, to haue taken originall and encreaſing from Strangers, vpon the Empires declination; eſpecially from ſuch as did moſt harme to *Italy* it ſelfe; to wit, the *Gaules*, *Prouncials*, *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandals*, and other barbarous people, all voyde of humanity; who inſtead of Trophees, haue left them nothing but words and names, euen the moſt excellent that they had. It is not vnknowne to vs alſo, that the *Arabians* had planted their Language throughout *Aſia* and *Affrica*; and yet within few yeares, *Philip* King of *Spaine*, hath conſtrained the *Moores* of *Granada*, to change both their habite and Language. *Peru*, commonly tearmed the golden *Caſtile*, a very great Prouince, now ſpeaketh no more her naturall Language: for the *Spaniard* hauing conquered it, hath there planted his Language, although it bee diſtance thence the ſpace of a thouſand and fiue hundred leagues; euen as hee hath done the like, in all his other conquered Countries, in thoſe Prouinces tearmed the new World.

By what people the Latine tongue became to be changed.

The new conquered *Indians* haue changed their language.

In the Iſle of *Malta*, they were wont to ſpeak the *Punick* tongue; to wit, that vſed by the *Carthagemans*, when they would needes hold ſuperiority ouer the *Romaines*: and now at this day, the *Greek* tongue is ſpoken there, but very corruptly, mingled alſo with *Sicilian*. That they had no other Language but the *Punick*, is eaſie to be prooued, becauſe it is not aboue thirty yeares, ſince there was found engrauen in olde Marble, this which followeth, written in Greek Letters, and yet notwithſtanding, the Language ſeemeth for to bee Hebrew.

Of the Iſle of *Malta*.

ELOI.

Antiquities found in the Isle of *Malta*, vpon graue stones.

ELOI. EFFETHA CVMI, and many other auncient Epitaphes. Also, as the Foundation of Castle *Angelo* was laying, there was found vpon an olde Stone of Marble-Iasper, these words engrauen; IEHIEW IEPHDAIA, and others, which (by the iniury of time) were quite defaced. And these latter wordes, were written (for the more part) in Hebrew Letters, and hardly was there found any one, were he *Arabe* or *Iew* (who doe surpasse all other Nations in the vnderstanding of Languages) that could deliuer the interpretation thereof.

Arabes and *Iewes* best vnderstanders of tongues.

The language of Egypt changed.

Ægypt, from the time of *Mercurius Trismegistus* (Author of that worthy booke tituled *Pimander*,) that was before *Abraham* and *Moyses*, had a perticular Language: a thing yet to this day to be seene, by Bookes written in the Ægyptian hand, and in many places of *Palestine*, in the tongue vsed in those dayes, which (I say) was in the time of the first Kinges that were named *Pharaohs*, wherein nothing is to be comprehended, neither reade, albeit the Letters are very visible, and not defaced.

The *Arabian* tongue a perfect language

Neuertheless, at this day they doe not speake that Language, but the *Arabian* Tongue, without retaining any one word of her auncient tongue: which is saide to bee graue, briefe, accompanied with goodly tearmes, and proper to comprehend all Sciences, as all the Easterne partes (well neere) are, and apt to discourse of Diuine matters; much more then the Greeke, full of ostentation and vanity. Which being well perceiued by that worthy *Æsculapius*, the fore-named *Trismegistus*: he desired of GOD and the King, that his Bookes and Writings might not passe through the *Grecians* handes, neyther bee translated or commented by them.

Sectio 11. *de vtt. Lib.* The request of *Mercurius Trismegistus*

Heere we are to note, that if (at this day) wee haue any Bookes of the ancient Ægyptians; they came from the *Greekes* and *Iewes*, who traduced them into their Language, when they kept their Schooles, where they taught all Sciences: witnesse *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Xenophon*, *Philostratus*, *Iamblicus*, *Apollonius*, and diuers other great personages, who went purposely thither, to be enstructed in good Sciences, whereof great account was made in those times. And let vs not forget *Moses*, the great Law-giuer, who was learned in all the wisedome of the Ægyptians: as we may gather by the words of Saint *Stephen*, in the seuenth Chapter of the Actes of the Apostles.

Moses was learned in the Egyptians sciences. Acts 7. 22.

In *Palestine*, and in *Ierusalem*, they were wont to speake the *Syriake* toong now a dayes they speake the *Arabian*. *Belonius*, in his second booke of Singularities, hath noted, that at this day there are spoken twelue seueral toongs in *Ierusalem*; and yet notwithstanding, as I haue formerly saide, the *Arabian* tongue is the most common. *Greece* hath lost her auncient Language, for in the Citties and Townes, the Primitiue tongue is now not spoken: but a new kinde of Language, which the *Turkes* (since they began to bee Gouernours there) brought thither with them. And yet neuertheless, in some perticuler places, they speake *Greeke* verie vsually. But by little and little, as the naturall borne Greekes, by reason of their Princes tyranny, became Vagabonds, and went to seeke out other Countries: euen so they (for the more part) hoping there to meet with better entertainement, made themselues Mahumetists, that is to say; they forsooke Christian Religion, and (by the same meanes also) left their Mother tongue, enclining wholly to the *Turkish* and *Arabian*; and therfore, before an hundred years can be expired, they wil not speak any more Greeke.

Paleſtine and *Ieruſalem* haue changed their language. *Belon. in lib. 2. Singular. cap.* 84.

The alteratiō of *Greece*, and vpon what occasion.

In the Kingdome of *Tremissem*, otherwise called *Telesin*, seated on the Coast of *Barbarie*, in the *Mediterranean* Sea, they were wont to speake the *Phœnician* tongue: now-adaies they doe not retaine any one word thereof, but speake the *Moriseo* Language, becausse they had beene formerly subdued by the great King *Mansor*. The cause why this people spake the *Phœnician* tongue (although they were distant from the Countrey of *Phœnicia*, verie neere foure hundred Leagues) I will briefely declare, according as *Procopius* setteth it downe in the Historie of the *Vandales*, leauing a verie notable marke thereof, in these wordes. *All this Countrey* (saith he) *which reacheth from Sidon*,

The reason why the kingdome of *Telesins* changed her language.

Procopius in Hist. Vandal. The scituatiō of Phœnicia.

Sidon, so farre as Ægypt, was heretofore cald Phœnicia, and such as haue written the History of the Phœnicians, do declare; that sometime one King onely raigned there. In these Countries dwelt the Gergesites, Iebusites, and others, who when they beheld Iosuahs great Army comming against them: they passed into Ægipt, but soone after, that Countrey being not able to support thē, they went thence into Affrica, wher they builded many Townes and Villages, and peopled the Countrey, euen so farre as the Pillars of Hercules, and their language was Phœnician. In Numidia likewise they builded, and (among other Citties) that most strong and firmely seated Citty of Tingitana, where two Collomnes of white stone are to bee seene, neere the great Fountaine, whereon (in the Phœnician tongue) are engrauen these wordes. We are they, who were before that great Brigande Iosuah, the Son of Nun. Such (saith he) was the originall of these people, who are (at this day) called *Mauritsins*, or *Mauritanians*. Their Languages then became wholly changed, by the comming in of other people.

The ancient strong Cittie of *Tingitana* in *Numidia*.

England was wont to haue a perticular Language by her selfe, according as *Cæsar* testifieth: but beeing afterward conquered by the *Saxons*, a people of *Germany*, they long time kept the *Saxon* tongue. In following time also, growing frequent with the *French*, hoping to ouer-rule them: they well neere quite changed the *Saxon* tongue, begetting one Language, consisting partly of *French*, *Danish*, *Saxon*, and *Pictish*. So that out of all these tongues, they forged one intirely new, and that little aboue three hundred years since. Which hath beene well obserued by venerable *Bede*, a great Diuine, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, sometime Lord Chancellour, and a very learned Gentleman, and both these Men of the English Nation.

The Conquests of *England*.

Venerable *Bede*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*.

The *Polanders*, *Vandales*, *Bulgarians*, *Seruians*, *Dalmatians*, *Croatians*, *Bosnians*, *Russians*, *Valachians*, *Bohemians*, *Lituanians*, *Moscouites*, &c. spake the *Germaine* or *Tentonicke* tongue: but at this day, they speak the *Sclauonian* language, that is to say, *Illyrian*, witnesse *Ladislaus* King of *Lituania*, who about the yeare 1399. hauing espoused a Virgine, named *Anne*, the Heire of *Poland*, that could speak no other Language but the *Allemaigne*, as then in those times it was spoken in *Poland*: would neuer leaue her company, vntill she had learned the *Lictuanian* tongue, which shee easily attained vnto in eight months space. The *Allemaignes* also say, that the language which by them is now vsed, is not their auncient tongue; but is very diuers, and hath borrowed great store of wordes, from people by whom they haue hitherto beene foyled, or ranaged, or by beeing imployed in Warres, as among the *Gaules* in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Greece*, and the Easterne Countries. Neuer should I growe to any conclusion, if I were to set downe those seuerall people, that haue changed their Language since the Deluge: or proone, that there is not any Nation at this day, which speaketh the Language of our first Father *Adam* and *Noah*. All haue changed, and yet will change, so long as the World endureth; for such is the Nature of vicissitude, in thinges of this world.

Great nations speake the *Illyrian* tongue.

The *Allemaign* language changed.

The Authors conclusion.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Crauing or Caruing, and of Painting: which of them is most ancient and excellent.

IN these times I haue heard of very many different opinions, concerning these two Arts of Statuary or Stone-cutting, and Painting; to wit, which of them is most commendable, and best worthy of praise. Very pertinent reasons are alleadged both for the one and other, for in the Statue or Sculpture, there is discerned an artificiall imitation of Nature, representing therein the members wholly, round, well formed, and fully measured, euen as if Nature her selfe had shaped them, and much better imitated then in a Table; where we but behold the superficies and colours, which beguile the eye. For the substance is much neerer to truth, then the resemblance. Beside, Sculpture or engrauing, is more difficult, because if a fault be therin committed, very hardlie

Variety of opinions in Caruing and Painting.

The commendation of Caruing.

ly can bee amended: in regard, that the Marble or other matter is not to bee pieced or patched, but another figure must of necessity be made. Which falleth not out so in painting, for it may be altered a thousand times, adding thereto, or diminishing, by daily amending. Statues were (in elder times, & yet are to this day) esteemed sacred things, to beautifie Temples or publike places, for the commemoration of famous persons, and such actions of theirs as were heroycall: especially such as we see in the Porches of Temples, and diuers within; which are placed to no other end, but for a remembrance of holy Men or women, that performed many pious deedes, and stood for plantation of the Faith. And for the great respect then made of them, it was permitted (by Emperiall Edictes) to Offenders, and Slaues badly vsed by their Maisters; to haue their enfranchisement, and ease from further persecutions, by holding fast vpon some of those Statues, till audience might bee graunted to their oppressions.

Statues esteemed in ancient times, and for good occasions.

An ancient custome for offenders and Bond-slaues.

Such as do hold Painting to be more excellent, make their allegations; that thereby is imitated much more truely, the very Nature of the thing so represented, then it can be by the Statue. And that it must needes be so, they produce (for example) that which is written by *Plinie*, concerning one *Xeuxis*, a Painter of *Heraclea*, who presented a Table, wherein hee had painted bunches of Grapes so naturally: that Sparrowes flying by it, stroue to rest on them, and pecked at them, as taking them to bee true Grapes indeede, so that his workemanship was reputed to bee both famous and singuler. At another time, the same *Zeuxis* painted a young Man in a Table, carrying like bunches of Raisine Grapes in a Dish, which were so liuely made: as the Birds were thereby againe deceiued, the Birds likewise descending from the ayre, to peck at them as if they had beene very Raizins, without any feare at all of the young man.

The commendation of painting.

Plin. in lib. 12.

Histories concerning Painting.

They say moreouer, that *Parrhasius*, a Painter likewise, and an emulatour of the foresaid *Zeuxis*, painting a Partridge vpon a Collomne in *Rhodes*, drew it so naturally according to life: that (in the iudgment of euery beholder) it seemed to be aliue indeed. Nay more, the perfection of painting this Foule was such, and so compleate, that bringing other Partridges before it (such as now adaies are kept in Cages:) they would call vnto it, flutter their Winges before it, and vse their kinde of singing, taking it for a liuely Bird indeede. They yet goe further, saying, that *Apelles* painted a Horse according to life, and other Painters making proofe in their skill of the like; would needes vrge tryall of the most ablest workmanship. Whereupon, it was thought fit to bring liuing Horses before him, for better approbation of the experiment, and beeing brought before those figures painted by the other Painters; they stood still, without any shew of account or motion. But when that which *Apelles* drewe was presented before them; they began to stirre, tread, and whinnow, which they did not at the sight of any of the other; whereby, the greatest honour and aduantage in Art, was adiudged to *Apelles*, and he reputed to bee the most excellent Painter.

Parrhasius a cunning painter of *Ephesus*.

Apelles a famous Painter of the Isle *Coos*

Now to speake mine opinion heerein, I say, that (for all these Fables, lesse seeming true, then *Pliny* writes them) Painting cannot be accounted to be the more excellent Art: For all Creatures that fly in the Ayre, or feede on the earth, or liue in the Water, do nourish themselues, and are more mooued by the sence of smelling, then by sight. To approoue the truth hereof, let any man paint a Rat, and draw it neuer so artificially according to life: then let it bee presented before a Cat, to try if she wil stirre, or offer to take it. Let any man also set a Table before Fowles, with painted Capons, Hennes, Cockes, Pigeons, or such like; let there be likewise painted in the Table, Barly, Oates, or any other Corne fit for them to feede on; and try if they moone or come to touch it. Let any Painter portraite a Ginne or Snare, with either a Goose, Lambe, or any other prey surprised in the Snare, counterfeited by Art most naturally; and then make triall, if a Wolfe or Foxe will offer to lay holde on it, which indeede they would doe, if they had life.

The Authors refutation of the former Histories.

In like manner, let there be painted in a Table a goodly Mare, formed with all

Similitudes cannot peruert or alter nature in liuing Creatures.

all features neereſt to life, then bring a Stallion before it, and try if he will offer to couer her. Let there be alſo in the ſame Table a goodly fielde, with diuers Horſes feeding at paſture; and try if he will beare them company. Shew to any Horſe painted Prouender, and try if he will whinnow to haue it: which naturally he will do, if he be in his Stable, although there be none at all offered to his ſight. By theſe Allegations I would plainly ſhew, that Creatures (of theſe kinds) do not ſo much moue themſelues by ſight, as by ſence of ſmelling; and that all which *Pliny* hath ſaide of theſe Paintings, are meere fables, for theſe Creatures haue no knowledge of Paintings.

Painters of ancient times did not ſurpaſſe the men of theſe daies

It ſerueth to no purpoſe, to ſay, that the Painters of theſe daies, are not ſo ſufficiēt, neither do make ſuch exquiſite workes, as thoſe in former times did. I anſwer, that there are men as excellent euery way, & that wil not giue ground in any iot, to the very beſt before them. For, there are yet to bee ſeene in theſe daies, both Paintings and Statues of ancient *Grecians*, *Romaines*, *Ægyptians*, and other *Leuantines*; which come nothing neere (by much) in perfection, to things done by Painters and Statuaries of our time. I dare make them my Iudges, who, being curious in the ſight of ſuch thinges, and trauailing thorow lower *Germany*; haue viſited the Chambers and cabinets of many famous houſes, as alſo in *France* and *Italy*, and what elſe is to be ſeene in Churches.

Another Hiſtory of *Parrhaſius* and *Zeuxis*.

There is another Hiſtory alleadged, borrowed likewiſe out of the ſame *Plinies* ſhop, that *Parrhaſius* deceiued *Zeuxis* by a Table, whereon nothing elſe was painted but a Curtaine, and it beeing preſented to *Zeuxis*, to yeeld his iudgement of the workmanſhip; he offered to draw the Curtaine, to behold what was figured vnder it. I anſwer, that this Hiſtory, how true ſoeuer it be, & whether it ſo hapned or no, may make painting to bee much more commendable, then all the other Fables formerly deliuered from *Pliny*. For as man is the leaſt of all creatures, in exquiſite perfection of ſenſe, and that often deceiueth himſelfe, in the ſenſes of ſight, touching, taſt, and ſmell; yea, euen in iudgement, eſpecially when he is detained by a precipitation, or paſſion of Spirit, and then apprehendeth one thing for another: euen ſo might it then fall out with *Zeuxis*, in regard of the enuy he bare to *Parrhaſius*.

The Authors anſwer by apt comparions.

Hauing confuted theſe fables alleadged by *Pliny*, which ſerue onely for the praiſe of Painting: I will now ſet down ſome reaſons of mine owne, whereby I will approue Painting, beyond Caruing or Grauing. In Statues or Carued Figures, there are many thinges defectiue, which cannot faile in Painting, and principally day light and ſhaddow; becauſe fleſh yeildeth a different light, from that which Marble or ſtone affordeth, and that the Painter imitateth, with clearneſſe or obſcurity, more or leſſe, according as the thing requireth, which the Image-maker cannot performe. And yet notwithſtanding, though painting doth not make the Figure round: yet it ſheweth the muſcles and members in rounded ſhape, ſo that they are diſcerned, as ioyned to thoſe parts which cannot be ſeene, & by ſuch apt meanes; as it is eaſily knowne, that the Painter vnderſtands and perfectlie knowes them. And heerein is required another artifice more great, in forming the members that lengthen or ſhorten, according to the proportion of ſight, by reaſon of perſpectiue; which by the power of lines and meaſure of colours, day-light and ſhaddowes, doe ſhew in their ſuperficies on a plaine wall, neere or farre off, more or leſſe, as himſelfe pleaſeth.

The Authors reaſons, why Painting precedeth Caruing.

For forming the true proportion of the members.

Of the vſe & handling colours in their true Nature.

Nor is the true imitation of naturall colours, a matter of ſuch final moment as ſome do imagine, in counterfeiting fleſh, ſhape of Garments, and all other thinges requiring colours. And yet the Caruer cannot doe this; much leſſe expreſſe and repreſent the glarious ſight of the eye, black, green, or otherwiſe, with the ſplendour of amourous beames, or in Colour full of reuenge. The Caruer alſo knowes not how to diſcouer the beames of the Sunne, Lightning, Thunders, and other ſuch like thinges; as faire Lockes of Haire, nor the goodly troopes of armed forces, nor a darkeſome night, nor a tempeſt on the Sea, nor a flaſh of Lightning, nor ſtormie Windes, nor the beſiedging of a Citty, nor the Suns riſing

Admirable imitations in Painting.

in the morning, or *Aurora* her selfe, (bringing bright day) in her colours like Roses, disparkled with radiances of gold and purple. Briefely, he cannot represent Heauen, Earth, Seas, Mountaines, Forrests, Fields, Gardens, Riuers, Cities, nor Houses, all which the Painter can perfectly shew. It is also wel known, that if a Painter apply his colours vpon a carued statue, whatsoeuer it be; it wil appeare so much the more commendable. In this respect, me thinks that painting is a more Noble Science, and of much greater artifice, then Caruing or Grauing, and I think that our ancients held it in great reputation, & as highly as other things: albeit, both these Arts do seeme to issue out of one & the same fountaine, because that in both the one and other; Geometry is very requisite, for the vnderstanding of perspectiue. This Science appeares to me, not to be mechanicall, because it is very conuenable, & may well be vsed by any Gentleman. I remember I haue read, that our auncient predecessours, especially throughout all *Greece*, would haue Noble mens children enstructed in schools in the art of painting, as a Science most honest, and very necessary. It was admitted in the first degree of the liberall Arts, and soone after defended by publike Edict, that it should not be taught to Slaues or Seruants.

Painting a more Noble Science then Caruing.

Painting no mechanicall Science.

Noblemen vsed the Art of Painting.

Among the *Romaines*, Painting was held in great honor, and thence it deriued a most Noble sir-name, euen from the House of the *Fabij*; for the first *Fabius* was sir-named the Painter, because he was (indeede) a very excellent Painter. And so much was he addicted to painting, that hauing painted the wals of *Templum Salutis*; he placed there his owne name; as thinking, that although he was deriued of a noble house, honored with many Titles, Consulships, triumphes, and other dignities; albeit he he was learned, well read in the lawes, & numbred amongst the best Orators: yet he was of the mind, that hereby he might (neuertheless) encrease his renowne, by such an especiall splendour and ornament, and left it to memory, that he was a Painter.

Fabius a Noble man of *Rome* a skilful Painter.

Moreouer, many other are recorded of noble houses, that haue bin famous in this art, in which, beside the Nobility & Dignity therof; many commodities are thence deriued. Especially in the time of wars, for designing and portraiing Countries, scituations of Riuers, Bridges, Castles, Fortes, and such like thinges: which thus may be described to others, euen as if they were exactlie imprinted in memory, which otherwise were a difficult thing to do. I conclude then by this discourse, that the Art of sculpture or caruing, is much inferiour to painting: yea, and it will be of much longer continuance, if it bee kept in a dry place, and wel sheltred from winds and raine, and the longer it lasteth, so much the more pleasing it is to behold.

Painting not onely Noble, but pleasing & profitable, especially for for warre.

CHAP. XXIX.

Against such aged persons, as think nothing to be well done, but what was performed by themselues in their youth; blaming extreamely the present times, and what is now done, in respect of the former; And what is the cause thereof.

HAuing many times considered, (and not without great admiration) whence such an error ensueth, which verily may be beleeued, to be proper and naturall to aged people; because it is commonly noted in them, that they doe wholly (as it were) commend times past, condemning the present, and blaming our maners, actions, & whatsoeuer else they themselues did not in their younger daies; Affirming also, that all good customes, behauior of life, all vertue, and all thinges grow worse and worse: Truely, it seemeth to me a matter farre off from reason; nay more, very maruailous, that mature and ripe age should wander so strangely. For long experience begetteth custome, & (in sollemne allowance) presumeth to iudge perfectly of men. And yet herein their iudgments were so much corrupted, as they neuer perceiued, how the world began daily to impaire, and that the Fathers were better then their children; a very long time remaining, to ariue at the vttermost degree of wickednes, times still declining from better to worse. And yet notwithstanding all this, we behold it daily, a vice proper and

Aged people do oftentimes loose both reason and iudgement.

Our fore-fathers more happy then their children

and peculiar to age, euen as it hath bin in former daies; so to continue still among vs liuing. Which hath beene knowne and made manifest by the writings of many very ancient Authours, and especially by the Comicks, who (much better then any other) expressed the true Image of humaine life. Therefore I conceiue, that aged people hold this false opinion, because our yeares poasting away so swiftly, as they carry hence many other commodities; so (among others) they rob vs of our blood, and a great part of our vitall Spirits. In regard wherof, our complexion changeth it selfe, and the bodies Organes become feeble, that should exercise the vertues of the Soule.

A reason for the inconueniences before alleaged.

The cause of our generall instant discontentment.

And this is the cause, that in these our instant daies, the delicate and sweet floures of contentment doe fall from our heartes, as Leaues doe from the Trees in Autumne, and, in stead of clear and free thoughts; obscure, troubled, melancholly, and sad conceits get entrance, accompanied with a thousand calamities. So that, not onely the Body, but the Spirit also becommeth sick, which retaineth not any iot of our passed Spirits, except a long remembrance, and Image of that acceptable time of youth: which wee perswading our selues to finde againe, it appeareth then to vs, that Heauen, Earth, and all things else are glad therof, and do smile at them (verily) in our sight; resoluing our thoughts, that in them (as in a faire and goodly Garden) the sweet Spring time of ioyfulnesse still flourisheth. In which respect, perhaps it would proue profitable, when (already) in a cold and backward season, the Sunne of our life beginneth to decline towardes the West, in despoyling vs of our pleasures: that we would also (there-with) loose the remembrance of them, and finde (as *Themistocles* said) *A Science enstructing how to forget them.* Because the sences of our body are so fallacious; that oftentimes themselues do beguile the iudgement of the spirit.

The wise saying of *Themistocles*.

And therefore it seemeth to me, that aged people are of their condition, who setting forth from any Port or Hauen, doe still fixe their eies vpon the Land: whereby they conceit, that the Shippe moueth not, but that the land & houses are in motion, which neuertheless is quite contrary. For the Hauen, as also the time, and former or present pleasures, continue still in their wonted estate, and we (with the Ship of mortality) saile away; we poast on one after another, thorow this impetuous Sea, that deuoureth all things. Nor are we euer permitted to take landing againe; but beeing continually tossed by contrary winds, our vessell runs and breaks it selfe against one Rocke or other.

A similitude answerable to the argument of aged people.

The Spirit (then) of a man waxing old, a subiect contrary to all kind of pleasures; it cannot apprehend any taste of them. And, as all sorts of Wines, although they be neuer so good, seeme bitter to such as are troubled with a Feuer, in regard that the taste is changed, onely by the meanes of corrupted humors: euen so in aged people, by reason of their indisposition (albeit there is no defect in desire) all pleasures seeme vnsauory, cold, and far differing from such as they remember once to haue essaied; and yet those pleasures (in themselues) are the very same which they wer wont to be. And because they finde themselues to be depriued of those pleasures; they complaine and blame the pretime, as if it were naught, neuer considering, that this mutation proceedeth from themselues, and not from the time.

The Spirit growing aged, loatheth pleasures.

Another excellent comparison.

No defect in the time, but in our selues.

On the contrary, when they sit down, & call to memory their passed delights; they then likewise remember the time wherin they enioyed them; and (in that respect) repute them to bee good, because it appeared then, and so doth yet, that they brought a sweete relish with them, which they (yet) remember to haue felt when they had them. For, in effect, our thoughts doe hatefully condemne all things, that haue bin companions with our displeasures; and loue al them that haue suted with their likings. In which regard, it happens sometime, that we see an amourous Fellow, take great delight to behold a Window, although it be shut against him: yet hee conceiueth a liking thereof, because (in former time) he had the fauour there to gaze on his Lady, or loues Mistris. In like manner, to see a Iewell, a Letter, a Garden, or any other thing whatsoeuer; that seemeth (as yet) to be a testimony, to former effected pleasures:

Pleasures appeare to be good, according as we tast them.

Comparisons not vnfitting the present purpose.

whereas on the contrary, a goodly, faire, and rich adorned Chamber, will appeare hatefull to him, that hath been imprisoned therein, or that there hath suffered any disliking.

Strange humors in some Men and women.

I haue knowne some, who (by no meanes) would drinke in a Cup that resembled some other Cup, wherein (being sick) they receiued a medicine. For, as the window, or the Ring, or the Letter, representeth to the one party, a sweete remembrance, which to him is the more acceptable, by how much it appeareth still a partaker of his former enioied pleasure: euen such is the other parties conceit, that the Chamber, or the Cup, are still fresh Ensignes of his imprisonment, or sickneſſe. I think, that for the very same reason men (in years) are mooued to commend passed times, and throw blamefull aspertions on the present. By means whereof, in speaking of Warres, Courts of Iustice, or those belonging to Princes, & such like, they affirme: that those in their time, and wherof they do yet bear remembrance; were much more excellent, and filled with more singuler men, then they are which at this instant they daily behold.

The reason of aged peoples reprouing present times.

The prayses giuen by aged people to former times.

So soone as such cases doe come in question, they presently begin to exalt infinitely, the people that liued in their former times, and declare, that (in those elder daies) it could not bee found, but very rarely, that a man committed a murder; that then were any combats or fights, ambushes or treacheries: but an assured honesty and faithfulnes, an amiable and loyall iustneſſe among al Men. That in Courts (in those times) reigned so many good manners, & such a perfect honesty: that all Courtiers were then religious, and Saintes; that they would not take part with any man, who had offered a badword to another, or had vsed any signe of dishonesty to a Woman of Honour.

The cõplaint of aged people on these instant times.

On the contrary, they say, that now in these daies, they behold all things to bee quite opposite to the former, and that not onely among Courtiers, men of warre, and young people, brotherly affection is lost, and al laudable manner of liuing: but also in Courts and Cities, now raigneth nothing but enuies, euill will, wicked manners, and a life most dissolute, abounding in all kindes of vices. That Women are lasciuious, haue lost all shame, and men (for the more part) are become effeminate. Moreouer, they blazon their garments to be dishoneſt, and ouer pompous. In breefe, they reprehend a number of things, among which (truely) there are some that wel deserue reprehension, because it cannot be denied; but that there are (among vs) many bad and wicked men, by whose meanes, this present world must needs be fuller of errours, then that which these good people so highly commend.

Some faults that merit reprehension.

An answere made to these complaints.

It appeareth to me, that they doe ill discerne the cause of this difference, and declare themselues to be meere fooles; in that they would now haue the world to be wholly good, without any euill remaining in it, which is a matter vtterly impossible. For, euill being contrary to goodneſſe, and goodneſſe to euill: it appeareth euen necessary (as it were) that by a certaine kinde of repugnancie and contrariety; yea, by a manner of counterpoise; the one should sustaine and strengthen the other. In such sort, that the one failing, or encreasing; the other likewise should encrease, or run to ruine, because there is no contrarie, without another.

No contrary, but it hath another.

A reason for the present annoyances.

Who doth not know, that no Iustice could be found in the world, if ther were not grieuances, iniuries, & oppressions? No magnanimity, if there were not pusillanimity? No continence, if there were not incontinency? No health, if sickneſſe had not his course? No truth, if ther were not lying & falshood? Nor any felicity or happineſſe, if there were not fals and misfortunes? For this cause *Socrates* said well with *Plato*; *He meruailed very much, that Æsope had not made a Fable, feigning therein, why God did not vnite pleasure and greefe togethor, tying them to such extreamities, as the beginning of the one, might be the ending of the other.* For we doe euidentlie behold, that no pleasure would at any time be acceptable, if sorrow had not gone before it.

The saying of *Socrates* and *Plato*.

The goodnes of al things is approued by the harme of their contraries.

What is he that could discerne, how precious quiet rest and repose is, if first he haue not felt the pain of trauaile and wearineſſe? Who could tell, what the benefit is of eating, drinking, and sleeping, if first he had not endured hunger, thirst, and watchings? Let mee tell yee then,

then, that paſſions and diſeaſes are giuen to men by nature, not principally to make them ſubiect thereto, for it would ſeeme very inconuenient, that ſhe who is the Mother of all, ſhould (by her counſell and wiſedome) ſend vs many harmes: But nature hauing made health, pleaſure, and other good things: ſends after them ſickneſſe, diſpleaſure, and other annoyances. For all vertues being firſt graunted to the world, by the free gift and fauour of Nature: afterward immediatly, all vices, by a contrary concathenation or combination, follow as their companions or attendants. So that the one encreaſing, or decaying; ſhe is compelled to grant (in this manner) that the other alſo ſhall encreaſe, or grow to defaylance.

Vices doe alwaies attend the Vertues.

Wherefore, when old men do extol the paſſed times, affirming, that no men were then ſo vicious, as now they are in theſe daies: they may alſo alledge their ignorance, whether then ſuch vertuous men were to be found, as many are well approoued to bee at this day. Nor is there any matter of maruaile heerein, becauſe there is no euill ſo great; as that which ſpringeth from the ſeede of corrupted goodnes. And for this cauſe, Nature producing now great ſtore of Spirits, of much better temper then before they were, as ſuch who of themſelues haue turned to goodneſſe: hath performed a better workmanſhip, then in thoſe times (ſhee did) whereof they talke ſo much, euen as they that turne to euill, doe ſo much the worſe. We may not then ſay, that ſuch as ceaſe to doe euill (becauſe they know it not) do in this caſe deſerue any praiſe: for although they haue ſildome committed any harme, yet (notwithſtanding) they would haue done much more if they could.

No euill ſo great, as that which groweth out of goodneſſe.

Now, that the Spirits of thoſe precedent times in generall, were much inferiour to them lately or now liuing: may ſufficiently be knowne, by all matters obſerued of them: as well in learning, as in Painting, Statues, Buildings, and in all other things. And yet Men of yeares, doe reproue and blame many thinges in vs, which are not (of themſelues) eyther good or euill, onely becauſe that they (in thoſe daies) did them not. They ſay, it is not fit for a young man, to ride on his Foot-cloath Nagge thorow the Cittie, but eſpecially not on a Mule; or to weare any skinnes of Furres in Winter; or a long Gowne in the Spring time; or any bonnet, vnleſſe the Man haue attained to the age of eighteene yeares. And other ſuch like things, wherein (truely) they greatly diſcontent themſelues, becauſe that ſuch Cuſtomes (beſide the commodity and benefit they affoord) haue been brought in by vſe, and are as pleaſing now to euery one, as then men delighted to goe in Caſſockes or Iackets, with open ſhooes, and cloſe Breeches. And for a man to ſhew himſelfe a Gallant, he muſt carry a Hawke on his Fiſt all day to no purpoſe; daunce, without holding his Miſtreſſe by the hand, and vſe many other faſhions, which were then much eſteemed: but now doe appeare to bee groſſe and vnbefitting. Theſe are moſt of their foundeſt reaſons, why the cuſtomes of theſe times ſhould not bee obſerued, but remaine ſtill to the calumnies of aged folke, extolling themſelues, by ſaying: Twenty yeares and more were paſt with mee, and yet I ſlept with my Mother and Siſters, and knew not (in long time after) what a Woman was. But now, Boyes, almoſt as ſoone as they be borne, know more naughtineſſe, then the tauleſt Men could reach vnto in thoſe dayes. When they vtter theſe ſpeeches, they doe not perceiue, how ſtrongly they confirme, that the very Children of our time, haue much more ſpirit, then aged Men had in thoſe daies. And that was well noted by *Horace* the Poet, in his time, ſpeaking of our auncients, to this effect: *They commend whatſoeuer themſelues did in their youth; And will haue young people to forme their liues by their Age*. But I purpoſe to ſhew more perticularly in the following Chapter, the groſſeneſſe of people in thoſe forepaſſed times, and the ſubtilty of braue Spirits in young men of theſe daies.

The inuectiues of aged people againſt younger.

Ancient bravery in a Gallant.

Obiections vſed by the aged.

The ſaying of *Horace*.

Former ſpirits inferior to thē of theſe daies.

CHAP. XXX.

¶ *A compariſon betweene the Buildings, Feaſtes, Garments of Men and Women, Armes, and manner of making warre, in the daies of our fore-fathers, and thoſe that are vſed in theſe our times.*

Our predeceſſors forme of building, very groſſe & rude

WE will begin, without vſing any other preamble, with thoſe Buildinges, which were made in the daies of our fore-fathers; conſiſting of nothing but very thicke wals, bad Windows, continually beaten with winds and ſtormes; chambers ſubiected one to another; the vaults or houſes of Office, euermore in the moſt eminent places of the Houſe, which ought to be much further off, both from the noſe & eies: imitating nature, who hath placed thoſe partes in our bodyes, through which our vncleanneſſe is to be auoyded, farre enough off from the eyes and Noſe. Of this faſhion, and in ſuch manner of building, it is no long time ſince, that the more part of Maſons and Worke-men ſhaped Caſtles, being places of pleaſure, and Countrey houſes of pleaſure, in no other kinde of conſtructure. But within an hundred yeares, or there-about, a great part of them are demoliſhed: and (in ſtead of them) others erected, after our Moderne manner, much more commodious, and of leſſe coſt, in regard of the time.

The Feaſts & Banquets of our elders.

Some-what let vs ſay, concerning their Feaſts and Banquets, and obſerue in what manner they were ordered. The meate ſerued into the Table, was alwaies in great Chargers, filled with Peaſe and Bacon; Gammons of Bacon; huge Neats toongs ſalted; great pieces of Beefe, boyled Poultry, with pottage about them; boyled Mutton, Veale, & other groſſe food, common (almoſt) in euery ordinary family; and they gorged in theſe Victuals, ſo long as they could cram any more into their bellies. Afterward, they brought in other meats, anſwerable to the former, but roaſted and larded (oftentimes) with vnſauory lard, but it would ſerue for Pigs and Hares.

The first ſeruice.

The second ſeruice.

After this ſecond ſeruice had ſtood awhile on the Table, well-neere to no effect: then came in more dainty meats of Foules; as Mallards, wilde Duckes, Ringdoues, young Pigeons, Partridges, woodcocks, Quailes, Pheaſants, woodhennes, Plouers, Turtles, and others of like kinde: which are carried away (like the ſecond ſeruice) almoſt neuer toucht, for they (good men) had filled their ſtomackes with the firſt courſe meates, feeding hungerly on them, and drinking ſower wines, ſuch as Summer-marreth, ſo they left the beſt and daintieſt meats indeede, for their Varlets and baſe Seruants to feede on. Was not this a verie lourdery and blockiſhneſſe, to vſe their meates in this groſſe manner? The Maiſters eate nothing but the very heauieſt meates of all, and their Knaues did feede on the lighteſt, moſt exquiſite, and beſt for digeſtion. Let it then be helde no matter of maruaile, if thoſe men had groſſe and heauy Spirits, becauſe, according to the opinion of *Plato*: *Our manners do follow the temperature and quality of the Chylus, or white iuyce, of the digeſted meates which we vſe to eate.*

The third and beſt ſeruice comes laſt of al, and ſerueth for none but baſe groomes to feede on.

The ſaying of *Plato*.

Feaſts vſed now adaies.

But in theſe daies, this manner of furniſhing the Table at Feaſtes and meetings, is no more vſed: for in well gouerned houſes, they ſerue in both boyld and roaſted meates, groſſe and delicate together, that each man may eat according to his appetite, or what he beſt liketh vpon the boord. For (vnder ſubmiſſion to better iudgement) I thinke it no way fitting, that the ſeruant ſhould feed on the fineſt, and his Maiſter on the courſeſt; the Knaue ſerued like a Lord, and his commaunder like a Buffone.

Bonnets vſed in ancient time, of very heauy weight

Proceed we now to mens garments. Firſt, the head, hauing buſh naturall (as they tearme it) a huge deale of haire on it; muſt haue as big a Bonnet to couer it, which (in thoſe daies) were cald *Spaniſh* Bonnets, hauing a turning vp behind, double fringed with red, and this turning vp contained halfe an Elle of woollen-cloath. I haue ſeene one of thē in *Paris*, that weighed foure pound and ſixe ounces. Another faſhion they had, more honeſt and lighter, tearmed the Croſſe-Bow-Cap; yet with ſeauen or eight Elles of Riband about it: This ponderous wearing (in my minde) did nothing

nothing els but dull the braine.

Their wearing Doublets and the faſhion of them.

Their Doublets (I meane for the better ſort of men) were of leather or courſe Linnen Cloath behind; and before, of Wooſted, or Serge of Arras, which ſerued halfe the Breaſt, and ſo on the armes likewiſe; yet ſome (from the Elbowe to the Wriſt) vſed to weare Veluet or Sattin. This kinde of Doubtlet, the *Frenchmen* tearmed *Nichil-au-dos*, *Nothing Behinde*, and it was cut according vnto the faſhion of Weomens Gownes nowe adayes, that ſhewes their Breaſtes naked. The Weomen alſo in thoſe dayes, had their plaited Collors, wrought with ſilk, either Blacke or Red, and they were faſtened behinde the necke and Shoulders with Silke-Laces: ſo that they hidde and kept cloſe that which was faireſt, & wold haue made them moſt gracefull. Mens Hoſe or Breeches, anſwered in length to their ſhort skirted Doublets, being made cloſe to their limbes, wherein they had no meanes for Pockets. But in ſtead thereof, they hadde a large and ample Cod-piece, which came vppe with two wings, and ſo were faſtned to eyther ſide with two Pointes. In this wide roome, they had Linnen bagges, tied with like Points to the inſide, betweene the Shirte and Cod-piece. This ſerued as the receipt for Purſſe, Hand-kerchers, Apples, Plummes, Peares, Orenges, and other fruits. But did it not ſeeme verie Inciuill, that ſitting at the Table, hee ſhould make a preſent of ſuch, preſerued (for ſom time) in ſo ſweet a Cloſſet, euen as now adaies, ſome (as mannerly) vſe the like out of their Pockets? As for papers, Letters, and ſuch like, which they ordinarilie receiued, they were to put them in their Hat-bandes, or weare them at their Girdles, like Gloues: wher hung alſo a great Pouch, made faſt with a Ring and Locke of iron, waighing three or foure pound waight, and oftentimes no money at all in it. Surely, in my poore opinion, the faſhion of Pockets made in the Doublet Sleeue, or in the hoſe, is much more honeſt and commendable.

Womens Collers.

Mens Hoſe or Breeches cloſe to the body.

Hard meanes for Pockets.

Wearing of Letters.

A great Leather Pouch.

Leauing their high and vnhandſom Shooes, let vs ſpeake a little of weomens habits then vſed whereiñ I meane not to be tedious. The Attire on the Head, was of great broad Wollen Cloath, of Red or Violet colour, ſet out with ſtickes of Woode, and made in the forme of a Suger-loafe. Her Gowne was verie large and plaited; and the Sleeues thereof ſo wide, that a Lambe might eaſilie leape into them. A Traine alſo was faſtned to this Gowne, which commonly containd ſix paces in length. At aſſemblies and meetings of Weomen, as the reſt, ſo did ſhee let fall her Traine, dragging it after her in Halles, Churches, perhaps ouer Dunghils, and other vnſauoury filthines. Preparing to Daunce, or ſome other delight, it was taken vp againe, thogh it ſerued to no purpoſe; and then made faſt behind, either with a Tach-hooke of Siluer, or a Button of Golde, or of Iuorie. This Garment was not made without great charge, and was verie painfull alſo to her that did weare it. For, I haue heard aged Weomen (of very honorable houſes, that liued in thoſe times, and vſed the ſame habite) credibly report; that they haue knowne and ſeene ſome weomen, who were meerely ſtifled vnder ſuch long traind Gownes.

Long trained Gownes.

A painfull pride.

Morcouer, were it Winter or Summer, in regard of honour, they alſo were furred with Ermins, Martines, or Sables. I forbeare to ſpeake of their heauie Vardingales, worne vnder thoſe long & waighty Gownes; the fore-part whereof, was couered with Silke, or Cloth of gold or Siluer, & all the reſt was courſe Buckram or Canuas. At Night, when they haue gone to bed, their bellies and thighs haue beene greeuouſly chafed and ſlaid, by reaſon of ſo heauie a waight, and extreamity of heate.

Furred Garments worne at all times.

Great Vardingales.

As for the defenſiue Armes then vſed, which was Harneſſe; were they not (beyonde compariſon) more maſsie and heauie, then thoſe that now adayes wee warre withall? Neuertheleſſe, they were commonly pierced with Arrows, Darts, and Quarries of Croſſe-bowes, which in thoſe times were their beſt weapons. But in theſe daies, they are ſo well made and yet not (by three parts) ſo waighty, that they will reſiſt a Muſket ſhotte. The like is to be vnderſtood of their Swords, and other Weapons of Defence: for, in one Sword of their vſe, there was more ſtuffe, then now we haue in three; & yet they will performe as much, nay more, then theirs then did.

The Armour then vſed Harneſſe and Cuiraſſes.

Swordes and weapons of defence.

It hapned manie times, that in their Sword-fight, the one man ſtepping aſide for aduantage, the other ſmiting at him; the

What Garments women vſed to wear.

The harme enſuing by a heuy weapon

the verie waight of the Swords fall, hath ſmote it into the ground, ſo that he could not eaſily recouer it, but ſtoode vnto the mercy of his enemy. If we trauel yet thorow ſome partes, in auncient Caſtles or Fortreſſes, or Armories of long continued Citties; ſome of theſe vnwealdie weapons are daily to be ſeene.

Their time when they warred.

They neuer made Warre but foure moneths in the yeare, or ſixe at the moſt: after which time, both the one ſide and other withdrewe themſelues till Winter was paſt and gone. This courſe is quite contrarie vnto that which is to bee done in the time of Warre: For, in Winter is the fitteſt ſeaſon, and then doe our beſt warlicke ſpirits performe the beſt exploites of Warre. Then are ſurprizals apteſt, in regard of long Nights, when Riuers and Ditches (being filled with Waters) are ſtrongly frozen. Then dooth a good Captaine take occaſion, to make his attempt vppon ſome place, either to ſurprize it by ſcaling, or otherwiſe. For, then the Spies, Sentinelles, and Watch, are more ſubiect to ſleepe, then at other times. And ſo much the rather, becauſe (vſually) that mens Bellies are better fed in this ſeaſon; then other-whiles they are, in regard of the plentie of Victualls, which makes the bodie ſleepie and ſlothfull. Likewiſe, by the fauour of Long Nightes, a great deale of Ground is eaſily ridden, and the Enemie ſet vppon, when himſelfe leaſt ſurmizeth it, without much effuſion of Bloode, with leſſe Companie of Men, and weakeſt Charges.

Winter is the fitteſt time for warre, and ſome reaſons therefore alledged.

A fault to enforce the enimy to the fight, ſuch was the opinion of our fore-fathers.

In thoſe Elder dayes, they thought it a great offence and diſhonor, to ſurprize an Enemy vnprouided: but he muſt haue a day aſſigned him, when hee pleaſed to accept the Battaile: and this was the reaſon, why wars continued ſo long a time. But we ſee quite contrarie, that Warre now commeth ſooner to an end, by compelling the Enemy to come to fight, and prouiding polliticke Ambuſcadoes for him: in imitation of Hunters & Woodmen, when they chaſe wilde and vnruely Beaſts, that will neuer yeild, except they be enforced thereto. For if they eſcape, they wil continually returne to their firſt bad Nature.

The cuſtome of battailes in old time.

It was a Cuſtome helde in thoſe former Battailes, and verie often obſerued, that when men were wearie with Fighting (beeing oppreſſed with the heauie load of troubleſome Harneſſe, Goates of Maile and Brigandines, where-with their bodies were couered, beſides their maſsie and waightie Swords) they ſhould go repoſe themſelues to take breath, yea, (many times) to eate and drink, and then returne to the fight again. As the *French men* did on the day of battell, before the Citty of *Alexandria*, about the yeare one thouſand three hundred ninety one, whiche day they then loſt, with Count *Iohn Iohn d'Armignac* their chiefe.

Long continuing in fight no way beneficiall.

In thoſe times, battails continued the ſpace of a day; and if they were not then concluded, they went to it again the next morning, to know who then ſhould bee Superior. This was more for honor many times, then any profit enſuing therby, and to haue Songs afterwardes made of their ſloth and negligence. But in theſe dayes, within two or three houres (commonly) the battell is won or loſt, as I my ſelf haue obſerued in fiue fought battels, where I ſtood not as an ydle ſpectator: & the like haue I heard in other places, performed by the beſt and moſt approoued Captaines of theſe times.

Ancient ſingle fight or combate betweene man and man.

What ſhall wee ſay of their *Duello*, Combate, or ſingle fight, betweene man and man? It was commonly performed with Swordes, tearmed two-hand ſwordes, without ſtanding vppon anie warrantable Guard; but both parts meeting reſoluedly on foote; the one receyuing a ſtroake, while his Enemie ſtood waiting for another, without any couerture. For, euen like two Smiths beating vppon an Anuile, euen ſuch was their behauiour, ſmiting alternatiuely; vſing then nothing but cut and ſlaſh, without any foine or thruſt.

In our daies, this kinde of fight endureth but a moment of time, for nothing is vſed but Eſtoccadoes: ſo that vvithin three or foure thruſts, the deadly combat is concluded. For Breuities ſake, I omit many other remarkeable thinges: as that they would eat no kind of fleſh, except it had ſome ſtrange ſauor, like Veniſon and wild beaſts. Now albeit theſe viands were dangerous to health, yet I refer it to all mens iudgments: for it is moſt certaine, that vſe of ſuch foode infecteth the heart, and is the cauſe of diſſenterie. Wherefore ſuch as entend to haue and keep an honeſt table, and to cloth or arm them-

Eating of ſtrange ſmelling fleſh.

themselues respectiuely: must Learne much better directions, and imitate the worthy inuentions of these daies, leauing those grose absurdities (for the most part vnprofitable) of our Elders, which themselues approued and esteemed, but verie slenderly to any purpose.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Antiquity of Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Fellowships, Societies, or Companies: And to what end they were at first instituted.

The reason of instituting the first fraternities.

THE first Princes and Law-makers, that had not as yet discouered the difficulties, how to maintain their subiects by iustice; permitted fraternities, Colledges, & Cõmunities, the end, that the partes and members of one body (in a Common-wealth) beeing at Vnity, the whole Common-wealth it selfe might be the more easily gouerned. As wee may perceiue *Numa* did, a King and Law-maker amongst the first, who e-stablished Fraternities and Colledges, of all Trades and Occupations, and to each Brother-hood, he appointed certain Patrons, Priests, and perticular Sacrifices, after the *Sabines* name was abolished, that deuided it selfe somewhat from the *Romaines*.

Numa Pompilius the second King of *Rome*.

Lycurgus also, not only gaue the same permission, but likewise strictly commanded the good entertainment of such Cõmunities, aswell generall as perticuler, & that all the Subiects should take their refection in those Colledges, from fifteene dayes, to fifteene dayes: and he cald such Assemblies in Greek, φιλιτία or φιδίτια, a *Parsimonia*, that is to say, of liuing Frugally, in regard of the amity they hadde sworne one to another, as also in all the Cities of *Greece*.

Lycurgus gaue both approbation and Institution.

There were likewise of the like Fraternities, which were called ἑταιρίας. As in *Italy*, the selfsame Colledges were called *Sodalitia*, for Vnion, Frequentation, and Amity, which they helde together, eating and drinking (in one Assembly) the most part of their time: and hauing no other Iudges but themselues. If there grew any difference among these Companions in Society: they knew that amity was the sole foundation of all Societies, and to be much more requisite amongst men, then Iustice. For, Iustice who is neuer pittifull, but holdes on her direct course oftentimes maketh friendes Enemies, and Amity giuing way to her Seuerity, establisheth true naturall Iustice. Considering, that the sole aime of all lawes Diuine and Humain, is to maintain loue amongst men, and the loue of men towardes GOD, which could neuer be compassed but by frequent and sociable Conuersation, and ordinary vnity.

The *Sodalitia* in Italy.

Amity is much more worth then Iustice.

The verie same we may see in the law of God, the Feast of Easter to be recommended in the company of ten, to tenne persons; beside the Feast of Tabernacles and ordinary bankets of sacrifices, which God commanded to be solemnized with all ioy and gladnesse, which were entertained in the Primitiue Church of Christians, who oftentimes made such Feasts, which they called ἀγάπας, for the Kisses of Piety and Charitable embracements, which one gaue vnto another: besides the fraction, and ordinarie Communicating.

Con-fraternall Feastes commaunded in the law of God.

Brotherhoods in the Primitiue Church.

This Order is yet better kept in *Swetia*, then in any place of the world: For, in all Cities and Townes, Fraternities and Occupations haue their Common Houses, where they keepe their Feastes and Banquets; and there is no Village so little, but it hath a Common house only for this purpose, wher (continually) suits, Quarrels, and Contentions, are louingly concluded; and the sentence is Written downe with White Chalke, vppon the Table where they haue Banketted, in token of a white & pure ending of al strifes whatsouer. It were very necessary, that such an honest Custome should be euery where vsed: for it woulde preuent great expences and charges, bestowed in friuolous and idle pleadings, whereby infinite persons are vtterly vndone.

Kind Brotherhoods kept amongst the Switzers.

An honest desire deserueth furtherance.

And euen in like manner as at Rome, according to the Institution of *Numa*, artificers, Merchants, Priests, Bishops, & al sorts of men had their Fraternities, and certaine Gods for their Patrons (as *Mercury* was assigned to the Merchantes, *Apollo* to Priests, and the like to others, after

At *Rome*, and in *Greece*, euery companie of Artezanes had their brother-hood.

ter the example of *Solon*, who ordained by his Lawe, that all Communities and Brotherhoods should be permitted, with power to make such Statutes as they plesed.) Euen so in like maner, Phylosophers had Fraternities among them, especially the *Pythagorians* who assembled together ordinarily, and liued (for the most part) in common.

Fellowships and Brotherhoods of Philosophers.

Herodotus (who liued before *Rome* was builded) writeth, that there were certain Societies of men in Egypt, who woulde beate and whip themselues so long as the Sacrifice endured, when they immolated a Cowe to their God *Apis*. *Romulus* hauing entered into alliance with *Tatius*, K. of the *Sabines*, instituted a number of Priests, which were cald the *Tatian* Fraternity. The said *Romulus* made himselfe one of a Brother-hood, which was called *Amaux*, that is to say, belonging vnto the Fielde, whereof hee was the Twelfte man.

Brotherhoods of whippers.

Cornel. Tacitus.

About the time of *Romes* first foundation, becaus manie VVolues liued then thereabout, which destroyed the Cattle, so that great losses were dayly receyued: the *Romaines*, who were onely but sillie warlicke Shepheards, instituted a fraternitie, and associated many men togither, electing God *Pan* to be the chief Patron, to the end, that vnanimately, and with one consent (when occasion required) they might oppose themselus against the VVolues; this was their first foundation. Not long after, neere vnto Mount *Palatine*, they founde a Litter of younge VVolues, which hauing destroyed: they afterward builded there a field Temple, dedicated to their God and Patron *Pan*, according as then their power and ability serued them. This Fraternity kept ther Celebration anually, and the Brothers went naked, running thorow the Cittie, holding long strappes of Goates skinnes in their handes, wherewith they vsed to lash their bodies. The women among them, such as were barren, would (in like manner) strike themselues on the palmes of their hands; and verily beleeued, that these superstitious Ceremonies woulde cause them to become fruitfull. As may be noted in *Iuuenall*, thus mocking a woman:

Plin. in Lib. 17

The Lupercal Fraternity of Shepheards.

The yearely celebration of this Brother-hood.

The idle opinion of Women.

Iuuenall.

Nec prodest agili palmas præbere luperco.

VVhich is as much to say, as, *it serues thee to no purpose, to present thy handes thus to the Lupercall Brother-hoode, to bee made fruitful.* *Marke Anthony* the Emperor, he was one of this fraternity, in the yeare, 700. after it was instituted, & ran starke naked through the Citty, as the other did. *Iulius Copitolinus* saith, that many Brotherhoods were made at *Rome*, after the decease of Emperors, whom the Senate (in a manner) deifyed. As, in regard of *Augustus*, the Fraternities were called *Augustales*, and *Flauiales*, after the Family of the *Flauians*. *Aurelians* and *Anthonians*, in respect of *Aurelius* and *Anthonius*, Emperors.

Marke Anthony a Lupercal Brother.

Plut. in vit. de Cæsar.

Tertullian, Byshop of *Carthage*, in the time of great persecutions and of Paganisme, beholding certain Brother-hoods to be made among the Pagans, carrying meats into the Temples, performing of Sacrifices, eating together, and giuing to the poore: hee admonished the Christians to doe the like, but not to meddle with any reuerence to the Gentiles gods, only they should continue firme in the Christian Faith. And it is verie likelie, that Popes, Byshoppes, and other holy men, haue perswaded the Christians to immitate those Assemblies and Fellowships: for continuance of praier to God, and censuring and separating one from another, when it should truly be known, that some one among them, had doone an acte vnbeseeming the name of a christian. Also, to conferre amiably amongst themselues, if any strifes or contentions had happened in the Company: then to accord such differences by their Pietie and Loue, rather then to plead those distastfull matters before Iudges; keeping purposely an Informer among them, only to accuse such delinquentes. They would conclude amongst themselues, to redeeme prisoners for debts, and pursue the deliueraunce of prisoners for their Faith; leuying a Collection of such sums of money, as should easily compasse this businesse. Also to giue aide and assistance to Christians, being in persecution, and forced from place to place: contributing for relieue of the poor, comforting helpless VViddowes and Orphanes, giuing them food, cloathing, and maintenance. To marry and lend helpe to poor maids, in some competent and reasonable dowries; prouiding for the Funerals of needy people, dying in necessity, or beeing martyred, not hauing any thing lefte to burie

Tertul. in Apol. Cap. 39.

Good examples are worthy imitation.

Holy and Religious care in our Ancestors, for auoyding of bad and scandalous inconueniences.

burie them withall, but onely referred to their care and mercy.

Some Brother-hoods learned of those saide Pagan *Ægyptians*, to whippe themselues; and do practise yet to this day, yea euen to effusion of bloud, to subdue their bodies (as they say) enclined to voluptuousnesse; and this they do twice or thrice weekely: Others more rarely, according to their Deuotion. These Fraternities haue stiled themselues *Niniuites*, because they finde in the Sacred Scripture, that the Inhabitants of *Niniuy*, being warned by the Prophet *Ionas*, that they should be destroyed for their sinnes: heereon they became verie penitent, put on sackcloath and ashes, and chastised their bodies, to appease the wrath of God.

Christians learned of Pagans to whip themselues.

Where the first Fraternity of Christians was made

The first Society or Fraternitie made among Christians (so farre as my iudgement reacheth) was in *Ierusalem*, where the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, the Mother of Iesus, all the Apostles, and many other, as well weomen as men, Disciples of Iesus Christ, met together, and were in number about sixe score, after he was exalted vp into Heauen; where they receyued the Holy-Ghost, and afterwards, remaind long time in their Brotherhood and assembly.

Acts 1, 9.

I will not say, that both Holy and vertuous assemblies haue not beene abused, vnder pretence of Piety and religion, because it is long since, that it hath bin too well noted in *Italy*, when the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* were vnder sail, labouring with one consent (vnder the pretence of fraternity) quite to exterminat one another. As much is found to be done in *Germany*, especialy in the Dioceses of *Treues*, *Cologne*, *Liege*, *Mayence* and elsewhere, during the trobles of their Countreyes.

The factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*.

This miserie also made way into *France*, gathering vp Monopolies, in sted of congregating like louing Brethren; yea, bandying and elenating themselues against their King, and against the Catholicke Church, which succeeded to nothing els, but multiplicity of seditions, only to support the part they had taken. But such vnlawfull assemblies are reprooued by the Church, and no such Fraternities should be permitted in Communion of the Sacrament, prophaning holy things, & the peace of the Church. For, they ought not to intrude into such matters as appertaine only to the Prince, vnder colour of reforming, but they should bee taken as seditions, factious, and scelerates; yea, to be quite cut off from the bodie of the militant Church.

The harms in *Germany* and *France*.

Vnlawful fraternit es prohibited & accounted as no members of the Commonwealth.

Thus you see, what I thought good to discourse, concerning the Antiquity and Vtility of Fraternities or Brother-hoods. And that they were not instituted by the first Christians, for Sporting, Dancing, and Drinking, as many ignorant and detracting persons haue thought, and so laboured to perswade the simple people.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of Polybius the Romaine Ambassador, and his opinion of the Iewish Commonwealth, when hee was at Alexandria in Egypt.

Polybius the great Historian, a most elegant orator, and learned Phylosopher, School-maister, or (as some will haue it) companion vnto *Scipio* the *Affrican*, being sent by a Senat on an Embassie, to *Alexandria* in *Egipt*, hauing heard of the ciuill warres that then were in *Iudea*, made a mockery of the Iewes, and such as held opinion that the church and Doctrine of God, should bee constituted by the Iewish people. For then, all that Nation was full of troubles and intestine broiles, the great sacrificing Priest being violently dispossessed of his estate by another, and this man slain or murdered by another. Euen as *Iason* did, who expulsed his Brother *Menelaus*: & then, his Fellow afterward caused his Brother *Onias* to bee murthered. In briefe, by Ambition of the Sacrificers, who raised ciuill warres, they prophaned the bloud of their Fellow-Cittizens, the Dead bodies of their elders were scattered in the streets, yea, hurled into the Porch of the Temple.

Sedition in *Ierusalem*, who should be the Sacrificer.

During which time, *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, called thether by one of the factious, exercised cruell theeueries in eue-

Antiochus knew how to Fish in troubled streames

ry City. He placed his Garrison in the Temple, celebrated the Feast of *Bacchus* in the City; in which City only, stoode the Temple of the true God. Circumcision was interdicted, and because two Women had caused their Children to be circumcised, they were led naked thorough the Citty, bearing their strangled Infants at their Breasts; and (at length) themselues were throwne ouer the wals. Another, who had seauen Children, was flayed, dismembred, and fried in a burning Caldron, because shee would not eate Swines flesh, contrary to the Ordinance of the Law.

Cruelties vsed towardes women, and their Children.

Beside this, during these Calamities, there were risen three different Sects, of the *Essees*, *Saducees*, and *Pharisees*; who more tormented the Church, and her true Doctrine, then all the massacres cõmitted by the Iewes. In the end, *Polybius* to behold this so much deformed estate, thought then, that the *Romain* Senate (where there was a *Scipio*, a *Lælius*, a *Scæuola*, a *Cato*, a *Fannius*, and others, that gouerned in the World wisely) was the place where God delighted most to be; & that he fauoured the *Romans* most. For, they prospered more in all their conquests, then all other Princes or people of the world did: and hee iudged the affaires and condition of the world, according as hee saw people in their good or bad estate.

Three contrary Sects in *Ierusalem*.

Happinesse of the Romains.

Now, albeit it was verie strange to see the Church in such a dissipation and deformity, yet notwithstanding, there were (euen then) some good members that cleaued fast to her: Such were *Simeon*, *Zachary*, and many others, both Maisters and Disciples in her Diuine School; and after them, the *Asmonees* or *Machabees*. I alledge these things for many Reasons: First, to the end, that we should hold this Consolation, that God hath euermore his Church truely permanent, especially in this mortall life: to the end, that alwayes some part of mankind should truly know God, call vpon him, and celebrate his name, and that part need not doubt, but that they are preserued, counter-garded, and heard of God.

The Church of God can neuer lose hir selfe.

Gods church alwayes permanent in this life.

If *Polybius* had seen some hundreds of yeares afterward, when the Popes were expelled out of *Rome*, and persecuted, he would haue said as much of the Catholicke Church. As we read of Pope *Alexander*, third of that name, molested so many wayes by the most potent Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, finding no place in all Christendome for safety of his life: that (in the end) hee was constrained to retire himselfe to *Venice*, in the habite of a poor Priest, hiding himself in the church of *La Charita*, where he was receiued as a poore Chaplaine, and relieued for the loue of God. But at length, being known for the man he was indeed, hee found assistance, and was re-seated in his place. Pope *Clement* fift of that name, in regard of the factions in *Italy*, durst not abide at *Rome*, but was compelled to hold his See at *Auignon*, where (after him) it was continued by his successours, the space of threescore yeares and more. Likewise, because there happened about three and twenty Schismes in the Church, some whereof, lasted seauenteene yeares and more: sometimes three Popes were elected at one time, who made most cruell Warre one vpon another; One, defending Emperors; Others, som other Princes. I cannot expresse the Cruelties, Insolencies, Diforders, and Wickednesses, which (during these troubles) were committed in the Church. And yet neuertheless, in these hot times of Molestations, there were many good people, full of Piety, aswell women as men, among whom Gods true Church was stil preserued and manifested.

Pope *Alexander* the third banished out of Rome.

Pope *Clement* the fift forced to flie Rome.

Three Popes elected at one time.

For proofe whereof, while these three Popes were thus in contention, to wit; *Symmachus*, *Laurentius*, and *Petrus Altinus*; there flourished great store of worthy personages, that were of Holie and vertuous life, of whom I wil name some. *Fulgentius* Bishop of *Hispalis*, a Monke; *Theodoret* a Græcian Priest; *Isidore*, Bishop of *Auuergne*; *Eusebius* of *Carthage*; *Dionisius* the Abbot; *Auitus Vuiencis*; *Seuerinus*, Bishop of *Treues*; *Ægisippus* the Diuine; *S. Patrick* of *Ireland*; *Pommerius* and *Honoratus*; *Cassiodorus* the Monke; *Fridolin* of *Basile*, and many others. If an hundred yeares after *Polybius* liued, he could haue seene the *Romain* Commonwealth wholly dissipated by the factions of *Pompey*, of *Cæsar*; then of the *Triumueri*, all the World being filled with Ciuill Wars; to attribute that which those famous *Romaines* (in his time) had conquered, by so great prouidence and discreet preseruation, hee would then haue said,

A number of holy persons in the time of the Schismes.

The Common-wealth of Rome dissipated.

said, that God did not respect *Rome* more then he did any other nation. He should also then haue well noted the Pagans, among whom, Vertue, true Doctrine, and Honesty, was daily persecuted and despised: for then, if a man did but faigne to haue the truth, he was sure his Throate should be cut.

Polybius knew not God, but was a Pagan.

But *Polybius* is excuseable, for he had no knowledge of God, but was a Pagan. He could not comprehend, that the passage to the Kingdome of heauen, is thorow infinite Tribulations. He beleeued, that there was no other Paradise, but only to liue happily in this world. Hee was an *Arcadian*, borne in the Cittie of *Megalopolis*, a great Phylosopher and Historiographer, verie wel skilled in militarie Discipline. He wrote fortie Bookes in the Greeke tongue, containing the gests and pollicies of the *Romains*. Of all which Bookes, at this day, hardly is any more to be found, then fiue: the rest were lost and burnt by his Maid-seruant, being ignorant what they were. But a yong man, that sometime attended on him, knowing the merit of his writings, hindred the Maids follie, and preserued those which wee haue, from hurling them into the fire.

His Countrey and place of birth.

Polybius his Bookes lost & burned.

Titus Liuius hath beene much beholding to him, for it plainly appeareth, that he followed him (word by word) in many of his passages, without altering anie thing: and yet it was the space of an hundered years, or thereabout, between him and the saide *Titus Liuius*. He was not so superstitious as some other Historiographers, who mingled false miracles of their Gods among their woorkes: as apparitions of Gods, Goddesses speaking with Captaines, or heads of armies; that they rained downe Blood, Milke, Stones, and such like; that Beasts did speake, Riuers conuert their Naturall colour into Blood, and other thinges meerely incredible. Nor did he write the Orations of Ambassadors, Captaines, and Kinges, wholly at large, without forgetting any iot, as many other Historians (both before and after him) haue done, laboring to perswade their Readers, that those affaires whereof they discourse, passed according as they are set downe, which is not easily to be credited.

Titus Liuius beholding to *Polybius*.

Polybius was a true Historian, not subiect to the folly of some other writers

Now, as concerniug the cause why he went into *Egypt*, it was not to learne there what God was, or any of his woorkes: as did *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Chrisippus*, *Anaxagoras* and others; for he had read what those Phylosophers had Written, and many more beside. But the *Romaine* Senat well knowing him, although a stranger, and that he had done very much seruice to *Scipio*, in giuing him good aduise and Counsel, for his conduct in the wars of *Affrica*, and of *Carthage*; deputed him their Ambassador, to negotiate and accord some matter of peace, between *Ptolomy Euergetes*, King of *Egipt*; and *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, and of manie other great Prouinces, who formerly had ranged ouer the Egyptian Territories, and *Polybius* accorded them verie worthilie. Hauing ended his Legation, he returned to *Rome*, where (it is said) he died, deeply charged with yeares.

The cause of *Polybius* his Embassie into Egypt.

The death of *Polybius*.

He taught and instructed that Noble *Scipio*, in many Vertues, and among other precepts which he left him: that he should neuer remoone from the place, whereto occasion called him, vntill hee had won himselfe a friend there. In brief, euerie man of good iudgement, will not iudge rashly, of good or euill persons, by outward apparance, beholding them to be fortunate, rich, or poore, nor seeing them afflicted; but rather, by their good actions, vprightnes of life, and pureneſſe of Doctrine.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of a strange conceit or opinion, in the Woomen of Moscouia, *to wit; That if they be not beaten by their Husbands, they thinke that they are not loued of them.*

I imagined (for a long time) that that which is reported of the Woomen of *Moscouia*, should bee a meere Fable, to wit; that if they were not very often beaten by their husbands, they presently supposed that they did not Loue them; although it is vsed as a common Proueibe: *Hee that loueth*

Few women (I thinke) of this minde.

most, correcteth most. But such as are subiect to Discipline, Correction, and Chastisement, as are Slaues, Seruaunts, and Children of a Family, beeing vnder the power of Maisters, Tutors, or Parents, they will hardly confesse themselues, to be beloued more then any other, because they are beaten more then other. Neuertheless, the Weomen of *Moscouia* doo hold this opinion quite contrary vnto all other else-where, that if they be not beaten, they are despised, and no way esteemed.

Weomen in our countries hold this to be erronious.

I am well assured, that no man can perswade this for allowable, to the weomen of *France*, *Italy*, *Spaine*, *England*, no nor to the *Germain* weomen, or that they would accept, and let it passe for currant Doctrine: although, if it happen that they should bee beaten, euen when they haue verie iustly deserued it; yet notwithstanding, they will striue to cry first, yea, and to beate their Husbands too, if they could; or otherwise iniurie and abuse them. And Weomen-Neighbours to impeach the entraunce of so bad a Custome, would helpe such women as complained, both in their maledictions and imprications, against such as (deseruedly) do strike their Wiues, aledging Saint *Paules* saying; *That no man should hate his owne Flesh.* The Weomen of *Moscouia*, do neuer go out of their owne Houses, not so much as to the Churches, and do nothing else but spin. And to giue assurance of what I haue alreadie said, I will declare three Histories, which very good Authors haue left Written, and which I my selfe haue heard credibly auouched by men of worth, that haue bin in those parts.

Weomen are easily moued to helpe one another in reuenge.

Laurentius Surius, a Religious Chartreux of *Cologne* in *Germany*, Writes in his Booke of memorable matters, aswell Ecclesiasticall as Secular: how it happened (in his time) that a *Germaine* trauailed into those parts, and married with a Woman of that Countrey, and his wife made a great complaint to him, that hee did not loue her, neither bare her anie kinde of affection, because he did not at any time beate her. The *Germaine* hearing this, made answere; that hee loued her entirely; and perswaded himselfe, that blowes could bee no true signes of Loue. Afterward, he vsed to beate her so extreamly, and so often, that he found (by good proofe) his Wife did loue him much better then she did before. But his beating was such, and so immeasurably, as (at length) the Hangman brake both his legs and necke.

Laurent. Sur. in Lib. de Rab. Mem tant. Eccles. qua Secular.

I was verie familiar with a Germaine of *Lunebourg*, whose father was Ambassador for *Ferdinando*, Emperour, first of that Name, not long since deceased, deputed to *Basilius*, Duke and King of *Moscouia*; and hee assured me, that this Opinion was a Custome, and still in vse with the Weomen of that Country, & heard his Father faithfully report it. For he being lodged in the house of an honorable Burgesse in the City *Moschua*, about the businesse then referred to his trust, sawe his hoste oftentimes beate his wife vpon no occasion, and yet notwithstanding, shee left not to loue him, and they spake still kindly each to other, without the verie least shew of discontent: and yet the said woman was very often beaten, sometimes with his dagger, or a staffe, or kickt with his feete. He said moreouer, that there a was Gold-Smith in the same Citie, with whō this Ambassador often frequented, because he knew him before in the Towne of *Lunebourg*. This Woman sent word by one of her young Children to her husband, that hee had not beaten his mother (so much as once) al that week time: but if he would not beate her, she would neuer loue him, neither would she prouide any more diet for him. The Goldsmith beeing very busily imployed about his worke, regarded not his sonnes words, neither remembred this custome so generally in vse, as those (Naturally borne in the Country) had great respect vnto it for their owne quiet. For hee was a man humaine enough (for a *Germaine*) and allowed not this barbarous behauiour, to smite his deareſt friend and wife, or so much as to shew her any vnkinde countenance: yet afterward, vppon her importunity, and to discharge his dutie, hee gaue her halfe a dozen blowes with a Cudgell on the backe and shoulders, & puld off her Head-attire, wherewith she was well contented, and called him presently to an excellent prepared Dinner: Otherwise, if a whole week should passe, and he not beate her, there could be no quietnesse in the house, nor should he get one good looke of her. This is an ordinary custome among the VVeomen in the great

Another History for further confirmation of this custome.

Another History of a Gold-smith & his wife.

Whence this Barbarous custome grew

great Prouince of *Moscouia*.

In briefe, this manner and custome of men beating their Wiues, could not arise but out of Sathans shoppe; for the Christian Church hath euermore condemned it. There are none in these parts, but Knaues, Fooles, Iealous Coxcombs, Drunkards, or men voide of vnderstanding, that will exercise such Barbarous behauiour on their Wiues: yet let mee not be mistaken, for I do not excuse som Weomen, that deserue to bee beaten for their vices and badnesse, and wil giue extraordinary occasion to be sharply handled by their Husbands. But my meaning is, of vertuous, discreet, and well aduised women, whose merits are not meanly to be cherished, but highly respected by their Husbands.

Somd women do deserue beating.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

¶ *That those things, which some Authors haue left written, concerning the Destruction and ruine of great Troy, performed by the Greekes, are true.*

Cannot choose but meruel very much, at the wilful pertinacity of some men, who rashly haue esteemed, that those things written by many good Authors, deseruing credite and faithfull opinion of the warre and ruine of *Troy* in *Phrygia*, should be meere Fables, and ydle vanities This error happeneth, because they haue not read some Bookes, Written by parties present at the Warre on either side, as well *Greekes* as *Troyans*: as *Dictys* of *Creet*, and *Dares Phrygius*, and others, who collected also their Writings out of sound Authority, liuing not long after the time when those things happened. As *Herodotus* and others, that heard them reported by Captaines & Commanders, who had charge in the said Warres: among whom, was *Philistus* the Greeke, and some others beside, that selected them out of verie auncient Authors. As namely, *Quintus Septimius* the *Romain*; *Damascenus Sigierus*; *Æmilius Macer* the Poet; *Euclide* the *Megarian* Phylosopher; and *Homer*, who was about eight score yeares after.

Authors that haue written of the warre of *Troy*.

Many Monarkes, Kinges, and other Princes, took the paines, comming from farre Countries, to see the City of *Troy*: as *Alexander* the Great, that found it ruined by the *Persians*, who likewise destroied all that part of *Asia*, wherein it was seated. But *Penthylus*, Nephew to *Agamemnon*, builded it againe, after that the Greekes had sacked it: raigning there, & his successors (as is affirmed) vntill such time as the *Persians* ouerthrew it. *Alexander* the Great, then hauing read manie Heroicall actions, performed at the besiedging of this Cittie, and finding it laid desert, caused it to be re-edified, & gaue great immunities and Priuiledges to the inhabitants, whom hee exempted from ordinary tributes; instituting there Free-Fayre, Martes, and Markets, for all such as would dwell there, or Negotiate with them: in regard whereof, it was named *Alexandria*. *M. Aurelius*, *Diocletian*, & *Claudius*, Romaine Emperours, potent and mighty, tooke paines to trauell thether from *Rome*, not without much cost and labour. And to leaue a memorie to posterity, of their beeing there, they caused a goodly Columbe to be erected, (which is yet (at this day) to be seene) of white Marble, very great, and placed in it being called *Troy*: but in regard of the great Antiquity thereof, it standeth not directly vpright, but leaneth some-what towards the Sea; and thereon is engrauen these words following.

Alexander and other *Romaine* Emperours went to see Troy.

The name of *Troy* changed and called *Alexandria*.

Imperator Cæsar. Mar. Antonius pius, Fœlix, Parthicus, Maximus, Trib. Pl. Imp. P. XV. Cons. III. Prouinciam, Asiam, per viam, & flumina, pontibus subiugauit.

Inscriptions vpon a Piller in Troy.

And on the other side of the said Piller, was likewise written:

Imperator Cæsar Augustus, *Diocletiano*, P. Cos. II. *regnante Tribunicia vicit potestate.* M. F. T. *et Claudius*, C. VIII. P. R.

In the time of the Warre which the Romans had against *Mithridates*, this City was again destroyed to the verie foundation by a *Roman* Captain, named *Fimbria*, because *Mithridates* was possessed thereof, and had planted there his Garrison, which did much harme to the Romaines. Yet it was new builded againe,

Another destruction of Troy.

(but I know not by whom) becauſe in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperour, there was an excellent Vniuerſitie in the ſame place, of all Sciences, and *Galen* the Phyſitian was then a Student there.

Galen a Student in Troy.

Likewiſe, Saint *Luke* teſtifieth, that Saint *Paule* paſſed thorough it, and that he raiſed vp there, a young man, named *Eutichus*, that fell downe deade out at a Window; from the third Loft of the houſe: Alſo, that he preached there, and celebrated the holy Communion, where there remained a great number of Iewes. Three hundered yeares after, or thereabout, this Cittie was once again deſtroied by the *Gothes*.

Acts 20, 12.

Troy again deſtroied by the *Gothes*.

I thinke it was yet againe re-builded afterward, and that the Inhabitants were Chriſtians, becauſe (at this day) manie croſſes may be ſeen Engrauen on ſtones, encloſed in the walles of diuers temples therein, that ſtand (as yet) moſt part of them, being not wholly deſtroyed.

At this preſent, no perſon dwelleth there, nor within a Leagues compaſſe round about it; I know not whence this diſſertion ſhould proceed. The neere Neighboring Inhabitants do ſay, that before the Turkes got their enterance into *Greece*, it was then to be ſeen in the ſame condition. The ſix ancient Gates, are yet there (almoſt) intire, with their Poſternes. The Towers about the walles in many places are yet ſtanding vpright; and the height of the VValles are (verie neere) firmely ſtanding; againſt which, are erected ſtrong Piles and Spurres of two Fadomes breadth, to ſuſtaine them vpright.

The ruines of *Troy* which are at this day to be ſeene.

The greatnes and circuit of *Troy*.

The wals were builded of Free-ſtone, blacke like Iet; hard, but ſpungy; asking a large time to goe about them: and the Ditches are not (as yet) filled vp. There are two Caſtelles, verie ancient, within the circuite of the Cittie, builded vpon the pendant of a Mountaine: one of the which, being much higher then the Cittie, as hauing command thereof, and was called *Ilion* Caſtle. The other beeing much lower, had command of the Sea; both of them beeing builded of bright Marble; and ſo excellent in their conſtructure, as it is impoſsible for anie man in the world, wholly to demoliſh them.

Ilion Caſtle.

Concerning matters within the Cittie, there are yet to be diſcerned the marks and tracts of ſuch goodly buildinges, as exceed my capacity to expreſſe. There are yet to be ſeene ſtrong Conduits and Ceſternes, without any water belonging to them. The ſtreets are verie confuſed, by reaſon of the houſes ouerthrow, which (for the moſt part) was flat forward. Of Welles or Fountaines, there is no more but one now to be ſeene, and that is neer to the Sea ſide. Naturall Baths are there yet to be noted, holding their nature dry and hot, builded by excellent Art, and Artificially couered with fine Bricke. But be it howſoeuer, it muſt be much greater matter, then as yet I haue heard of, that ſhall or can cauſe mee to beleeue thoſe things for Fables, that are written and reported of the greatneſſe, wealth, and power of this Citty.

The markes of goodly buildings in *Troy*.

One onely Well as yet remaining.

Naturall Bathes yet to be ſeene.

There are yet many Sepulchres to be ſeen, both within and without the Citie, of Captains and Princes, aſwell *Troians* as *Greeks*, that were ſlaine during the warre, made (in Anticke maner) of Marble, all in one peece, after the faſhion of a Cheſt, the couers whereof are whole & ſound. Halfe a League or a mile from *Troy*, is the Iſle of *Tenedos*, where are the moſt part of the Greekes Sepulchers. As that of *Achilles*, who was the terror of the *Troyans*, yet ſlaine by *Paris*. He was ſo highly eſteemed, that many of his blood were afterward carried thither, to lye by him in his Tombe, ſo much did they admire his memory.

Tombes and Sepulchers yet to be ſeen

The Iſle of *Tenedos*.

The Tombe of *Achilles*, & many more, viſited by *Alexander*.

This was the Tombe that *Alexander* went to viſit, weeping ouer it, and much complaining, becauſe he was not ſo happie, as to haue a man that could ſo well publiſh his praiſes, as *Homer* had doone thoſe of *Achilles*; it remaineth yet entirely whole, with diuers *Greeke* Verſes thereon engrauen. And about the yeare of Ieſus Chriſt, 1379. when *Baiazeth* the ſon of *Selim* raigned ouer the Turkes, there was found in the ſaide Iſle of *Tenedos*, the Sepulcher of an *Amazon* Queen, named *Marpeſia*, who after many booties, being richly laden with ſpoiles, made hir return to this Iſland, verie ſore hurt and wounded, and there ended her dayes. This Tombe is yet to be ſeene, betweene two hilles of indifferent height; and a litle before one of them, there is a Greeke Epitaph on the couer of the Marble Cheſt, and there her name is comprized in faire Carracters.

The Tombe of *Marpeſia*, an Amazone Queene.

At

The Tombe of valiant *Aiax*.

At any time, with opening verie little ground, or passing not aboue a foote in depth, many other famous tombs might be easily discouered. As the Tombe of *Aiax* was, in that quarter where *Achilles* encamped his men. About this Isle of *Tenedos*, there are many other little Islands, of as good ground as that of *Tenedos*, but vn-inhabited, except by some poore Fisher-men, that make their retirement thither sometimes. And it hath beene immagined, to be hanted with spirites, which speake to men: in regard whereof, the men that resort thither, and abide there any time, do say, that the spirit of *Homer* wanders in those Islandes, where he did (in former dayes) Philosophize; and that he shewed himself to certaine Shepherds, as they passed that way to feed their Cattle. Thus you may heare the opinion of such as doo now dwell about *Troy*, and neere the Isle of *Tenedos*, touching visions and spirits that appeare in those Islands.

The Spirit of *Homer* said to walke yet in the Islands about *Tenedos*.

The Riuers of *Simois* and *Xanthus*.

As for the Riuers of *Simois* and *Xanthus*, so much renowned by many Poets which watered the fields of *Troy*, we can now say no otherwise of them, but that they are small Brookes or Gullets, scarse able to nourish a Loach or Minnow: for they are dried vp in Summer, and in the deepest of Winter, a Duck cannot swim there. But our Poets haue published so many Fables of these Riuers, as they should seeme to haue beene much greater, then now they are. Yet must we not (for all this) say, that the History is not true, because Painters and Poets are Licensed to embellish their woorkes with more then their instant subiect requireth; and we must likewise vnderstand, that vnder Poeticall Fables, there is vsuallie a morrall sense conuayed.

Theuets description is to be doubted.

As concerning the Scituation of this Citty, *Theuet* maketh a quite contrarie description thereof, and saith; That these two fore-named, are great Riuers: and that it is seated in a good soile. I would be loth to contradict such a person, but that which I write, I haue gathered from *Bellonius* a Physitian of *Mans*, in the second Booke of his Obseruations: and I my selfe haue heard him often report, being at *Paris*, at *Postell*, that foure years he frequented that Country. Afterward, a man of *Rohan*, named *Albert le bon*, declared that he had bin in those parts, and remained there a whole Winter, agreeing in all things which *Belonius* had written. I thinke verily, that *Theuet* was neuer there, but what hee hath recorded, was onely by heare-say.

Bellon. in Lib. 2 de Obseruat.

Matters that cause distrust of the destruction of Troy

That which hath giuen occasion to some, not to credite the destruction of *Troy*, is (as I haue heard) the iudgement of *Paris*, concerning the beautie of the three Goddesses. *Dares Phrygius* writeth, that it was nothing but a Dreame which *Paris* had as he slept vnder a Tree, being wearied with Hunting in the Forrest of *Ida*: and Poets making vse of this dream, haue aduised young Princes, not to imitate the folly of *Paris*. For hee refused Riches, which *Iuno* presented him; and wisedome and vnderstanding in all thinges, offered him to *Pallas*, if to eyther of them he would haue giuen the Golden Ball. But suffering himselfe to be swayed by voluptuous desires, hee chose rather to giue it to *Venus*, the Goddesse of loose and mis-gouerned affections, that hee might liue (alwaies after) in such licentious liberty. And, as an especiall note of his skilfull progression, hee made a Rape of faire *Helena*, wife to *Menelaus*, King of *Lacedemon*, that entertained him in his Court as a kind friend. A matter, which caused the ruine of all his family, and of all the *Troyan* Kingdome beside.

The iudgement of *Paris*, concerning the three Goddesses.

A second reason the dream of *Hecuba*.

Secondly, they alledge also as a fable, that *Priam* commaunded his son *Paris* to be slaine, because *Hecuba* (his Queen) being great with childe, had a dreame that she should be deliuered of a Fire-brand. And hauing conferred with interpreters of dreames, the King was informed, that the infant then in her womb, should be the cause of his ruine, and of the whole kingdom. This dreame might very likely bee dreamed by *Hecuba*, in regard, that verie often, Princes and Princesses are (by especial grace) forewarned of God, both in dreames and otherwise, concerning diuers things which are to happen, to the end, that they might preuent them. For, accidents good or euil do not only touch them, but all the people likewise. In brief, *Paris* from his infancy was so vicious, as his father could neuer afford him a good looke. And when he was in his youthfull dayes, without any aduise of his Parents, he married a Nimph of the Fields, but yet shee was verie faire and vertuous, Named *Oenone*; and afterwardes forsooke

Princes haue many admonishments in Dreames.

Paris made a clandestine marriage.

sooke her, when he had enioyed her virginity.

A third reason for the plague in the Grecians Campe.

Thirdly, they affirme for a fable, that which *Dictys Cretensis*, *Homer*, and other Authours haue Written, of the Plague disperſed in the Campe of the Græcians, when they aſſembled to plant their ſiege before *Troy*, the Armie conſiſting then of no leſſe, then twelue hundered thouſand able men. Euery man knoweth, that contagious Diſeaſes doo ſeldome ceaſe from purſuing great Armies, becauſe men liue there vnwholeſomely, in regard of Corruptions by dead Bodies, and other annoyances amongeſt Men: Beſides, Welles and Waters abuſed or corrupted; for men and beaſts drinke all together, whereby the ayre becommeth infected.

Diana cauſe of the plague and wherefore.

The people then perceyuing ſo great a Mortality, without finding any Remedie for it, had re-courſe to their Goddes, and conſulted with Oracles. The Prieſts being then verie ſubtle and crafty, made aunſwere; That this Peſtilence enſued by the anger of *Diana*, and this was the reaſon thereof. *Agamemnon*, Brother to *Menelaus*, elected Chiefe Leader of the Armie, had ſlaine a goodly Hinde, which was Priuate and Sacred, and was kept by the Sacrificing Prieſts (for pleaſure) in ſome Fielde or Forreſt, Dedicated to the ſaide Goddeſſe. They made them alſo beleeue, that they had oftentimes ſeene *Diana*, to take great delight in ſporting and playing with that Hinde. Wherefore, if they would haue the plague to ceaſe, they muſt Sacrifice the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, King of *Mycæna*, who was the onely cauſe of all the euill.

A meere practiſe or Conſpiracy againſt *Agamemnon*.

Now, it is well knowne, that this ydle practiſe or Gullerie, was expreſſely prepared againſt *Agamemnon*, by ſome of the other Kinges, who were malicious and enuious (eſteeming themſelues aboue him) becauſe he was choſen chiefe Soueraigne, and commaunded ouer ſo great an Armie, wherein were no leſſe then thirtie nine Kings. And this was deuiſed onely to diſcontent him, and giue him occaſion for to depart home againe: yea, and the Oracle being enſtructed to this Cooſenage, returned that anſwere.

Beeing on the verie point of conſtraining him to deliuer his Daughter to bee Sacrificed, *Achilles* and ſome other of his Friends, who had Credite ſufficient with the other Kings, found the meanes to redreſſe this extreamitie. For, they being aſsiſted by ſome of the Prieſts and Sacrificers, that re-conſulted with the Oracle, hauing receyued a good ſumme of Money, returned a report, that *Diana* would be contented with the ſacrifice of another Hinde, and of a Bull, which accordingly was performed.

A remedie found againſt ſo great an inconuenience, by re-tracting of the Oracle.

Then the Græcian Armie entered into their prepared Shippes, which amounted to the number of eleauen hundered and fortie Saile, or there-aboutes: and diſlodging thence, chaunged the Ayre. So, by Naturall Reaſon, that Contagious infection ceaſed: and thus ſhould that part of the Hiſtorie bee vnderſtoode.

A fourth reaſon, the *Palladium* or image of *Pallas* in Troy.

For the *Palladium*, which was an Image of Woodde, repreſenting *Pallas* falne from Heauen, with a mighty thunder, into a Temple newly made, which the *Troyans* had builded in the Cittie; which being finiſhed, and they not knowing to what God or Goddeſſe they ſhold make their Vowes, or elect as their Patron, this happening in the Night time, the Gates of the ſaide Temple being faſt ſhut. This was nothing elſe, but onely a meere inuention of men, and principally of the Sacrificers, and Couetous Idolatrous Prieſtes, who found the meanes (one Night) when there was great lightning, Thunder, and Raine, to bring the ſaide Image thither ſecretly. And comming the next morning to open the temple Gates, in the preſence of manie people; they made them beleeue, that in this terrible time of night, the Image was deſcended from Heauen. Whereuppon, the *Troians* admyring this deceitful wonder, ſent ſome of their Nobleſt Cittizens (with the Sacrificers) to *Delphos*, there to conſult what was to be done with this ſtatue deſcended from heauen. The Prieſts of *Delphos*, vnderſtanding the drift of the ſubtle *Troyans*, conſpired one with another, to aunſwere by the Oracle (which was a Virgine cloſely concealed in the Vault, and well inſtructed in hir anſwer:) That the Image of *Pallas* had not beene ſent from Heauen, but for the more aſſurance and preſeruation of the *Troyans* eſtate; and that ſo long as ſhee remayned within the Temple, the Cittie of

Simple people are ſooneſt deceiud, eſpecially vnder the cloud of Holineſſe.

Troy

Both sides abused by a false Oracle.

Troy could not be surprized by Warre. The *Troyan* people tooke this Oracle for an Article of Faith, and so did the *Grecians* also: for it brought them into dispaire of euer taking the Citty, and gaue the other side vndoubted assurance, that they should neuer be surprized or vanquished; and the better to countenance their perswasion, the *Troyans* placed strong Guards (ordinarily well payed) about the *Palladium*.

Troy brought into wofull extreamity.

Now, it fortuned, that by long delay of time, many rough battailes and skirmishes, and all places of entrance into the Citty so strongly besiedged; that *Troy* could no way bee supplyed with victuals. But being thus seuerelie beleagerd, the more part of the best men of warre; yea, euen the most resolued and valianteſt *Troyans*, dyed with hunger: and none remained, but tyred weake men, wearied with sustaining so long a siedge, and voide of any hope of succour. Some Princes, and other men of marke, fore-seeing that the *Palladium* could not bee preserued; without speaking to *Priam* their King, (who was then very old and feeble) or *Hecuba* the Queene: conferred closelie with the *Greekes*, (who were as much weary and tyred as they, desiring nothing more, but to raise their siedge, & returne home to their owne Countrey) yet made an outward bold shew, of stil continuing the siedge. When they met to capitulate, among others were *Anthenor*, *Æneas*, and some else, who promised, if they might haue their liues and goods saued, they would admit the Enemy benefit of entrance. Promises past on both sides by sollemne oath, in a place very secret and free for the purpose; the people (in meane while) supposing, that they treated of a truce among themselues, of the reddition of Prisoners, and recouery of worthy mens bodies, slaine in the skirmishes. But aboue all thinges else, the Greekes strictly held, that the *Palladium* should bee deliuered to them: for they were perswaded, that they should neuer get entrance into *Troy*, so long as the Image continued there, so farre did the deuill (then) preuaile with men. This sottish light beleefe, S. *Augustine* verie exceeding wel mocked, when he said: *The Troyans were keepers of the Palladium, but not the Palladium of the Troyans.* The Guards were wun with Mony, and the *Vestales* that were there destined; contrary to their Oath and Vow, suffered their *Palladium* to bee lost, and another Image put into the place, very neerelie resembling it, couered with the same ornaments and Iewels, whereof none was then mindfull.

Augustſ. lib. 9. de Ciuit. Dei.

The *Palladium* stolne, & how.

The *Palladium* being now in the besiedgers power, they were highly contented, and sent great presents to the Traytors, with reiteration of their Oathes. Whereupon, in the dead time of night, the Traytours opened the Gate called *Scea*, whereon was embossed the head of a Horse, and by a flaming Torch, gaue signall to the *Greekes* for entring the Cittie, which they did, hauing yet the Traytours Children in their hands as hostages. Thus was the Citty taken, King *Priam* slaine, his wife and Children led away Captiues, and such as remained of the Royall Issue, were murdred, and almost all the people massacred: Faith was kept with the betrayers, but yet with great difficulty: neuertheleſſe, after the reduction, they were exempted from spoile. To wit, *Anchises*, Father to *Æneas*, *Anthenor*, neere Kinsman to King *Priam*, *Polydamas*, *Vcalegon*, *Amphidamas*, *Dolon*, and diuers other; to whom Ships were giuen, for conueighing thence their wiues, children, & whatsoeuer else they could carry away. After the sacke had continued the space of eight daies, the Citty was wholy burned, but they had great difficulty to destroy it: for the buildings were all of Marble, or of free Stone, strongly couered and tarrassed. But the *Greeks* were very great in spleen against it, because the most part of them (in this long siedge) had lost many of their Kinred and deere Friends, beside their owne hard sufferance in the warre. There dyed in this besiedging, eight hundred, eighty and sixe thousand *Greekes*, vntill the reddition of the Citty; and sixe hundred, seauenty, sixe thousand, as well of the Citty, as such succours as was sent them, by Kinges, Queenes, and their Allies abroad, without making any account of both Men and Women, that were led thence captiues.

Troy betraied, surprized, and destroyed

The betraiers of *Troy* saued, and their names.

The number that dyed in this warre.

As concerning the Horse of wood, which

Conspirators in *Troy* against themselues.

A fift reaſon, the fable of the Greekes horſe of wood

which is ſaid to be made by the *Greekes*, within whoſe belly men were hidden, and whereof they made an offering to *Pallas*, to compaſſe the meanes of breaking the wals thereby, and ſo to ouercome their enemies: theſe (truely) are Poeticall Fables. But yet we are to obſerue, that the Citty was ſurprized at that gate, whereon there was the head of a Horſe (very bigly) emboſſed, and of blacke Marble, as before wee haue ſaid, and it remaineth yet to be ſeene.

A ſixt reaſon, the Fables of the *Amazones*.

Next, for the *Amazones*, which are ſaid to come to the ſuccour of *Troy*, conducted by their Queene *Pentheſilea*; this is a Fable too. But yet we muſt credit that this Woman was a Queen, and commaunded ouer many Countries; a Friend and neere Ally to King *Priam*, in whoſe aide ſhe came: bringing with her eight or ten thouſand men, and not Women, that were ſlaine in ſeuerall fights; and ſhe her ſelfe (at laſt) in a ſingle combate with *Achilles*. For, there was neuer any Countrey, inhabited onely by Women, nor is at this preſent, which I purpoſe elſe-where to ſhew.

A ſeauenth reaſon, the tenne yeares ſiedge of *Troy*.

It is alſo held for a Fable, that the *Greekes* ſhould abide at the ſiedge of *Troy*, the ſpace of ten yeares: this is not altogether incredible, becauſe as much hath beene done in our time. The ſiedge which *Baiazeth* brought before *Conſtantinople*, laſted eight yeares and ſome moneths, in the yeare 1373. and yet (for all that) was not taken. That which I haue written, concerning the ſubtilties of the Prieſtes in thoſe daies: I proteſt, I ſaw them in the hand of *Monſieur Pelerin*, a *Pariſian*, Schoolemaiſter to the children of the late Lord *De l'Aubeſpine*, in a Booke being a Manuſcript, & in the *Greeke* tongue, which a man of the Church had giuen him, who was a follower of *Monſieur de Fumell*, Ambaſſadour in the Eaſt. This man had the Booke of a *Caloere*, or religious *Greeke* at Mount *Athos*; and therin is the Interpretation of the Fables, which I haue alledged in this Chapter, and many more beſide. The Authour thereof was one *Temiſon*, a *Smyrnian*, who (I thinke) was a Sacrificer, and afterward became a Chriſtian.

Whence the Author tooke his interpretation of the Poeticall Fables.

There is a certaine Booke, intitled, *Troy not taken*, it is in the *Greeke* toong, and tranſlated likewiſe into *Latine*, which is ſaide to be compoſed by one named *Dion* the Sophiſter, that liued in the time of *Traiane* the Emperour, and neuer vſed any other Garment, then the skinne of a Lyon. But he alleadgeth ſuch poore reaſons, to proue that *Troy* was neuer taken, nor beſieged by the *Greekes*: that a Childe of tenne yeares olde would ſet downe better. Therefore, ſuch as doe yet hold that error, and are perſwaded, that what hath beene written by many oculary Authours, and others beſide of good credit, concerning the *Troyan* Hiſtory, is no way veritable: let them ſee (to their ſhame) the ruines of that famous Cittie, which yet (to this day) doe make ſhew of themſelues, as I haue deſcribed them in this Chapter. The round neighbouring places, ports of the Sea, which doe (yet) retaine the very ſame names, that then they had. The Toombes of ſuch famous men (with their inſcriptions) that died as well on the one ſide, as the other; being all of Marble, with the couertures whole, but no bones in them: for neuer was any thing put into them, but the aſhes of the dead, becauſe (in thoſe times) the bodies were all burned.

Dion the Sophiſter deceiued in his writings.

CHAP. XXXV.

How a Man may eaſily know, what kinde of drinke will ſooneſt make one drunke: As with Wine, Beere, Ale, Cider, Perry, and other drinkes.

WIne is not the only drinke that cauſeth drunkennes, when it is immeaſurablie taken, or when it is receiued by Men or Women, whoſe braines are weake and feeble. For, there are many other arteficiall Beuerages, made in thoſe Regions, where no Wine hath encreaſe or growth; as in *Normandy*, *Brittaigne*, in the more part of *Piccardie*, the lower *Germany*, and other Northerly Countries. But they make vſe of Cider, Perrie, Beere, Ale, Raſſis, and other drinks, which procure drunkennes more then Wine

Wine onelie doth not procure drunkenneſſe.

Countries that yeild no Wine.

Turkes prohibited from drinking wine

Wine doth. In *Turky*, it is forbidden to ſuch as are of the *Mohometane* Law, to drinke Wine vpon paine of life; and there are likewiſe Drinkes arteficiallie made.

The drinke of the *Caribes* & *Anthropophages*

The *Caribes* and *Anthropophages*, people that feed on the fleſh of Men, make a kind of drinke, which they call *Canonin*: it is made of certaine roots called *Aypie*, and groſſe Millet, champed in the mouths of Women, and then boyled in ſome quantitie of Water. Of this drinke they make vſe after their repaſt, for they drink not at all in the time of their feeding, as wee doe in theſe partes: but rather imitate nature, as other Creatures do. This *Canonin* cauſeth drunkenneſſe, more then Wine doth here, if too much be taken thereof.

A kinde of drinke iſſuing out of a tree.

In the Kingdome of *Narſingua*, *Taranganor*, *Calecut* and *Peru*, they drinke a kind of liquor which commeth forth of a Tree, that is therefore purpoſelie cut in the Spring time, like vnto the Palme; and it inciteth drunkenneſſe alſo. Many Countries in the *Aſian Indiaes*, do make diuers drinkes of Rice and ſpiceries, which will procure drunkenneſſe likewiſe. In *Turky* they make a certaine *Hydromell* or *Metheglin*, which troubleth the braine much more then Wine. In breefe, there is not any Nation that will content it ſelfe with drinking Water onely: but haue deuiſed one or other arteficiall beuarage to pleaſe the Pallet, and delight their taſt. I my ſelfe hauing frequented thoſe Countries, where no Wine at all is made, but other arteficiall drinkes dailie vſed, as hath before beene declared: I haue apparantly perceiued, that ſuch as receiue their drunkenneſſe by wine, haue quite contrary behauiour to others, that are ouercome with Beuerages; as of Beere, Cider, Perry, and the reſt.

Metheglin made in *Turky*

Arteficiall drinkes hurt more then wine.

Diuerſity of actions and behauiour in drunkenneſſe

And although thoſe men that are drunke with Wine, do commit a thouſand follies, and counterfeit diuers anticke fopperies: yet it is moſt certaine, that none can declare the like ſottiſhneſſe, and yeelde more argument of ridiculous laughter (when wee behold their faces, eyes, and geſture;) then ſuch as are drunke with made drinkes, and (among the reſt) with Beere. For they neither reele or ſtagger on any ſide; but onely backeward, and fall downe flat on their backes: but ſuch as are drunke with Wine, reele forward, and alwaies fall or lye vpon their face and noſe; whereas the other do bruiſe their ſhoulders, and breake their heads behind. As likewiſe may be diſcerned when they are ouercome with ſleepe in drinking, for they that are drunke with Beere, Ale, Cider, and other drinkes arteficiall; doe ſleepe on their backes, with their boſomes open. I haue beene credibly aſſured, that euen ſuch is their behauiour in *Turky*, the *Indiaes*, *America*, and other Regions, when they are in like caſe.

The difference in drinking wine and other beuerages.

Where men doe become drunke with Wine, they ſleepe vpon their faces, the Chinne enclining into the boſome. The reaſon is, becauſe the fumes and vapours proceeding from Wine; do gaine poſſeſſion in the heads formoſt part, and the anterior parts of the body alſo. But thoſe fumes which mount aloft by other drinkes; doe incline to the head behind, and the poſterior parts alſo: which is a reaſon, that they are very obliuious, euermore ſleepy, and no great praters or brablers.

Wine ſeazeth on the foremoſt part of the braine.

French Souldiers are apt at all occaſions.

The *French*, that (during the States Warres in the Lowe-Countries) trauailed thither as Souldiers, would make their boaſts: that they had familiaritie with many Women there, when they found them to bee made drunk with Beere: for then they would fall downe backeward, at which time, their pudicity might eaſilie be attempted, finding them in ſuch vnwomanlie readineſſe. Let them (therefore) that haue care of their Chaſtity, take heede how they become drunke. And as for men, ouer and beſide, that many doe then diſcloſe their owne ſecrets: they enter alſo (oftentimes) into quarrels, deſtroying their health, and vndoing themſelues. Our Lawes do hold them for infamous perſons, that are addicted to drunkenneſſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Against the Axiome, which maintaineth, that all Repletion is naught, by what sustenance soeuer it be; But of Bread most pernicious.

I Could neuer vnderstand the reason, although I haue enquired of many learned Phisitions, who (neuertheleſſe) haue publiſhed the ſame alſo: that Repletion of bread, is more dangerous and pernicious, then all other nouriſhments beſide. For not onely it ſeemeth to me voyd of all reaſon; but it hath beene ſo accounted, by all them that I haue conferred withall. Becauſe all other foods, as the fleſh of Oxen, Kine, Mutton, Veale, Goat, Hare, Hart, Hinde, Boare, Swine, of Fowles, and alſo of all Fiſhes which we vſe, and any Fruit whatſoeuer; doe corrupt eaſily of themſelues, if they remaine any while in the ſtomacke and be not digeſted: the like doth Egges, and all things prepared with Milke, except Cheeſe, which is ſaide to be (almoſt) indigeſtible. All ſuch as vſe theſe meates without Bread, haue neuer any good colour, but are much ſubiect to vnſauoury breath, and ſometimes (of their owne bodies) a ſmell ſcant pleaſing: neither are they ſo wel nouriſhed, nor ſo ſtrong; as they that eate more Bread, then any other meat beſide.

Great vſe of fleſh without Bread, cauſeth ſtinch.

Bread maketh men ſtrong and robuſt.

To prooue that it muſt needs be ſo, we may behold, that the moſt of other Viandes, how acceptable ſoeuer they ſeeme to the taſt, well prepared and ſeaſoned with good Sauces: they doe yet (very often) bring a diſlike and contempt of themſelues. Bread only neuer diſtateth, be it in health or in ſickneſſe; it it is the laſt appetite loſt, and the firſt recouered in ſickneſſe. In health, it is alwaies the firſt and laſt eaten, pleaſing and moſt agreeable to nature, beyond all other kindes of repaſt. Againe, it is moſt certaine, that Bread (by a wonderfull bleſſing in Nature) is endued with all thoſe ſauours; which perticularly doe incite and allure each meates to bee fed on: pleaſing ſome in their ſweetneſſe, others in their ſharpneſſe or tartneſſe; ſome in their ſaltneſſe; others in their ſowreneſſe, and all in their due apprehenſion. Bread containeth in it, whatſoeuer any Man can taſt, or is acceptable in other meats. For, albeit other foodes haue neuer ſo good reliſh of themſelues: yet can they not bee ſutable, or profitable to feede on for health, except they be accompanied with Bread. To ſpeake all in a word, Bread, by his goodneſſe correcteth the vices of other meates, and helpeth their vertues; whereon it is vſed as a common Prouerbe: *That all meats are good and beneficiall, when Bread is their companion.*

Bread exceedeth all other meats in taſt.

Bread comprehendeth in it all kinds of taſts.

Without Bread no food auaileth

Some *Spagirickes*, *Alchymiſts*, and Extractors of Quinteſſences, haue told and aſſured me, that hauing put Bread into their Limbecks or veſſels of glaſſe, as meaning to deriue an Eſſence from him: they haue diuers times found the Bread conuerted into Fleſh. We doe daily note (as already I haue ſaid) that the moſt part of them, which doe eate their meate without Bread, be it Fleſh or otherwiſe, they haue continuallie ſtincking breath. The *Athletes* or ſtout Wraſtlers (as I finde recorded in the Bookes of *Galen*) ſuch as were eſteemed the very beſt, and ſtrongeſt in habitude among other men: had neuer any other nouriſhment but Bread, accompanied with a little Hogs Fleſh.

A lye proceeding from the Extractors of Quinteſſences.

Athletes or Wraſtlers their breeding.

When the *Scots* vſed to warre out of their owne limits, as in England and other places, if they thought to finde the Country ruined where they ſhould paſſe: they droue with them a great number of Beaſts for ſlaughter, and liued (by the way) vpon thoſe Beaſtes. And becauſe they had liued ſometime by Fleſh alone, their ſtomackes a long while would be ſickely, by not hauing had the vſe of any Bread. For remedie of which ſtomachall diſeaſe, each man perticularly carried a Sachell of Meale, weighing about ſome pound & a halfe at the moſt, and a little Iron Plate, thin and ſlender. Then mingling a little of the Meale, in a woodden diſh with water, and driuing it into a Paſt: they laid it

An inuention of the *Scots*, to make Bread in warre.

Imitation of our Wafer-Bakers.

it on the Plate ouer a ſmall fire; and in this manner (immediatly) they made Bread. This doth in ſome manner) reſemble our Waferers making of Wafers. The *Scots* hauing eaten of this Bread; found their ſtomackes well refreſhed, and their bodily ſtrength ſufficiently reſtored; after which, they would begin againe to vſe fleſh onelie, according to their wonted cuſtome.

An argument to approue the power of good Bread.

I alleadge this Hiſtory, to demonſtrate, that if ſo little bad made Bread, neither leauened nor kneaded, could reſtore the languiſhing ſtrength of men: what then is good Bread able to do, being kneaded and baked to full perfection? This benefit of baking Bread vpon a Plate of Iron, brought much commodity to that Nation: for they needed little ſearch after Brakes or Mils, which commonly are beaten downe and deſtroyed (before all thinges elſe) that in the degaſtes of warre, the enemy may haue no benefit by them.

Arabes and *Moores* becom Theeues for Bread.

The Lord of *Villamond* declareth, that being gone forth of his Ship, and likewiſe all thoſe in his company, at the Port of *Ieffa*, and putting themſelues on the way, to trauaile by Land to *Ieruſalem*: the *Moores* and *Arabes* entred vpon their veſſell lying at Anker, and robbed them of nothing elſe but Bread. Other Theeues alſo, of the ſame ſect and kinde of men, meeting with the ſame company the day following: tooke alſo nothing from them but Bread. All Nations haue not Bread, nor the vſe thereof, and ſuch as neuer had (as many Countries but lately diſcouered) when Chriſtians giue it them to eate, although it be but a Bisket, and of the very courſeſt: they make great account of it, they finde it ſo ſauourie.

Sauages doe highly eſteem Bread.

I am of the minde, that he which ſaith, ſatietie and Repletion of Bread, is more dangerous then all other nouriſhments: his meaning is of ſuch bread as is not faſt kneaded, and well baked, or without Leauen; becauſe it is the more hard to digeſt. As for my ſelfe, my meaning is of ſuch Bread, as is made of good and pure graine, wel cleanſed, kneaded, raiſed, baked, and freſh. I ſpeake not heere of Fiſh-bread, which is made in *Hirland*, among the people which dwell on the Lake of *Barcena*, & that in the Iſles of *Imangla*, *Inebila*, and and an infinite of Countries on the red Sea, and elſe-where. Nor alſo of that which is made of the barke of Trees, vſed in the Country of *Vendenao*, which is called *Sagu*, and is ſaide to be very ſauoury; being reduced into Meale, and afterward into Bread; As fruite alſo of the ſame Tree is, in the Iſles of *Moluquoiſes*. By the reaſons fore-alleadged, I would perſwade all perſons, not to forſake the vſe of Bread, for fond or lickoriſh deſire after other meats: if they couet to haue good ſtrength, a chearefull complexion, and health.

Bread not wel prepared, is vndigeſtable.

Bread made of Fiſhes in *Hirland*.

Bread made of the barke of Trees.

Concerning the inuention of Bread, ſince what length of time it hath continued, and who was the firſt Inuentor thereof; there is not any thing found for certaine. In the Eaſt Countries, the vſe of Bread is very ancient, for we finde, that it was vſed in the times of *Abraham*, and of *Iacob*, when his Sons deſcended into *Ægypt*, onely to buy Corne, to make Bread. But neerer vs, the vſe thereof is not found ſo ancient; becauſe the *Romaines* vſed no kinde of Bread, but onely Corne boiled (as likewiſe the *Gaules* and *Germaines* did) till they brought it a perfect rifting in ſunder, and then they did eate it among their other meates, euen as at this preſent as we do our bread. This continued thus till the *Perſian* Warres, which was in the yeare (after the Cities foundation) 580. And then came Bread-makers, or Bakers of Bread, out of *Aſia* to *Rome*; who gaue enſtruction, how to multure or grinde Corne, then to knead it with Leauen; and laſtly, to bake it in Loaues.

The vſe of Bread very ancient in the Eaſt parts.

In *Italy* a long time after.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the excellent and profitable properties of the Swallow; And the Nature of the Bird.

BEcauſe the Swallow neuer neſtleth in Cities, nor on their Walles; which are ſubiect to be taken and retaken by war; becauſe by her comming and preſence, ſhe aſſureth thoſe places where ſhe is, not to be ſubiect

The Swallow fore-telleth many excellent things.

iect to the rigour of Warre; as also the House or Wall where she buildeth her nest, not to be threatned by any neere ruine: Because, that by her comming, she resolueth winter to be past, and the Spring time beginning; because (likewise) she hath in her many especial properties, by diuers benefits and other things arising to man, whereof we shal discourse hereafter: it seemed meet (in my iudgement) that this Bird well deserued to haue a perticular Chapter written of her, in her iust defence against such as labour to depraue her.

The Swallow knoweth the seasons and temperature of Climates.

The Swallow abideth ordinarily, in Regions temperately hot, shunning the extreamity of heat, and of cold likewise. *Pliny* saith, that this Bird, feeling the extreame heat of *Affricke* approaching; she flyeth thence in the prime, to delight her selfe in a temperate ayre: And when she perceiueth Winter ensuing, which is about the midst of September; she then returneth to the Countries extreamely hot, where winter is in the same manner, as Summer is here with vs. This Bird hath such an absolute memory, that hauing re-passed the Sea, and many other Regions, which are two thousand miles off, at the least: yet shee well knoweth to returne to the place or lodging, where (in the precedent yeare) she made her Nest, and where shee had young ones. This I haue seene, and made proofe of by one Swalow, hauing tied a red Silk twine about her Claw; and she fayled not the yeare following, to returne and build her nest, where she had done the yeare before, bringing the Silke fast tyed at her foote. She neuer lodgeth two yeares together, in one and the same nest.

The great memory of the Swallow.

The Swallow cleanseth the ayre of Flies.

She is not affraid of a man, and (willingly) buildeth not her nest in Houses. It is saide, that God hath done this in his great prouidence, to the ende, that such Creatures, as haue no other feeding but on Flyes, which doe so much molestation to men all Summer, and in the beginning of Autumne; might thus be deuoured. It is the onely Bird which feedeth in the Ayre, and there catcheth a prey, to carry to her young ones. But some people, not knowing what they do; will breake downe their Nests, shut their windowes and doores of their Chambers, to the ende, they may not enter in or out, to carry feeding to their young. Nay, they do them all the iniuries they can, breaking their Egges; yea, sometimes they kill both He and She. But if a man knew the good, and commoditie, which these pretty Birdes doe bring vnto vs; they would be more milde, and let them liue in peace.

The barbarousnesse of some people, in abusing this poor bird

I know very wel, there are some who will alleadge, that the Dung of these Birds is so pernicious, as if it fall into a Mans eyes (as it did to *Tobias*) it will then, without all question, make him blind. But they that haue alleaged this History, were not skilful in the tongs; albeit *Mathio'us*, a man learned, hath auouched the same, following their opinion. For the Iewish Theologian Doctors, wel skild in the *Syrian* and *Hebrew* Languages, say: that it was not Swallowes that dunged on the eyes of *Tobias*, but Sparrowes, which is confirmed by *Dioscorides*, when he saith, *Swallowes being eaten, doe cleare the sight, like as the Becficus, or Gnat-snapper*. The Ashes of them, as well of the great as smal (their bodies being burned in an earthen pot, and Hony applyed to them) doe take away al impeachments that trouble the sight. It may then well be discerned hereby, that the dung of the Bird which tooke away the sight of *Tobias*, was not that of the Swallow, according to their iudgement. And *Galen* is of the same mind with *Dioscorides*: I refer it then to better censure.

By not vnderstanding the Hebrew, this fault was committed.

The Iaarned *Iewes* write in their Bookes, that *Tobias* became blind not by Swallowes, but by Sparrowes.

The Swallow builds with Morter as man doth, and prouideth for her yonng.

She hath enstructed man, how hee ought to builde, for with Straw and Morter she buildeth her Nest, and with such cunning; that hardly can any Man make the like. When she desireth propagation, the Male medleth with his Female; but not in mounting, or treading vpon her, but by ioyning both their hinder parts together, for which to yeilde a reason, *Ælianus* saith, that he neuer knew any rendred. They fly abroad in the fields, to seeke for Wooll, which they plucke from the backs of Sheepe with their clawes, and carry into their Nests, whereon they lay their Egges, to preserue them from breaking, as also the enclosed young ones from hurting.

The Male and Female, supplying the place

The manner of feeding their young Birds.

place of Father and Mother, giue feeding to their little Birdes, beginning at the firſt which is hatched, and firſt breaking forth of the ſhell. Then they ſeeke another feeding, & giue to the ſecond, and ſo to the reſt following, euen to the fift and laſt: for they lay and ſit no more but fiue Egges at each brood. Thus we may ſee, how this Bird inſtructeth man, how to carry himſelfe in nouriſhing, exalting and diſtribution of his goodes to his Children, aduancing alwaies the firſt borne or eldeſt. They daily cleanſe their neſts of al ordure and dung found therein, and are very skilfull in defending themſelues from vermine, which are enemies to their Egges, and will bite them. But nature hath endued them with ſo much knowledge, as they can well preſerue their Egges from harmefull vermine: for they ſeeke out the Hearbe called Smallage, in Latine called *Apium*, and bring it into their Neſts, and by the ſtrong ſent or bitterneſſe thereof, the vermine dye.

Cleanſing their neſts, and defending their Egges.

Swallowes are hatched blind like our Whelpes.

Their young Birdes doe reſemble whelps, that continue for a time blind: but the Male flieth abroad, and findeth a certaine Hearbe, by meanes whereof their ſight quickly commeth. Very long and diligent inquiſition hath been made after this Hearbe, and the Birdes very narrowly watcht for it; yet could it neuer bee knowne what Hearbe it is. If a man open the eyes of the young Birds, they recouer their ſight without any other help: but ſome do aſſure vs, that (by meanes of that Hearbe) their ſight is the clearer. Which being known to men, the Plant would ſerue to make their ſight more perfect: and therefore (gueſſing at the true Hearb) they call it * *Chelidonia*, or *Hirundinaria*.

Celandine, or Swallowort.

For ſo many benefits, which men receiue by means of this Bird, beſide thoſe recited in the beginning of this Chapter; enſtructing how to build, keep our Houſes cleane, delighting vs by her ſinging, preſeruing ſight by that kinde of Hearbe, and deſtroying hurtfull vermine: me thinkes no man ſhould moleſt her, but rather peaceably conuerſe with her, as a gueſt or friend that commeth but to ſee him. She eateth not any thing of ours, but ſhe frees vs from a multitude of flyes, as ſhe flyeth in the Ayre: and ſhe ſhould bee entertained, (as *Homer* ſaith) chearfully, like a good gueſt at her comming, and when ſhe is willing to depart, not to with-hold her.

Swallowes are no way hurtful to me.

The Aſhes and Fleſh of this Bird, as we haue formerly ſaid, doth not onelie ſerue to cleare the ſight, and recouer it if it bee loſt: but it is a remedy alſo for many much greater euils. For, if wee take the Swallowes firſt young ones, in the Moones encreaſing, and cleaue them: we ſhal finde diuers little ſtones in their bellies, whereof two are to bee taken; to wit, one that is of many colours, and another which is but of one colour onely. Theſe ſtones, wrapt in the skin of a young Hart, or Heifer (before it haue toucht the ground) and tyed about the necke or arme: is much auaileable for ſuch as haue the falling ſickneſſe, and maketh them very chearfull. *Galen* giueth aſſurance, that Swallowes aſhes, incorporated with Hony; doe helpe the Squinancy, and all other defects or Impoſtumes in the throat, as alſo the Almondes, or Pallat or Vuula.

The Aſhes & fleſh of the Swallow.

Stones found in young Swallowes, good againſt the falling ſickneſſe.

Plinie ſaith, that there are three kinds of Swallowes, whereof, one buildeth her Neſt vnder Houſes; the ſecond, in old ruined buildings, in holes and Cauernes of Rockes and clifts on the Sea ſide; and the third, buildeth in the bankes of Riuers. In the Iſle of *Samos*, there are Swallowes naturally all white. Behold what I haue gathered out of good and approoued Authours, concerning the properties of this Bird; in whoſe imitation we may well order our Oeconomy or Houſhold gouernment.

Plin. in lib. 14. Three kindes of Swallowes.

Impertinent compariſons made of Swallowes.

I cannot ſufficiently wonder at ſome Men, who haue compared theſe friendly Swallowes, to ſcarſe faithfull and diſſembling Friendes; who are no Friendes, but ſo long as there are meanes remaining, to deriue any commoditie from them. For they haue imagined, that theſe Birdes doe liue on the Seedes, Graine, and Fruites of the fielde; and that ſo ſoone as they are lockt vp, they flye away into ſome other Countrey. But it is a matter moſt certaine, that theſe kinde Birdes doe not liue vpon any kind of Graine or Fruites: but on Flyes, which (by very great agility) they take in the Ayre, being very moleſtuous to men;

and our houſhold creatures. And therefore many men are deceiued, by the ſaiings of ſome fabulous Authors, ſlenderly experimented in naturall things.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradoxe in defence of Hard-Lodging, approouing it to be more healthfull and commendable; then thoſe in great Pallaces, and houſes of pleaſure.

ALready we haue diſcourſed of poore and meane deſcent, now come we to ſpeak of the humble cottage, the dwelling wherin I haue and will maintaine. The building of ſuch honeſt houſes of harbour, doe require little expences and charge, in leſſe time are they erected, more eaſily furniſhed, and with far greater commodity kept and frequented, then ſtately Pallaces, and houſes of pleaſure. The proportion of a handſome little houſe, carrieth good correſpondency, and no outward wanton appearance. It is leſſe ſubiect to the danger of Theeues, then is the large and ſpacious Pallace, compaſſed about with rare deckings, great & baſe Courts, Offices, Stables, Dog-kennels, Hearnries, Haukſ-mewes, and other ſuch ſuperfluous delights.

The benefit of poore and homely buildings.

Heauen no enemy to humble dwellings.

The poore and ſimple houſe, is not eaſily toucht with lightning and tempeſts from Heauen, and a man may dwell there more quietly, then in the faireſt proſpected Lordſhip: garniſhed with ſo many Gardens, Arbours, Turrets, Vaults, Mountainelike wals, and other curioſities, which doe nothing elſe but tire and weary men. The poore houſe is ſooner prouided, and with leſſe coſt then the greater. It excuſeth the Maiſter from making Feaſts, to ſuch as (commonly) returne but mockes when they are inuited. The ſmal houſe is free from the Harbingers marke, or the Marſhals of Princes, Cardinalles, and Lords, that cannot be entertained but in pompous d welings. Let vs but conſider, where ſuch States haue made but the leaſt ſoiourning; how many things haue need of new mending? And their paſſage that way, reſembled a ſtorme and tempeſt of raine, waſhing all good order for a long while after. See if your Seruants become the better enſtructed thereby, your Houſhold in any more ciuill manners, or your houſe furniture in ſuch good ſort as it ought to be. I had almoſt forgot, that (many times) they put their Hoſt to the perill of borrowing, inciting great Lords to affect his Liuing. So that, if they can cunningly compaſſe the meanes in recompence of their kinde entertainement: the Hoſt is brought to the hazzard of confiſcation, for the very leaſt word inconſiderately ſpoken, eyther againſt the Prince or Religion.

Great perſons are but ſorrie gueſtes in meane houſes

This is the reaſon, why I cannot ſufficiently meruaile, at the great follie and poore iudgement of ſome Men, who couet huge Pallaces, and ſumptuous Houſes for their abiding and lodging; beeing much grieued and offended, if they ſhould take but one nights reſt in a meane, poore, and populer houſe. As if our Soule (full of all excellent nobleneſſe, and endued with infinite priuiledges, which God hath thereto aſſigned;) ſhould imagine the body too ſtraite and narrow a roome, for hir to abide in. Or as if (in how ſhort time God beſt knoweth, whether wee be willing or no) we ſhould not render the bodie into a much leſſe Lodging, to finde out one farre more excellent and magnificent for the Soule. Can a meane Houſe, a hard Bed, or a narrow roome bee any hindrance: but that our Spirit (freely, and at her owne eaſe) may make diſcourſe thorow all Celeſtiall pleaſures, much better delights then can bee wiſhed for in this world? It need not (there) ſtand bound to ſo many inconueniences; as the dwellers in faire and Lordly places, are euermore ſubiect vnto.

Mean houſes are no harbors for great gueſtes.

The ſpirit is at liberty in the leaſt Cottage.

When Warre had his beginning, and entred into conſultation, to burne and deſtroy the Countrey on all ſides, as it prooued moſt to yeelde aduantage: the Soldiours, and men appointed for ſpoyle, receiued no charge to meddle with little Hamlets, or poore Shepheardes Houſes; but the moſt magnificent and beautifull habitations of

Great houſes are fitteſt for great perſons

Souldiers can make but ſmal booty of poor places, their aime is at greater benefit.

of great Lordes and Princes. Beside, if neede required to make a Fielde assembly, in what place soeuer it were: the fayrest Castels & costliest buildings were sure to bee first taken vp and vsed.

But let vs admit, that a poore mans Cottage suffers spoyle among the rest: yet the Man hath this comfort left him (a priuiledge beyond the large capacity of Castles) that his House will (well-nere) be as soone builded againe, as a Captaine can commaund and set his fielde in order. But when a great Pallace becommeth ruined, many years are required to erect it againe; beside, it serueth (a long while after) as a receptacle for Rascals and Field Run-awaies, or as a warren for Toads and Serpents, or as a Garden for Fresh-water Souldiers.

Great houses ruined, aske long time to rebuild.

I cannot chuse, but take pitty and compassion on such mens affections, that place their whole felicity on such thinges, whereby they can receiue no praise or honour. For it oftentimes commeth to passe, that the glorie of a goodly building, beareth not his name that caused it to bee made; but of the new Purchaser, or the cunning Architect, who desertedly is styled Maister of the worke. But say, that the party himselfe, who was at the charge of the building, doe carry Name and Title thereof: what a sillie glorie is it (but farre greater vanitie) to couet honour by beeing a Lord ouer Stones, which are thinges senceleſſe and voide of life? To be Maister of a peece of Wood? Or, when all is said, a Lord of Chalke and Dust? Were it not much more famous for him, to bee entitled a Lord of many faire Artes and Sciences? Or to win honour by some heroycal, worthy, and vertuous actions.

One man easily purchaseth anothers honour.

The Titles of vertue are truelie famous.

That it ought to be so, ancient Princes and potent Lords, who more esteemed valour and vertue, then matters earthly & transitory; were neuer wont to set their affections on sumptuous buildings: but were altogether studious, and addicted to the excellencie of vertue and prowesse. Was not the house of great *Euander*, little, mean, & poorely built? And yet notwithstanding, the fame of the vertuous Maister thereof, made it esteemed of no lesse value, then other great & royall Pallaces, and deserued to entertaine the famous & highly renowned *Hercules*. *Iulius Cæsar*, neuer builded but a little house; because he would not be hindred from so many singuler vertues, as brought him (at length) to gouern the great *Romane* Empire. Mighty *Scipio*, that conquered most stubborne *Affrica*, had neuer any perticuler Lodging: but aboad in one poore village, then in another; to shake off wearinesse, and with-draw himselfe from the molestation of great affaires.

Great persons haue lodged in poor mens houses.

Diogenes, the graue Philosopher, that was of such an excellent Spirit, as euer any man was in his time: made his dwelling in a poor Tub, to defend himselfe from the raine, and heate of the Sunne. *Hillarion*, that good and deuout man, lay very hardly in the Easterne Deserts, in a poore little Cell, which he had (as Saint *Hierome* reporteth) more truely made as a Sepulcher, then any House to dwell in. *Galba* lodged in a House so rent and torne on all sides, & open aboue in so many places, that being (one day) desired by a friend of his, to lend him his Mantle: he answered that hee could not spare it, because it serued to counter-guard his poor lodging. This he spake, beholding a great hole in the roofe ouer his head, which had been lately broken; and perceiuing a darke cloud not farre off, that threatned a present shewer of raine. *Iulius Drusus Publicola*, had (in like manner) a house so broken and shiuered: as whosoeuer was without, might easilie discerne and count the moueables within, and behold what the good man did in his house.

The power of dwelling doth not disparage the vertue of the mind.

To speake truely, me-thinkes they haue a great portion of folly and ambition, that couet to dwell in goodly Pallaces, holding little Cottages & meane Houses in contempt and scorne: as if those gaudy places, and built with such beauty, were more defensiue then the other, from meeting with the assaults of death, and infinite mishaps and diseases that befall vs in the World. Such as are read in Histories, or conceiue in the any pleasure, can say with me, that when *Tullius Hostilius* was smitten with thunder, he was then most merry in his Pallace royall. When *Tarquinius Priscus* was slaine, he was in his most mag-

A great Pallace is no safe Bulwarke against death or sickneſſe, for the mightieſt persons in the world.

nificent Lodging. How many other Lords may we speake of, both Ancient and Moderne, that haue beene slaine in their braue Castles, by diuers accidents and misfortunes? The Duke of *Vrbine*, who builded a Pallace most faire and rich: did it defend him from danger, or being the most wofull example of calamity to euery eye, that happened in his time? The goodly Pallace of *Trent*, said to be without comparison, for the infinite Roomes contained in the round: was it any priuiledge to the Builder thereof, in exempting him from as many miseries and mishaps, as the wretchedst Varlet in the World could haue no more? To what end serued so many and excellent rare Buildings, erected by *Lucullus* and *Metellus*? wherein were *Caligula* or *Nero* more happy then others, though they had houses of such spacious circuit, as comprehended (wel neere) the whole Citty? The braue worke-man that builded the Pallace at *Paris*; could he warrant himselfe from stretching on Mount *Falcon*, which hee likewise made for Malefactors?

A little Cottage (with content) is a poore mans Kingdome.

Great Houses are the places subiect to most dangers.

We wil conclude then, that he is to be accounted a meere Foole, that disdaines to dwell in a poore or meane house, or take quiet rest in a good hard bed: coueting with heat and greedy desire, to make his aboad in stately places, wherein (for the most part) lurketh all misfortune, fraud, dissimulation, slander, treason, and misery. He that is loth to credit what I say; let him make but one moneths experience, and he will finde it too true to his cost. For assuredly, these are the places, where commonly hapneth most secret mischiefes; either by broaths or drinkes, seasoned otherwise then they should bee, or by the power of too keene a Weapon; or other Stratagems of like nature. They are safe shelters also, for wanton and libidinous pleasures: where a false friend may soonest graft hornes on his companions head, and where fire is soone kindled, but slowly quenched.

Loue is a lord in gay buildings.

The Authors conclusion of this Paradox.

Let vs then shunne them so diligently, as (with our best meanes) we may, and let vs delight in simple habitations, fit and aptly furnished with all peace and tranquility. In so doing, we shall not stand obliged, or be any way beholding to cunning Builders, highly praised and esteemed by their Worke-Maisters; and yet can purchase good Liuings out of their vanities, where afterward they sit and flout at their follies. Rather let vs content our selues to imitate the workes and Buildings of *Doxius*, Sonne to *Cælius*; who first found out the inuention, to erect his House after the manner of Swallowes. Then will wee remember, to frame our Houses, according as Mortall men ought to doe, not as if wee should continue in them perpetuallie: but as hoping (one day) after our short voyage in this world, to inherit & haue part in another manner of dwelling, builded after a much better fashion and compasse; then those that are framed, by the fraile and earthlie hands of men.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of some that haue beene punished, for hauing done better then they were commaunded: And others, because they did well, without commaund.

HE that dependeth on another mans will, ought to be careful of himself, not onely in well-doing; but also in doing better then he is commaunded. For, I will declare by some Histories in this Chapter, that of these two sorts, of doing well, and better then well; there haue been some seuerely punished. As it happened to an ingenious Maister of *Athens*, to whom *Publius Crassus*, a *Mutian* (being Proconsull in *Asia* for the *Romaines*, and being ready to besiedge a Citty) gaue charge, to seeke for two Shippe Masts, which he had seene in *Athens*, to make an Engine for battery of the wall, telling him, that he would haue the greatest. The skilfull Maister, beeing a Man of great vnderstanding, well knew, that a Mast of such greatnesse, would not be apt for any such effect: in regard whereof, because a meaner was much more conuenient for the battery, and easier for

The History of *Publius Crassus* a *Mutian*, Proconsull in *Asia*.

for carriage; he sent such a one to *Crassus*. When he perceiued his purpose to be thwarted, hee caused the ingenious man to be brought before him, and demaunded of him, why hee had not obeyed as he was commanded? And being willing to hear no reason or excuse; gaue charge to strip him naked, and to be whipt with Rods, as he was, and so long, till he dyed. For it appeared to *Crassus*, that in stead of obeying, hee sought to counsell him. So, it was not without cause, that there arose a common Prouerbe; *A Man shall haue worke enough to gouerne himselfe well in this World.*

A cruell act in *Publius Crassus*

The History of *Papyrius* the Romaine Dictator.

Long time before this *Mutian* dealt so hardly with this skilfull man, one *Papyrius*, a Romaine Dictatour, did no lesse: but rather proceeded further, & more rigorously, (in regard of qualitie among persons) towards a Noble Romaine, Colonell of the Romaine Cauelery. This man gaue battaile to the *Samnites*, without his expresse commaund, and slew twenty thousand of the enemies. Neuertheless, though he had done well and valiantly: yet hee was condemned to death (beeing named *Quintus Fabius Rutilianus*) without any respect of his merit, or race. And, as the custome then was, before the stroke of death, the condemned person must be seuerely beaten, which while the miserable *Rutilianus* endured: the most Honourable Lords in the Armie, entreated *Papyrius*, to deferre his death till the next morning, which (with much ado) at length he granted. In meane while, night granting means to the condemned man to saue himself, he fled to *Rome*, and implored the ayde of the Senate, for safetie of his life: but it was in vaine, for *Papyrius* still stood resolute for his death. Whereupon, the condemned parties Father (who had formerly beene Dictatour, and three times Consull) was constrained to make his recourse to the people, and (by way of supplication) to sollicite the Tribunes of the people for his Son; all which could not diuert the rigor of *Papyrius*. Finally, he was entreated of all the people, and by the Tribunes of the people, protesting, that he should not pardon *Fabius* the punishment hee had deserued: but to deliuer to the Romaine people, and the Tribunes, the power of his correction.

Miserable correction before death.

The cruell constancy of *Papyrius* against *Rutilianus*.

The people of *Carthage* would not haue laboured so much, to saue the life of any Man, that had committed such an Act as *Rutilianus* did: For, the Captaine or Generall, that had giuen battaile to the Enemy, without expresse commaundement of the Senate, although he had won the day; was sure to be hanged. And to speake truth, it hath euermore beene obserued, in all Militarie discipline; yea, from all antiquitie; that the Souldier or Captaine, that fought or gaue battell, against prohibition made vnto him deserued death.

Obedience is the chiefe in Military discipline.

In like maner, *Cæsar* speaking of one of his Captaines, named *Syllanus*, said: He did well and wisely, not to giue battaile, albeit he was sure to haue had the victorie. *Because* (saith hee) *it is not in the Captaine, to goe beyonde the prohibitions giuen him.* For it is most certaine, that nothing should be done in matter of warre, contrary to commands: nor a Captaine or Lieutenant ought not to giue battaile, except he bee expresselie commaunded. And this was the cause, that the Counte of *Aignemont* was in danger, and had at length (by especiall fauour) onely as punishment, a reprehension publikely giuen him, by *Charls* the fift, Emp. for giuing battaile to the Marshall *de Termes*, although hee had the victory, because the danger of al the Low Country lay at the stake, if he had lost the day.

The judgement of *Cæsar* in this case.

The Counte of *Aignemont* censured.

But this last point is to be vnderstood of Captaines, that haue no charge of command in title of offices, for the Officer, as the Consull, Constable, the Captaine erected in Title of Office, to haue ful command ouer the Army, and make the war: may (by vertue of his office) without attending especiall command, giue war to a published enemie, pursue him, bid battaile, besiedge, and (if he can) take Fortes, and dispose the Army at his discretion; if hee haue not perticular prohibition from his Soueraigne, by whō his power is appointed. But hauing taken strong holdes, or the chiefe of the enemies; he canot re-deliuer them without especiall command. True it is, that in the populer Cōmonweales, these points are not obserued;

How far, and to whom this limitation extendeth.

Concerning populer common-weales.

neither can they bee kept with rigour: but often it happeneth, that Captaines doe dispose the very greatest affaires, which they cannot doe in a Monarchy, for the difference of aduise and will of a Prince, or the people, of one man, or thirty thousand.

Of *Helyodorus* the *Mytilenian* and his banquet.

We read in the *Greeke* Histories, that one *Heliodorus* a *Mitylenian*, made a banquet, in midst whereof, deliuering demonstration, that his guests should not make spare of any thing: he cõmanded two of his Slaues to goe buy two Septiers of Wine, of a Man that sold wine neere to his house. The Slaues finding the Wine to be bad, went and bought else-where, such as was excellent good, and liked all the company; saying, they neuer dranke better. Whereon the Slaues said, that it was not of the wine which their Lord sent them for, for it beeing naught, they were faine to buy in another place. Whereat *Heliodorus* grew offended, because they brought not according to his commaund, although the wine was better: when the company was departed, he so tormented the poore Slaues that they dyed. Thus you see what ill fortune it is, to be in subiection to people ouer seuere, and without any temperance: punishing such as they haue command ouer, rather for doing well, then ill.

The end of the fourth Booke.

The Fift Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Emperour of Æthyopia, *called* Prete-Ian, *or* Prester-Iohn: *Of his Originall, and Customes of his people.*

THE Great Emperor of *Æthyopia*, vnto whom we corruptlie giue the Name of *Pres-biter-Ian*, is neither Priest or sacrificer, though he be (by some) called PRETE-IAN, and (by his owne people) named *Belaugian*, that is to say, *Ioy of incompareable excellencie*, or of most value; and by others of them, he is also called *Ian*, which (in their Language) signifieth *Mightie*. He commandeth ouer seauenty and two Kingdomes, which are all of different languages, hauing their diuersity of Customs, and the colour or complexion of their Faces, are much disagreeing. He is able to leuy in preparation for warre, a Million of fighting men; fiue hundered Elephants with their Armour and Munition for encounter, with an infinite number of Horsses and Camels. His Knights or Warlick Soldiers, enter armed to the battell, each wearing a long Coat of Maile, stretching downe closely to their Thighes, a Sallet or Head-piece on the head, a crooked Fauchion by their side, and a Lance with two Steele points or Pikes. Such as haue no Sallets or Head-pieces, do wear thick quilted Caps on their heads, plaited after the manner of *Mameluke* Soldiers. The yonger sort, carry Darts, Arrowes, and Slings, obseruing the same Discipline, & be as obedient or well-gouerned, in ranging their battaile, as wee are. They vse Drummes of Brasse, and Trumpets also, to encourage their Soldiers to the fight, which is performd with great hardiment, appointing also, sundry honours, and respective rewards, to such as declare themselues to be of highest merit. They doo daily pay the families of their Warriors, and marke the Children that are born of them, with a Crosse, which they imprint suddenly in the flesh with an hot Iron, so that the signe remaineth, as if it were naturall vnto them.

The King himselfe (most commonly called *Prete-Ian*) after he hath bestowed some houres about State-affaires, when he perceiueth that he is indifferently eased of them: he employeth almost all the remainder of his time, in the study of holy Readings and Histories; which being done, he vseth a little exercise of the body; and then entering into his Bath, hee taketh (afterward) his refection alone by himselfe (as most of our Kings vse to do) vpon a little Table of Gold, without any cloath or Napkin; and it is set in such a place, as there are diuers degrees or steps in ascending to it. He is serued by Pages, who are of Noble birth; and they bring him his meate (ready cut and prepared) in little Baskets or Panniers. He drinketh

Wine

Sabel. in lib. 8. de Suppl. chron.

The power of *Presser-Iohn.*

His soldiers Armour for their defence, and such as the Knightes (belonging to *Prete-Ian*) haue in fight.

Their Ceremony to their Children.

The exercise of the King *Prete-Ian.*

The order of his table-seruice, his dyet and maner of life.

Wine in a Cup of Golde; but he hath another kinde of drinke, made of sower Apples, and mingled with Sugar, which he receiueth in a cup of Christal. While hee feedeth, three hundred lustie young men (chosen out of the seueral kingdoms vnder his Dominion, hauing the place of Archers, and of his Guard) doo stand about the Tent-royall. For, by an auncient custome it hath been kept, that the King liueth continually out of any City, wherein he neuer abideth but two dayes only; and those Tents are erected in such manner, that the back-part is euer placed to the East, and the doore opening is opposite to the West.

An Ancient custome still obserued.

The vsual Armes or weapons of these Guards, are Swords, Daggers, and Iauelins, their neckes and shoulders beeing gorgetted with thicke skinnes of Beasts. Foure Kings, who (by commandement) do attend the Court, follow (each after other) the Table-seruice, accompanied with many Barons, and meaner Officers, euen from the Kitchen, vnto the Tent of *Prete-Ian*, all cloathed in Silke, Seudale, and Scarlet: and there they deliuer it to the Pages, who come forth purposely to receiue it. The King, and al his Court fare deliciously, with Fowle, Fish, and al kind of Venison. So soone as he hath dined (for hee neuer sups, but in Feastiuall dayes) his Eunuchs goe to fetch diuers Queenes (according vnto their seuerall quarters) being Wiues of the forenamed Kings, to waite on the Queene and wife to *Prete-Ian*, conducting her vnto his Tent, to giue him pleasure and contentment, and there they sing and Dance in his presence. He hath foure Wiues, who are the Daughters of his neighbor-kings, yet he lodgeth but with one of them, to whom he is solemnly maried with many Ceremonies: but if it chaunce that hee haue no Children by her, then he cals to his bed one of the other.

The attendants vppon the Emperor

The King fareth delicately.

The wiues of the Emperor

When he purposeth to shew himselfe in publicke, his face is couered with a vail of Taffata, which hee lifteth vp, and pulleth downe, that hardly can his face bee wholly discerned: but if it bee, it is verie quickly couered againe. Hee vseth to shew himself vnto the people three times in the yeare, that is to say, on the daies of Christmas, Easter, and the holy Crosse in September; and (for this purpose) is a goodly high Scaffold duly prepared. The cause of this Ceremony, receiued Originall from *Dauid Prete-Ian*, sir-named *Alexander*, whose death was three whole yeares concealed by his chiefe Seruants, that gouerned the Kingdome in his time. Therefore to auoide all the like succeeding inconueniences, the Father of *Dauid Prete-Ian*, at the earnest entreatie of his people, began first to shew himselfe on these ordained daies, which hath continually (euer since) been obserued, euen to *Panuscius Prete-Ian*, now raigning in *Æthyopia*, only excepted when he goeth in warre, for then he marcheth daily discouered. He is crowned with a precious Diadem; the one part whereof is Gold, and the other Siluer, and carrieth (instead of a Scepter) a Crosse of Siluer in his hand: All his Seruants are marked with a Crosse, in the verie flesh on the right shoulder. He is cloathed with rich Garments of frizeled Cloath of Golde, wearing a shirt of Silke, with verie large and wide sleeues, as Dukes in elder times were wont to doe. And from the Girdle downward, he weareth a wide Kirtle of Silke and Cloath of Gold, with a Linnen couerture, after a Byshops manner. On either side of him, goe two Pages, each holding a Crosse of Siluer in the one hand, and a naked Sword in the other.

His manner of shewing himselfe in publicke.

The original of the Ceremony of shewing himself.

The Emperors Crowne, Scepter, and habite.

His Lords, who are as Kings, and carry that Title, do pay him tribute of Gold and other Mettals; of Horsses, and great Cattell of diuers kinds: likewise of cloath of Golde, and of Wooll, according to the quality & best Nature of those countries vnder their Gouernment: Which rights and Tributes they haue from their Subiects, although they be Vassailes (indeed) to none but *Prete-Ian* himselfe, and to whom they yeilde the greater part of their substance. Some do pay him large quantities of Corne, and of Salt, for the maintaining of his Armies. Others do bring him Pepper, which is a rare Commodity in that Countrey; and some do pay him Slaues.

The Emperors Tribute paid him by his kings.

Tributes in generall of his people, duly paid him

The Rusticks, and Country Boores, who liue in the wild and field-frequented Forrests, do bring vnto the Court great store of Lyons, Tygers, and other liuing sauage Beasts, which are afterward shut vp into apt appointed places, to yeelde pleasure and delight to him and his Princes. As for such as dwell further off from the Court, it is sufficient for them to bring

Wild Beasts kept for the Emperours pleasure.

bring the skinnes of ſuch Beaſtes onely, wherewith the *Abyſsines* do (in a brauery) cloath themſelues when they goe to warre.

The Emperors Subiects are very rich.

Prete-Ian, is greatly honoured and loued of his people, who are verie rich in Gold, not Coined, and other Mettalles: and his Landes being well peopled and inhabited, he deriueth from them verie great Reuennewes. They cloath themſelues with Linnen, Wollen, and Silke: addicting their minds much to Husbandry, and Tilling the ground.

*Or *Xoa*, as ſome call it.

Two harueſts euerie yeare, and great plentie of all things.

In the Realme of * *Sceua*, where the King moſt abideth, they haue two crops or Harueſts each yeare, for they haue alſo two Summers. They gather al things neceſſary for the maintenance of life, and in great abundance; eſpecially, the grain of Barley, and all kinds of Pulſe, Peaſe, and Beanes, &c. Millet and Panicke, or *Indian* Oat-meale, groweth there ſo hie, as it ouer-toppeth a man riding on horſe backe. The Vines do yeelde an infinitie of Grapes or Raiſins, whereof they make great plentie of Wine: but beſide, they do ordinarily make Beuerages of Beere, and other of Peares & Apples well compounded with Barley, Millet, or Wallwort, whereof the verie meaneſt of the people do daily drinke.

Their Wine and other drinkes.

They vſe to ſet foorth their Bankets yearely, with greene Figges, and Apples that are very ſauoury.

Their Bankets.

They haue great ſtore of Wood, called *Ibonie*, and diuers kindes thereof.

Their woods.

They vſe to hunt Lyons, Leopards, Rhinocerots, and Elephants.

Their Hunting.

They haue great ſtore of Cattle, goodly Horſes, and gallant Mules, which they ſell (at great price) to Barons of the Court.

Their Cattel.

The firſt dignity among them, is that of the Prieſt: the ſecond, of prudent and wiſemen, whom they call *Ealſanats* and *Tenquats*; Bounty and good Conuerſation is highly eſteemed amongſt them: The third degree is of Noblemen, and then that of Soldiers. Such as are eſtabliſhed to render right and reaſon to euery man, do puniſh greeuouſly the delinquements.

Their order of Dignities obſerued among them.

They plucke out the eyes of Theeues, and then afterward, giue them a publick Slane to keep them company, and lead them thorow far remote Countries and Kingdomes, getting their liuing by playing on the Harpe; to the ſound whereof, they accord their voices, and ſo go ſinging from doore to doore: and if they chaunce to ſtay in one place more then a day, they are both put to death, the Theefe and the Slaue.

Their puniſhment of Theeues.

They deliuer a Murtherer, into the handes of his Kindred whom he hath ſlaine, to the end, that they may take ſuch vengeance, as to them ſeemeth good, for the outrage committed on their blood.

How they deale with murderers.

If anie deale with Children, in the abhominable ſinne of Sodomy, the offender is iudged (by them) to be worthy of death.

For the ſinne of Sodomy.

And whoſoeuer doth raſhly reuolt from his Religion, is ſtoned to death before al the people. Alſo, hee that tranſgreſſeth the Ceremonies and Commandements of Religion, wickedly blaſpheming God, the glorious Virgin, or the Saints, is burned aliue in a publicke place. Other delicts of leſſer Nature, are iudged according to the will and Arbitrage of the Interpreters of the Lawes.

For reuolt from Religion, and for Blaſphemers.

The *Abyſsines* haue a perticular Language, and Carracters of Letters proper to themſelues, wherein the New Teſtament was imprinted at *Rome*. The Holy Scripture hath alſo beene tranſlated into their *Abiſsine* tongue; and * I my ſelfe (being then a young Lad at *Rome*) began to learne the Language, of one Frier *Peter*, an *Abyſsine*, and of the order of Saint *Francis*, a man of excellent guifts, good life, and greatly beloued by Pope *Paule* the third, and all his Court. This Fryer dwelt behind the Tribunall of S. *Peter*, in the houſe and Church dedicated to the *Abyſsines*, where they celebrated after their maner, and were maintained at the Popes charges.

Of the *Abyſſines*.

*This is ſpoken by *Hierom Giglo* an *Italian*, from whō I tranſlated this whole Chapter.

The *Abyſsines* do not ſtamp anie money, but make vſe of that which commeth from others; which is of gold marked with *Serabeſque* Letters, and they cal thoſe pieces of mony, *Pardals* & *Syraphs*.

Coine vſed by the *Abyſſines*.

They pay their Soldiers in certain pieces of Gold and Siluer, of diuers waightes; and with them alſo, they buy ſuch things as are ſold in the Markets.

They celebrate their weddings with meats very ſolemnly, and if the man or woman be taken in Adultery, they doo repudiate both the one and the other.

Their Celebration of marriage.

They are baptiſed, and yet notwithſtanding that, they adde ſome marke vpon the fore-head, with a hot Iron, and will not wholy leaue the *Hebrue* vſe; for they cut the Prepuce, and take a little fleſh alſo from womens ſecrets.

Their Baptiſme and circumciſion.

The children moſt in yeares, are heirs to their Fathers

Fathers, thorow the Kingdome; and by want of Males, one of the Kinred, being the most vertuous, doth next succeede. This *Prete-Ian* gouerneth many Countreyes, and boundlesse Seas.

The error of some Cosmographers, in situation of his kingdom.

They haue greatly erred, that in their Maps and Tables, haue placed his seate in *Asia*, beeing ignorant that there is a double *India*; the one in *Asia*, and the other in *Ethyopia*. His Kingdome confineth (on the Leuant or East-side) the Red and Barbarian Sea: And on the South, the Sea called *Agisimbe*; and on this side, the Region goeth like a Promontorie towards the South, to the Cape called *De bona Speranza*. Almost at the end of *Prete-Ians* Land, in one of his Kingdomes called *Goyaume*, is the fourse of *Nilus*, a Riuer that runnes bathing all *Ethyopia*; and hauing made a long course, trauersing many Islands (whereof *Meroe* is the greatest) it passeth swelling along *Egypt*. It confineth on the North side, *Egypt* & *Lybia*; and on the West, the lower *Lybia*, and the *Moores*. But the Father of *Prete-Ian*, being a warlicke man, and expert in Armes; amplified and enlarged his Empire; and among other difficult and perrillous Wars, he vanquished the* *Troglodites*, who vsing poysoned Arrowes, he tooke (by the way) King *Casant*, conquered in battell, and smote off his head, as an infamous and cruell Traitor. This man raigned also in that countrey, which looketh plainely Southward to the Sea, called *Magambizique*, and is face to face with the great Isle of Saint *Laurence*. He ouercame likewise the King of *Manicongoso*, who afterward became a Christian: and *Thermeda* Prince of the Blacke-people. He vanquished also King *Selan*, Lord of the *Mahometan Moors*, whose passage was a long time out of *Arabia Fœlix*, by the strait of the Red sea, into the firme Land, neighboring on *Ethyopia*.

The head or spring of the Riuer *Nilus*.

The Father of *Prete-Ian*.

People in the farthest part of *Affrica* beyond *Ethyopia*.

The cõquests of *Prete-Ians* Father.

The Patriark of the *Abyssines*, and his Authority.

These *Abyssines* (for so are they called of all *Prete-Ians* subiects) haue a Patriark, whom they name *Abuna*, that is to say, [*Father*;] hee hath the gouernment of spirituall things, and soueraigne Authority ouer the Priests, which are infinit in number, and distinguished by their churches and Monasteries. To persons badly complexioned in manners, contumations, and corrupted in the right rules of Discipline: hee exerciseth a seuere Censure, and excommunication; so that being expelled and abandoned of all men, they wander and dye miserably starued. This Patriarke maketh residence (with his Senate) in the Cittie of *Borrara*, situate in a Mountaine verie austere and full of Woodes, enuironed with perpetuall umbrages, for his better recreation: and there the braunches of the broad-leafed Trees are so plyant, & twine themselues in manner of an Arch, that though the Countrey be most hot, yet in the midday Sun, little or no heate at all is there felt: for their continuall dewing with healthfull and liuely springes, compleateth the grace of their freshnes and verdure. This Patriark receiueth a great leuy of tenths; as also the Reuennues of the King *Prete-Ian*, who is greatly giuen and affected to Religion, as appeareth by his liberall pietie and deuotion.

The Patriarches place of abiding with his Senate.

The Patriarkes maintenance and liberalitie to the poore.

He distributeth these Treasures to the poore, and to Hospitals, maintaining infinite Monasteries of Friers of diuers orders: of Saint *Anthony*, of Saint *Frances*, of Saint *Augustine*, of Saint *Dominick*, of the *Calagurit ains*, and of the *Macharians*, many whereof he sendeth yearly to *Ierusalem*, to visit the Sepulcher of our Lord Iesus Christ. When the Patriarke dyeth, such Riches of his as is found remaining, returneth to the Exchequer Royall: and then they proceed to new election of another, that shall be iudged to be the most vertuous. Hee liueth chastly, although it bee lawfull for a Priest to take a Wife in Marriage; and yet he may haue no more but one.

Order when the Patriarke deceaseth.

Marriage lawfull to Priests

The only glories of *Prete-Ian* and his *Ethyopians*, are, that they do repute themselues to be the verie ancientest Nation among men, because they haue alwayes liued in their innated libertie, and were neuer conquered, either by *Semyramis*, nor *Hercules*, nor *Dyonisius*, nor the Romaines; but they themselues vanquished King *Cambyses*, and ouer-threw his potent armie. Heereto they adde a more true and eminent glorie indeede, which is, that they were one of the first nations, in receipt of the christian Faith, wel-neer from the verie beginning thereof. By meanes of the Eunuch, vnto the famous Queene *Candace*, who was baptized by Saint *Phillip*. And that since their Conuersion, they haue constantly kept the same Religion, for so many hundreds of yeares. Albeit, that during this time, they haue

The glories of *Prete-Ian* & his Nation.

King *Cambyses* conquered by this Nation.

A famous note of Antiquity.

haue beene generally (euen as yet they are at this day) molleſted, aſſaulted, and enuironed with *Moores*, *Sarazins*, & the Idolatrous Worſhippers of *Mahomet*. And yet, notwithſtanding all thoſe cruel Tempeſts (which heeretofore deſtroyed the *Romaine* Empire, and the very greateſt part of Chriſtendom, *Ethyopia* could neuer hitherto be ſpoyled, either of their Dominion or Religion, albeit ſome Idolatrous mixture hath crept thereinto: which is the leſſe to bee maruelled at, if we may credit their own ſaying, in alledging their conſtancie and Antiquity, becauſe they deriue their Noble Originall and continuance, from the royall Kings, *Dauid* and *Salomon*; of whome, the bleſſed Virgin *Marie* (Mother to our Sauiour) deſcended, and he himſelfe, according to the fleſh.

Ethyopia could neuer be conquered.

Whence the Ethyopians do deriue their antiquitie.

The people of this Nation, doo hold our Lord God in great reuerence, & the Redeemer of the world; Next, the moſt Bleſſed Virgin, and Saint *Thomas* the Apoſtle more then any other of the Saints. Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundered and forty, ſent an Ambaſſadour vnto the *Prete-Ian* then liuing. And afterward, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie three, Pope *Clement* the ſeauenth, and the Emperour *Charles* the fift, being met together at *Bologna*, an Ambaſſador came to them, from valiant *Dauid* King of *Ethyopia*, being named *Don Frances Aluarez*, a *Portuguais*, to whom audience was giuen in the publicke Conſiſtory, the 29. day of Ianuary. There hee preſented the Letter (enſuing) to his Holineſſe, & (in name of his King) he gaue the obedience obſerued from Antiquity, and likewiſe in his name, preſented a Croſſe of Golde, waighing a pound; hauing firſt kiſſed his foot, hand, and mouth. The Letter was written in the *Ethyopian* Language, afterward tranſlated into the *Portugall* tongue, then into *Latine*, and againe into *Italian*, and it was read by the Secretary to his Holineſſe, in the publick preſence.

The Religion of this Nanō.

Ambaſſadors ſent to *Prete-Ian*.

Letters ſent from *Prete-Ian* to the Pope.

A Letter ſent from the moſt Mighty Dauid, *King of* Æthyopia, *to the moſt Holy Father*, *Pope* Clement *the ſeauenth.*

MOſt Happy and Holie Father, ordained of God to be the Conſecrator of men, and to ſit in the ſeat of Saint *Peter*; to whom the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen was giuen, and whatſoeuer he bound or looſed on earth, the like ſhould be done in Heauen, as Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe ſpake, and Saint *Mathew* hath written in his Goſpell: The King to whoſe name Lyons doo reuerence, and (by the grace of God) named in Baptiſm, *Atanatingil*, that is to ſay, *Inſpired by the Virgin*; but after I tooke the royall Scepter, was named *Dauid*, Beloued of God, a Piller of the Faith, of the Line of *Iuda*; the ſonne of *Dauid*, the ſonne of *Salomon*, ſonne to the Piller of *Sion*, ſonne of the ſeed of *Iacob*, ſonne to the hands of *Mary*, by carnall ſucceſsion, and ſon of *Nahu*, Emperor of high *Ethyopia*, of manie great Kingdomes, Iuriſdictions, and Lands; King of *Xoa*, of *Caffata*, of *Fatigar*, of *Angota*, of *Baru*, of *Bellenguangna*, of *Adear*, of *Vangua*, of *Gazama*, whence iſſueth *Nilus*, of *Amara*, of *Burgnamedi*, of *Ambea*, of *Tigremalion*, of *Sabata*, where raigned the Queen of *Saba*, of *Bernagaes*, and Lord ſo farre as to *Egipt*. All theſe Landes are vnder my power, and manie others, great and ſmall, which I neyther number or expreſſe by their names, as induced thereto by any pride: but onely to the end, that the ſoueraigne God may be praiſed, who hath beſtowed Chriſtian Religion on ſo many great Kingdomes; and hath enlarged to me ſo great a grace as continually I may do him ſeruice, hauing made me a Capitall enemie to the Moores, and ſuch as worſhip Idolles. I ſend to kiſſe the feete of your Holineſſe, as other Chriſtian Princes vſe to doo, to whom I am not the meaneſt both in power

* Or Goyama

wer and Religion. I am in my Realmes, a ſtrong Collumb of the Faith, and haue no neede of any other, but put in God my whole hope and ſuccour, he hauing alwaies ſuſtained and gouerned me ſince ſuch time as the Angell of God ſpake to Saint *Phillip*, when hee taught the true & ſincere Faith vnto the Eunuch, belonging to the potent Queene *Candace*, Qu. of *Ethyopia*, when hee returned from *Ieruſalem* to *Gaza*, where Saint *Phillip* baptized the ſaid Eunuch; by whom likewiſe the Queen was afterward baptized, with a great part of her houſe and people. The ſucceſſors of which famous Queene, did neuer ſince faile in true Chriſtianity, but haue continued euermore firme & conſtant in the faith, ſo that my predeceſſors haue not beene holpen by any but God, and haue extended the Chriſtian Faith, as I haue laboured to do the like.

I keepe my ſelfe impaled within mine own limits, like a Lyon compaſſed with: in a thicke Forreſt, ſtrong againſt the Moores, and other Nations enemies to Chriſt, that will not heare the worde of God, nor my faithfull exhortations. I haue purſued them with my ſword in my hand, and (by little and litle) chaſed them from their Neſtes, by the helpe of God, who neuer failed mee; which hath not happened in like manner to other Chriſtian Kings; for when they wold extend their limits, they went not againſt Infidelles, as eaſily they might haue done, by meanes of aſsiſting one another, beſides their further aid of your Holineſſe Benediction, wherein I alſo claime a part. For among my Charters, there is found the Letter of Pope *Eugenius*, which he ſent heeretofore (with his benediction) to the King of the ſeed of *Iacob*; of which benediction, I haue iouiſſance, and highly delight in it.

Beſide this, I holde the Temple of *Ieruſalem* in great honor, and thither I ſend goodly offeringes by my Pilgrims, and much more rich, and coſtly ſhould they bee, if the wayes were aſſured from Infidelles, who beſide their robbing the meſſengers of their preſents, do hinder them alſo from free paſſage. And if the voyage to *Rome* were free and open, I wold com in familiarity and company of the *Roman* Church, as other Chriſtian Princes do, to whom I am not inferiour. For, euen as they do, I confeſſe one direct faith, and one Catholicke Church, I beleeue ſincerely in the holy Trinity, one only God, and I beleeue the virginity of our bleſſed Lady. I hold and keepe the Articles of the Faith, as they were written by the Apoſtles.

At this preſent, the Lord God by the hand of the moſt puiſſant King * *Emanuel*, hath opened the way, to the end that we may viſit one another by Embaſsies, and (ioyntly in faith) ſerue one God. But it ſo pleaſed God, that his Ambaſſadors being in our Court, they told vs tydings of his death, and the ſucceſsion of his ſon (my Brother *Iohn*) in the Crown. So that the death of the Father, brought me not more griefe and diſcontent, then the happy comming of his ſon to the Kingdom, cauſed ioy and gladneſſe.

Aed ſuch is my hope, that ioyning our forces and Armies together, we may run thorough the Prouinces of the Moores, and vtterly deſtroy them. By which meanes, Chriſtians may (more commodiouſlie) go and returne from the Temple of *Ieruſalem*. And as I earneſtly deſire, that I may be made pertaker of the loue of God, in the Temples of the holy Apoſtles *Paule* and *Peter*, ſo do I wiſh to haue the Benediction of the Vicar of Ieſus Chriſt, which (without any doubt) I repute you to be.

I heare manie things alſo of your ſanctitie to Pilgrimes, which go from our Regions vnto *Ieruſalem*, and thence to *Rome*, returning backe miraculouſlie, which hath beene to mee vnſpeakeable pleaſure. But indeed, I ſhould receiue much greater contentment, if my Ambaſſadors could vſe a ſhorter way, and bring me (at all times) tidings from you, which I hope they will doo heereafter, ſometime before I die, God aſsiſting, whō I pray maintaine you in health and holineſſe. So be it. I kiſſe your Holie feete, and humblie pray your Holineſſe to ſend me your bleſſing.

* This was the K. of *Portugal*.

An other Letter sent from the same Prete-Ian, to the fore-named Holy Father.

IN the name of God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heauen and of earth, and of all thinges visible and inuisible. In the Name of God the Sonne, Iesus Christ, who is one and the same with him, from the beginning of the world, Light of Lights, verie God of very God. In the name of God the holy spirit, liuing God, proceeding from God the Father: [I] the King, to whose Name Lyons doo reuerence, send you these Letters, and by the Grace of God, am called *Athani-Tinghil*, that is to say, *Incense of the Virgin*, the sonne of King *Dauid*, the sonne of *Salomon*, son of the King of the hand of *Mary*, the son of *Nahum* by carnall succession, sonne of S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* by grace; Peace bee with you iust Lord, Holy Father, Mightie, pure and consecrate, that is the chief of all Byshops, not fearing any, nor anie one being, that may speake malediction of you; who is vigilant ouer soules, the friend of Pilgrims, a Holy Maister, Preacher of faith, and capitall enemie vnto all things that offend conscience, a louer of good manners, a holy man, lauded and blessed of all.

O happy holy Father, I render ye obedience with great reuerence; you beeing the peace of all, deseruing all goodnesse, procuring (by duty) that al should render ye obeysance, as the holie Apostles commanded, next vnto God. It is truly saide of you, and the same Apostles commanded vs, to do reuerence to Byshops, Archbyshops and Prelates. Also to loue you in place of a Father, reuerencing ye in place of a King, and to haue Faith in you as in God. For this reason, I bowing my Knees humbly to the earth, doo acknowledge you with a pure and sincere heart for my Father, and that I am your Sonne.

O most Holie and mightie father, why haue you not sent some one hither to vs, to the end, that you might bee informed of my life and helth, you being the shepheard and I your sheepe? For the good Shepheard neuer forgetteth his flocke. I should not seem to be too far from your Regions, but that your Messengers may haue the meanes to come hither, considering that the King of *Portugal Emanuel*, your Son, hath verie commodiously, and from much farther Regions of land, sent me his Ambassadors. And if God had deferred a little longer his calling to heauen, doubtles those matters that then were in discussion between vs, wold haue succeeded to an happie end. But my desire is at this present (euen so much as can be) to heare good, wholesome and prosperous things of your holinesse, by messengers trusty and faithful, & sent expressly: becausé I haue neuer receiued anie word from your Holinesse, but heard only some smal matters, by such as haue gon on pilgrimage in my name, and yet neuer broght me any of your letters. But in our interogations, they haue answerd (vncertainly enough) that hauing paide their vowes and deuotions at *Ierusalem*, they went afterward to *Rome*, to visit the ports of the Holy Apostles, hauing first of all vnderstood, that it was easie enough for them to abide in those Countries, and to be accounted as Christians. And surelie, it pleased mee highly to heare their discourse, by meanes whereof (in a sweete conceiued immagination) me thought I beheld and contemplated the figure of your Holy face, which seemed to me like that of an Angell; and I confesse to loue and honor it as Angellicall. But assuredly, it would be more sweet and acceptable to mee, deuoutly to contemplate your words and Letters. Wherefore, I praie you at this present, that it would please you to send me your *Nuntio*, with your benediction to reioyce my hart.

For seeing we are both of one faith & Religion, me thinkes that (aboue all thinges else) I should require you to do this. Most humbly praying you also, that as you put the Gold Ring vpon your Finger, and the Chaine of Gold about your necke: euen so, you wold place my amitie in the depth of your heart, that the memorie thereof may neuer bee lost. For, by kinde Wordes, and Graci-

ous Letters, amity encreaſeth ſtronglie; eſpecially when it is embraced by holy peace, from whence (doubtleſſe) all humaine ioy proceedeth. And like as the man that is extream thirſty, deſireth earneſtly freſh water, as is to be found in the ſacred Writings; euen ſo my heart longeth, to haue Newes by Meſſengers and Letters from farre-off Countries, wherein I take incredible pleaſure. And not only if I might hear ſome matter of your Holineſſe: but alſo, if ſuch Newes bee certaine, which haue been reported to me, concerning Chriſtian Princes, which ioy would be anſwereable to that, which Conquerors get by rich ſpoiles and purchaſes.

Which now at this time may the more eaſily be done, becauſe the King of *Portugall* hath opened the paſſage, which long time hath beene vſed, ſending mee his Ambaſſadours, accompanied with many valiant Knights, in the time of his Father *Emanuel*, & while he liued. Since when, I haue receiued neither Embaſsie nor Letters from any Chriſtian King, much leſſe from any Pope. Albeit in our Rolles, or Treaſury of Charters, which belonged ſometime to our great Grandfather, is preſerued the memorie of Letters from a Pope of *Rome*, named *Eugenius*, ſent into theſe parts, when the ſeed of *Iacob* raigned, the King of Kinges thoroughout all *Ethyopia*, & the ſuperſcription of the ſaide Letters was in this manner: *Eugenius Pope of Rome, to our Weil-beloued Sonne, the King of the ſeede of Iacob, King of Kings throughout all Ethyopia, worthy to be reuerenced.* And by the ſummary of the ſaide Letters, hee declared, that his Sonne *Iohn Paleologus*, who was as forgotten two yeares before, K. of the *Romaines*, was called from *Conſtantinople*, to celebrat the ſacred Counſel, and with him went *Ioſeph* the Patriarke of *Conſtantinople*, accompanied with a great number of Arch-byſhops, Byſhops, and Prelates of all ſorts; and among them alſo aſſiſted the Procuraters of the Patriarkes of *Antioch*, of *Alexandria*, and of *Ieruſalem*, all aſſembled with him in loue of the holy faith and religion. By meanes whereof the vnity of the Church was confirmed, with grace of the Lord, and al difficulties of the paſſed times (which appeared to be erroneous, and contrary to Chriſtian religion) taken away: which things, being by good order eſtabliſhed and confirmd, the ſame Pope had giuen to all the world occaſion of reioicing, as to each one perticulerly.

Now at this time, wee ſend you this Book of pope *Eugenius*, that hath alwaies bin kept by vs without corruption. We would alſo in like maner haue ſent ye, the tract of the order and power of the pontificall benediction, had not the Volume bin ouer-great, for truly it is as big as the Booke of S. *Paul* to the Gentiles. And the Legates which brought theſe things hither on the Popes behalfe, were *Theodorus*, *Petrus Dydimus*, and *George*, ſeruants of Ieſus Chriſt. But you (moſt holie Father, ſhall do well to command that the Bookes of your Rols may be turned ouer and peruſed, where I think you ſhall find ſome memory of this which I haue written vnto ye, that if any thing be reſerued on our behalfe, it may be diligently regiſtred among our Bookes, that perpetuall memory thereof may remaine to our poſterity & ſucceſſors. And truly, I account him moſt happy, whoſe memory is in letters preſerued in the holy City of Rome, the ſeat of S. *Peter* and S. *Paule*, who are Lords in Heauen, & Iudges of the whole world. And becauſe my beleefe is ſuch, I ſend yee theſe preſents, to the end, that I may win grace with your holineſſe, and with your moſt ſacred Colledge, hoping that from thence will come holy benediction, with encreaſe of all goodneſſe.

Moreouer, I do intreat your Holineſſe to ſend me ſome Images of the Saints, & principally of the virgin *Mary* to the end that the name of hir and of your holines, may be often in my mouth and memory, and that I may continualy take delight in your preſents. I alſo require ye to ſend me ſome Artezans and workmen, that know how to make thoſe Images, and ſwordes and armor of all kinds, to fight withal; as alſo ſuch as can engraue in Gold and Siluer, Maiſter-Carpenters, Architects, and Maſons, to make houſes of ſtone. And men that are skilfull in Caſting of Lead, Copper and Braſſe, to couer the tops of thoſe houſes. Beſide theſe men, we ſhall highly eſteeme ſuch worke in Glaſſe, or ſuch as are Falconers, & ſuch as can make Inſtruments of Muſicke; as alſo ſuch as can play on Flutes & trompets. Al which workemen, I deſire that may bee of your houſe; or if you bee not ſo ſufficiently prouided,

prouided, your Holineſſe may eaſily win ſuch from other Chriſtian Kinges your children, who are all obedient vnto your command: aſſuring yee, that no ſooner ſhall thoſe workemen heere arriue, but they ſhall be held in great honour, according to the ſeuerall merit of euerie man, and ſhall receiue of my liberality, ample courteſie, reward, and wages: with this condition, that if any one heereafter, be deſirous to returne into his owne Country, hee ſhall depart from my Court ſo well recompenced, as ſhall giue him cauſe to reſt contented, carrying hence with him, ſuch thinges as himſelfe ſhall pleaſe, for I wil not keep any man againſt his mind, when I haue receiued ſom benefit of his Art.

Now am I to ſpeake of other things, and would gladly demand of you Holie Father, why you doe not admoniſh the Chriſtian Kings your Children, to agree among themſelues, as it becommeth brethren, conſidering they are of your flock and you their Shepheard? And wel doth your Holineſſe know that which is commanded in the Goſpell, where it is ſaide; *Euery Kingdome diuided in it ſelfe ſhall bee deſolate.* For, if the kings of Chriſtendom were vnited and leagued together, eaſilie might they deſtroy the Mahometans, & all other Infidelles, and all their actions wold ſucceed to their wiſh; ruinating the Sepulchre of that falſe Prophet, which is in the Citty of *Mecha*. Wherefore I pray ye, to labour a firme league of amitie among them, exhorting them to lend me fauour and ſuccor. For, on all the Confines of my Kingdomes, I am enuironed with Moores, Mahometans, and wicked people, who (neuertheleſſe) do hold ſuch fidelity together, as wee ſee not the like. They interchangeably aide one another, making alliance Kings with Kinges, and Lords with Lords, in great Loyaltie and conſtancie, and all againſt vs. There is a King *Moore* my Neighbor, whom al the other *Moare*-Kings (his Neighbours) do furniſh with Armes, horſes, and all other Inſtruments for warre. Theſe men, are the Kings of *India*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and *Egipt*, by whom I daily receiue much grieuance, beholding the enimies of Chriſtianity ioyned together in brotherly charity, enioying peace: & chriſtian Kings my Brethren, not according togither in any maner, nor are moued at their outrages, or any way giuing mee ſuccour, as is the duty of al chriſtians. And ſo much the rather, becauſe the moſt filthy ſons of *Mahomet* ſo aid one another. Not that (in this reſpect) I would haue you think that I deſire any forces for ſuch an enterpriſe, for I haue ſufficient of mine owne, and more then I need. But I intreat only your Prayers and Oriſons to God, and couet to find grace with your holineſſe, & with all other Kings my Brethren.

This is the reaſon why I ſeeke amitie with you and them, to the end, of beeing furniſhed abundantly, with ſuch things as are before required, to the feare and aſtoniſhment of the *Moores*, and that my neighbours (enemies vnto the Chriſtians name) may know, that Chriſtian Kinges (my Brethren) can giue me fauor and aſſiſtance, which truly appertaineth to our common honor, ſince we agree in vnitie of Faith and true religion. We are reſolued to continue firme in this counſell & deliberation, which ſeemeth to Vs, moſt aſſured, perfect, and profitable. God fulfill your deſires to the praiſe of Ieſus Chriſt, and of God our Father, whoſe name be praiſed of al, in al ages. And you holie Father, embrace mee with all the Saints of Ieſus Chriſt, which are at *Rome*: and in the ſame imbracement, I pray yee to receiue al the inhabitants of my kingdomes, and they that remaine in *Ethyopia*. Thankes be rendred to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, by your ſpirit.

Your Holineſſe ſhall receiue theſe Letters, by the helpe of my Brother King Iohn, ſon to the moſt potent King Emanuell, by the handes of Frances Aluarez our Ambaſſador.

CHAP. II.

Of the ouergreat Superſtition of the Queen of Maugy, *who loſt her mighty Eſtate, by putting too much confidence in the predictions of Aſtrologers.*

THat Superſtition is a verie great Vice, bringing manie diſcommodities and daungers; vnto ſuch as are thereto inclined, may Ordinarily bee ſeene, As for example: if

Note the vain opinion of this world, in meeting some accidents on the way.

If a man (returning from some iourney, or setting forth vpon it, his businesse being serious and importent, if hee chance to meet an old Woman on the way, or perceiueth a Hare to crosse the passage before him, he presently takes it for an euill encounter, and to presage some perill towards him.

Some Huntsmen also are of opinion, that if they meete a Priest or a Frier vpon the way, as they ride on Hunting, they shall surely (that day) not take any thing. Some others, if they but heare a Pie to chatter, they shall shortly vnderstand of euill tidinges. There are some also, so strangely incensed, that they verilie beleeue, if they meete a Serpent or Snake: that day no inconuenience can betide them; with diuers other vanities beside, which sauour much more of Paganisme, then of any Christianity. Such superstitions were deepely grounded among the *Romaine* people, yea, much more then in any other, witnesse their *Auspices*, that is; their Consultations which they wold make, before they began any war or expedition, by the obseruation of Birds, beholding their flight, listening their songs, and whether they fed wel or ill; in regard whereof, they lost many commodities in their warres. And it is not to be doubted, but that euerie superstitious Captain, wil hardly do any thing of desert; which *Cicero* well noted in his Bookes of Diuination, and maketh a mockery thereat.

The Romains were greatly addicted vnto superstitions.

Cicero in Lib. de Diuinat.

This follie is dispersed thorough the world, but yet in some Countries more then other. As among the *Asian Tartars* who are so much addicted to iudicial Astrologie, and therein so superstitious, as they will neither build a House, Village, Cittie, Temple, or any other building whatsoeuer, but at laying the first stone, they will set downe in Writing, the day, the houre, the moneth, and the season. The like they do at the Natiuitie of their Children, then they consult with Astrologers and **Genethliaques*, who then doo fore-tell what pleaseth themselues. And these people are now (at this day) more superstitious in these affaires, then euer they were. And this is the matter which I am now to speake of, in shewing that a woman (being too much ouer-swaied by these superstitions, lost one of the verie faireſt Estates in the worlde, and how it hapned, I shall briefely relate.

The *Tartarres* of Asia very superstitious.

* Casters of mens fortune by the day & houre of their birth.

The *Tartarian* Annales do declare, that there was a King of *Maugy*, named *Iada*, who beeing on Hunting, espyed a great Lake of Fresh-Water, thorough the middest whereof, passed so strong a Riuer, as was able to beare a Boat, which came from the East *Indiaes*, a rich countrey. Heereon he considered, that for Commerce and good of his Kingdome, the Territorie round about it was fruitfull, and the Lakes Water nourished great store of Fish, a faire Hauen also, being not farre off thence, standing for the benefit of all Windes, being on the Ocean Sea, which is (almost) continually calme, and in that quarter it would be verie conuenient to build a Citie. Hauing had Communication in this case with his Counsell, and they allowing the goodnesse of his conceit, hee gaue order to them, for further proceeding in the purpose: this hapned in the yeare of the worlde, according to their supputation, fiue thousand, sixe hundred. This Citie was founded vpon piles, and (according to their Custome) they consulted with their *Genethliaques*, to know if this Cittie should flourish and continue for any length of time. Whereto they answered, that it should neuer fall into anie others power, but only of them as should be of the Lignage of *Iada*, first founder thereof, vntill such time, as a man (who should haue an hundered eies, all clearly seeing) came to besiege it. The Cittie was named *Quinsay*, a worde corrupted of *Kynsin*, or *Chetin*, in the *Iauian* tongue, which signifieth a Happy Cittie, and whereof, the whole Prouince where it is seated, tooke the Name of *Quinzi*. There are two Castles, which command on the Sea, and are adioyning vnto the Lake before named: and there doo the Waters of the Riuer of *Babala*, yeelde surrender of themselues, as they make their passage ouer the Lake.

Of *Iada* the King of *Maugie*, and his hunting.

Determination, for building a Citty.

The foundation of the Citty of *Quinsay*.

It is seated about forty siue degrees on this side the Tropicke, in the sixt climate, and the tenth Paralell. This goodly Cittie containeth (as such as haue Voyaged thither say) fiue good Leagues or thereabout in circuit: which is verie likely to be true, by reason it is erected in the water; and the streetes are verie large, the Pallace great, and forced Garden-plots: the whole bodie being planted at ease, & so well disposed, as a man may goe thorough

The scituation of *Quinsay*

The greatnes and commodiousnesse of the Citty.

rough all the Cittie on Land, and in the Channels alſo, which are large, eaſie, & great, becauſe the Barkes may the ſooner paſſe them. Horſes alſo may eaſily paſſe through the ſtreets, to bring ſuch things as are neceſſarie for them of the Citty: And there is no encloſed City in the whole Vniuerſe, either on this ſide, or beyond the Equator, of ſuch wonderfull greatneſſe. In regard of the goodlie Scituation, it required no long time of peopling, & frequentation of Merchant-ſtrangers, comming from many Countries: as from the rich Eaſterne *Indiaes*, by the Riuer of *Babala*; and by Sea, the *Ethyopians*, *Armenians*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, *Scythians*, and others. Heereupon the King failed not to graunt good ſtore of immunities, to draw inhabitants thither: which ſorting to his expectation, hee builded a verie beautifull Pallace, that ſtandeth yet intirely whole.

The Traffick and reſort to *Quinſay*.

Now, it came to paſſe fiue hundered yeares after, that there raigned a King, very rich, named *Facfur*; by whom, the Kingdomes were ſeated in the great Prouince of *Maugy*, which is ſaid to be one of the verie greateſt in the world; and by whom, the Lands and Seigneuries were ſo well fortified, as they were thought to be inuincible. By means whereof, none durſt aſſaile or meddle with them; and this was the cauſe, that both the King and his people left off, and ſuffered the exerciſe of Armes to grow quite out of vſe. For euerie Cittie was circled and engirt with great and deepe ditches (brim-full of Water) as alſo with huge walles, verie ſtrongly flanked with goodlie Towers & vnder-props. And in thoſe times, he had (at the leaſt) the number of one thouſand and fiue hundred, but now they can reckon no more then eleauen hundred; and yet hee had no Horſes for warre, or anie other ſeruice; and this aſſurance occaſioned, that the King made no vſe of time, but continually tooke his delight & pleaſure. He had ordinarily in his Court a thouſand Gentlemen, beſide his traine of Seruants and Officers, which was great and honourable. Neuertheleſſe, hee held Iuſtice in higheſt eſteeme, affecting peace and tranquility, and he was verie mercifull. No man durſt offend, or do wrong to his Neighbor, but he was ſure of ſeuere punniſhment. In breefe, his Kingdome was of ſuch freedome and aſſurance, that (many times) Tradeſ-men left their ſhops wide open in the Night, yet none durſt be ſo bolde, as enter into them.

Facfur the rich King of *Maugy*.

Opinion of ſtrength, breeds neglect of martiall Diſcipline and is the cauſe of too much ſecuritie.

The Royaltie of the Kings Court, & his Vertues.

This would do well in all parts of the world.

Strangers and Trauailers paſſing thorough the Countrey, might goe both night and day in ſafe ſecuritie, without feare of any man. In like manner, the King was verie kind and charitable to the poore, and neuer ſuffered ſuch as were in extreame pouerty, to complaine of their want and indigence. Moreouer, euerie yeare (by diligent ſearch) he aſſembled together a great number of children, expoſed as Orphans, and forſaken of their Parents (whereof ſometimes there were twentie thouſand) and them he cauſed to be kept & brought vp at his own charge, beſide many other Charities which wold require much time to reherſe, and which is not vſed by chriſtian Princes elſwhere. And although he was a Pagan and Idolater, yet hee ſuffered Iewes and Chriſtians (whereof ſome were *Neſtorians*) to liue in all his Kingdoms; and theſe things were in the yeare of Grace, 1268.

Great charitie to poore Children.

Cublay, King of the *Tartars*, was then accounted one of the greateſt Princes in the world; for he had (as ſome haue left in writings) thirty or fortie great Kingdomes. Such as make any doubt heerof, let them read *M. Paulus*, who was (at that time) in thoſe parts, a verie true Author, and they ſhall find much more then I can heere ſpeake of. His Captaines gaue him to vnderſtand, that they could not find any more lands to conquer: for the Sea, and verie huge deſerts had ſet a period at their Conqueſts, only this Kingdome of *Maugy* excepted, which confined on ſom lands of the great *Cham Cublay*. Now, albeit *Facfur* was a frend, and had giuen no occaſion of making warre vpon him, only becauſe he was almoſt as powerfull as the ſaid *Cublay*, yet *Cublay* was now aduiſed to contend for ſuperioritie, and to make his great neighbor tributary vnto him. So minding to vſe his men of war, he found them at variance among themſelues, and that a great buſineſſe was firſt to be ended, touching his two nephewes, whereof I haue formerly ſpoken. Heereupon, *Neſtordin* a neere Kinſman to *Cublay*, was choſen for this expedition, albeit hee was not then in the Court; but the Commiſſions beeing directed to his abiding, the king had newes ſent him, that

Cublay King of the *Tartars* and his number of Kingdomes.

The euer-great ambition in *Cublay*.

The extraction of *Baiam Chinſan*, a valiant Baſtard.

he died two dayes before of a ſtraunge ſickneſſe. Wherefore, the charge of this buſineſſe, was tranſ-ferred to *Baiam Chinſan*, the Sonne of a publicke poore Woman, not auouched by anie Father, and he was borne with many ſpottes on his bodie, verie neere reſembling the eies of a man; whereby hee had the ſirname giuen him of *Baiam Chinſan*, which ſignifieth in their Language, the ſight of an hundred eyes.

The education of *Baiam*.

This poore Boy was brought vp by his Mother, ſo well as her pouerty would permit, not hauing any man that would auouch her to be his wife. As he grew in ſtature, he addicted his minde to follow one of the Emperors Armies, beeing at firſt but as a Lackey or Drudge, that carried a Soldiers furniture after him. Afterward, hauing attained to more yeares and ſtrength, he was entertained as a Soldier, becomming firſt a Corporall: next Enſigne, Lieutenant, Captaine, or Chiefe, then a Colonell: at length, being knowne a man of vnderſtanding, valiant, and fortunate, he had the charge of an Army, which hee guided ſo ſucceſſefully, that he annexed to the Crowne of *Cublay*, Emperour of *Tartaria*, and his Maiſter, ten great Prouinces or Kingdomes, to wit; *Miena*, *Caraiena*, *Beugala*, *Canguigu*, *Amu*, *Tholomana*, *Gnigui*, *Cacanſu*, *Ciangli*, and *Tadiufu*: and he neuer attempted any matter, but he brought it to full effect, except the conqueſt of *Piamſu*, whereof I am to ſpeake elſwhere.

The famous Conqueſts of *Baiam Chinſan*.

Baiam entred into *Maugy*, and ſummoned the King and diuers Cities.

Baiam entred with a great Armie into the Prouince of *Maugy*, and ſummoned the King to render himſelfe tributary, or elſe he would warre vpon him, for and in the name of his Prince *Cublay*: but the King made anſwere, that he had no ſuch intention. Wherefore, at his firſt arriuall, he beſiedged the Cittie of *Coniuganguy*, and ſummoned the Cittizens thereof to yeelde themſelues: as alſo, to take an Oath of fidelity and obedience to the Emperor *Cublay*, which they likewiſe refuſed to do. By meanes whereof, hauing heard their anſwere, he raiſed his ſiege, and departed thence, without offering them anie other harme or molleſtation. Afterward, hee did as much to the next Citty, which alſo made the like refuſall.

Paſsing on, he ſummoned four or fiue other Citties, all which refuſed yeilding: but comming to the ſixt, he aſſailed it in great furie, and tooke it by aſſault: which being done, he returned backe vpon the other Citties, which he took and ruined; ſo that in very ſhort time, he ſubdued & tooke twelue Cities. For, he had in his Army verie braue and valiaunt men, all pickt or choiſe Soldiers, bold and courageious. And the Great *Cham*, ſent him another Armie, as a freſh ſupply of as great power as the firſt, which gaue great terror to them of *Maugy*, cauſing them to wax deſperate, and their hearts to faile them. And King *Facfur* himſelfe, hauing had ſuch deare experience of the corage and valour of the *Tartars*, and perceiuing how they proceeded on ſtill in their vndanted fury, became ſo much amazed, that he betooke himſelfe to ſea, with ſo many people as hee could muſter togither, withdrawing into an impregnable Iſland, hauing with him aboue a thouſand ſhips; and leauing the guard of the Citie of *Quinſay*, to the diſpoſition of his wife, there to haue her beſt ſupport & defence. In this extreamity the Queen contained very manly courage: and caried her ſelfe ſo prouidently, as nothing wanted whatſoeuer, that was iudged neceſſary for ayd and defence of the Cittie. For ſhee had fiftie thouſand men of warre, both Inhabitants and ſtrangers, and twelue or fifteene thouſand Diuers, men that coulde abide long time vnder water, and pierce the bottomes of the enemies ſhips to ſink them in the Riuer. The Cittie was well furniſhed with Victuals, and all needfull Munition, to endure a long ſiege, impeaching (euerie way) the entrance into the Hauen, by the Sea. Neuertheleſſe, the Queene and the chiefe Commaunders were poſſeſſed with ouer-great ſuperſtition, till they heard, that he who maintained the ſiege, was named *Baiam Chinſan*, that is (as we haue formerly ſaid) the ſight of an hundred eies. This made both her and them to tremble with feare, remembring both the Father and ſon: and alſo, becauſe it was regiſtred in the bookes which were kept in the publick treaſurie, that neuer ſhould the Citty be ſurprized, but by a man that had an hundered eyes; and therefore they reſolued to yeelde it, though it ſeemed a matter wholly impoſſible, yea quite againſt nature, that a man ſhould haue an hundred eyes. As they were vppon the point of ſurrendering the

Twelue Cities ſubdued by *Baiam*.

King *Facfur* leaueth *Quinſay*, and goeth to a ſtrong Iſland.

The defence of the Cittie of *Quinſay*.

The Queene and her people too ſuperſtitious.

The Christians opposed themselues against the redition of *Quinsay* to the Enemy.

the Cittie by composition; the Christians, who had liued in all quietnesse in those Countries; by the meanes of their Bishop *Gaspar*, declared in the full Senate, where the Queen also was present: that no regard was to be made of such Prognosticks, as proceeded from lying Mathematicians, and Genethliaques, to whom if the Mans Name appeared for to haue the sight of an hundred eyes; yet notwithstanding, the man himselfe had onely but two, as other men haue, and these were but the illusions of Sathan, the Father of lying, heereupon, some in the Senate-house alledged many Histories, which happened in their time; to shew how vaine these friuolous predictions were. Neuertheless, the Cowardise of diuers, that neuer vnderstood the nature of warre, or what honour attended on bold hardiment, they being of the greatest in authority, and relying on these foolish superstitions; concluded to surrender the Citty. Wherefore, hauing made (by consent of the Queene) an honest capitulation: they suffered the Enemy to enter, that kept faith exactly with them. Whereat *Baiam* was not a little amazed, for hee imagined his strength neuer able to surprize it. *Cublay* being aduertised thereof, caused generall processions to be made, and sollemne sacrifices performed to the Sun; mocking at the superstition of the *Quinsayans*, and admiring the vnmatchable fortune attending on *Baiam*. As for the Queene, she retyred her selfe to the Court of the great *Cham*, who receiued and vsed her very honourably: and concerning the King of *Maugy* her Husband, he continued his aboade in the Island, where he ended his daies.

Quinsay yeelded vp to *Baiam* and his power.

The capitall Citty being taken, the lesser yeilded.

At that instant also, the nine Kingdoms contained in that Prouince, yeilded themselues: except the Citty of *Stanfu*, which out-held the *Tartars* Army three whole yeares. And it had neuer beene taken, but that *M. Paulus*, and his Father and Vnckle (by permission of the *Tartarian* Emperour) made Engines of Wood, which hurled great Stones into the Citty, and did such harme to the so long besiedged; as they were constrained to yeilde themselues. Thus you may perceiue, that superstition is the cause of much euill, for doubtlesse, if the Queene and the besieged had stil kept *Quinsay*, and the other Cities: an hundred years labour could not haue conquered the Kingdomes of *Maugy*.

These Kingdomes could not haue been conquered in an hundred yeares.

And heere I would entreat the gentle Readers, not to conceiue amisse of me, for not following the writing of *M. Paulus*, in his description of *Quinsay*, for hee saith: That there is in the midst thereof a lake, which containeth ten miles in circuit, and that the Cittie is 34. miles in compasse, and hath sixe hundred thousand Houses in it. I rather thought fit, to follow what I finde written in a Dialogue, made by *Garcias Orta*, a Portugall Phisitian, who saith: That it is not aboue thirty fiue yeares since he wrote, that it contained not aboue foure or fiue leagues in compasse, beeing seated wholly in a Lake, and hath not aboue threescore thousand Houses in it. I know not whether it be diminished, since the said *Venetian* came thence. It valued in reuennewes, fifteene Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes, to the King yearely, in regard of his right (by way of leuey) vpon merchandises; and yet not counting the Toule hide on Salt, and this was but the ninth part of the great Prouince of *Maugy*. At this day, as I heard by a Iesuite of *Chalons* in *Champaigne*, named *Gobert*, who told me, that he remained there aboue two yeares: and he saith, that the valuation is much more now at this instant.

What the state of *Quinsay* is in these dayes.

The great Reuennues of *Quinsay* yearly to the king.

Augustus Cæsar made better vse of his superstition, then the men of *Quinsay*, or their Queene did; for, a little before the last battaile, which hee had against his Competitor *Anthonie*: as he went from his Land-Army, to that on the Sea, hee met a Sutler or Victualer to the Campe, driuing an Asse laden before him, of whom he demaunded, how hee was called: the Sutler made answer, that his owne name was *Eutichus*, and his Asses *Nicanta*: which two Greeke Names signified nothing else, but *Fortunate victorie*. Heereupon, the said *Cæsar*, presaged by this encounter, that he should be victorious ouer *Anthony*, who contended for the Empire of the World, and that the Gods had designed it vnto him. On this assurance, he forth-with gaue battell by Sea to *Anthony*,

A good kinde of superstition to *Augustus Cæsar*.

Anthony, wherein he preuailed, and so (by consequent) got the Empire.

Pompey neuer tooke any thing in good sort, or successefully.

Pompey, quite contrary, through a great distrust, that he could neuer saue himselfe, nor finde any ayde or assured retreat, after he lost the battaile at *Pharsalia* against *Iulius Cæsar*; grounded his folly on this occasion. In his flight, passing by the Isle of *Cyprus*, to the end hee might breath a while; with-drew into Ægypt. And being entertained (by the Gouernour) into the Citty of *Paphos*, where his lodging was prepared in a Pallace, builded in a very pleasant plot vpon the Sea, he desired to know who builded it, and how it was named. Answere was returned, that the place was called *Cacobasilæa*, which is as much to say, as *Bad Harbour*. In regard of which name, it appearing to him to be an euill presage: hee would not enter into it, but passed on farther, and tooke Shipping very suddenly. Being verilie perswaded, that this accident to him at this Pallace, did presage; that he should soone enough meete with a bad lodging to last all his life time. Being landed in Ægypt, to deriue some succour from the King, whose Father he had reseated in his Kingdome: he caused him to be trayterously slaine, as thinking to doe a great fauour to victorious *Iulius Cæsar*.

Sylla, by not being superstitious won the battaile.

But *Sylla* did better, who perceiuing his Army ready for to giue battaile to the power of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*; yet all being out of hart, as holding that the day would be lost, because both the Priests and Soothsayers had obserued, that the like day had been alwaies vnfortunate to the *Romaines*. For it was registred in their Calender, that (as on the very same day) three hundred and sixe Noble Gentlemen, al of the *Fabij*, were slaine in the Warre, by secret Ambushes of the *Veientines*, who had long time warred against thē, hard by * *Cremera*; and many worthy Captaines beside, had receiued great mischances on the same day. But *Sylla*, who was no way superstitious, encouraged his Army, saying. *Let vs shew our selues so valiant this day, that although it hath beene infortunate heeretofore: yet it may prooue happy to vs.* So, suddenly giuing battaile, they won the day. Some other would not haue done it, but rather would haue giuen credit to the dissemblings of Wizzards and Sacrificers. But to punish such men, for weakning the courage of Souldiours prepared to fight: some of them haue beene put into the front of the battaile, where they haue beene slaine, and very few others. In breefe, superstition neuer caused any goodnesse; but hath procured many great losses.

* A Riuer in *Tuscia*, where the noble *Fabij* were slain.

The Noble saying of *Sylla*

CHAP. III.

Of the Order and Knight-hood of the Templers; and how long it continued.

A congregation of Christian Princes, and the cause.

IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, ninety six, some Christian Princes (of diuers Nations) made a Congregation, by the counsell of an Hermit named *Peter*, a man of honest and holy life. It was then determined, to goe for the Conquest of the Holy Land, which was in the power of prophane Infidels, who had kept it foure hundred and ninety years. Among the chiefe in this action, was *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, Duke of *Lorraine*, the most apparant of them all, and he that carried the greatest merit. It pleased God, that after many battailes, which lasted for the space of three yeares: the Citty of *Ierusalem*, and many other Cities in *Syria* and *Iudea* were conquered, beside diuers other neighbouring Prouinces. Afterward, all the Christian Princes hauing regard to the high deserts of *Godfrey*; elected him King of *Ierusalem*: and *Arnulphus*, Arch-bishop of *Pisa*, was likewise created Patriarch, by Pope *Calixtus* the second.

The Conquest of *Ierusalem* by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*.

Godfrey of Buillon remaining King of *Ierusalem*, there also continued in his company, many great and worthy Christians, who daily made warre vpon the Infidels; as well round about *Ierusalem*, as in other neighbouring Countries. Which being vnderstood by diuers faithful Christians in the westerne parts, and on what tearmes the affaires stood

stood beyond the Seas: great numbers of people went continually thither, some (in meere zeale) to assist Gods seruice, and regaine the vsurped Landes; and others on voyages, to visite the Holy Sepulcher. Now, about a yeare after his Coronation, *Godfrey of Buillon* dyed, and his Brother, named *Baldwine* (a man equall euery way to the others merits) was crowned King in his stead. During whose raigne, among many other that resorted daily thither: were nine Gentlemen, intimate friends and great companions, of whom we finde the names but of two; who (it may be) were the chiefest, to wit: *Hugues de Paganis*, and *Gaufrede de Saint Adelman*. These men being come to *Ierusalem*, and hauing well contemplated the Countrey, and all the neighbouring places: they found, that at the Port of *Iapha*, and other places of their passage, there were many busie spies vpon the waies, that daily both robbed and kild Pilgrimes and Passengers. In regard whereof, after good and mature deliberation, they concluded, with the helpe of many more (for it is to be presumed, that they leagued themselues with other people of the same mind) to make a vow, for doing some seruice acceptable to God, and to imploy their whole life time, in making the waies secure & passable, or else to loose their liues in the enterprise; while the other Christians were busied in other places, fighting with the Infidels. Persseuering in this religious purpose, they tooke (as an assigned place for their retreate) a Church, called, *The Holy Temple*, by permission of the Abbot there abiding: and in that respect, they were cald *Templers*, a name which alwaies after remained to them.

When the King and the Patriarch had intelligence thereof, and perceiued their paines to bee holy and commendable: they administred all thinges necessary vnto them; so that they liued (after this manner) in the Temple, both very religiously and chastly, and (which is more) their number multiplyed, and encreased day by day. Notwithstanding, albeit there were now a great number of them, yet had they neyther habite, or any rules designed them, but liued together in common, obseruing their vow, and so they continued for the space of nine yeares. During which time, for the great seruice they did to Christendome, their credite and renowne highly encreased, beside the meanes of so worthy an example. By reason of their encrease in number, Pope *Honorius* the second, at the request of *Stephen*, Patriarch of *Ierusalem*; deuised a rule and manner of life for them: appointing, that they should be cloathed in white. Afterward, Pope *Eugenius* the third, added a Badge, or Armoury of a red Crosse, to be worne on their breasts: which they promised by a sollemne vow to obserue for euer, according as other religious Knightes did. And therefore they were honored, to haue it brought them by the hand of Saint *Bernard*, a reuerend and holy Doctour, whom they elected as chiefe and first Maister of their Order, according as other religious Knightes had the like obseruation.

In short time after, such was the multiplication of their Order, and honour of their deedes in Armes; as not onely they kept the wayes of the holie voyage, safe from Theeues and Murderers: but also (both by Sea and Land) they made great incursions and strong warres vpon the Infidels. So that their fame and worth spreading it selfe throughout Christendome, the Kinges and Princes (in many partes) ordained and allowed them great Rents and Reuenues, which they imploied in those warres, like true Knights, attending on the seruice of Iesus Christ. And by succesſe of time, growing on in strength and ability of wealth: in all Countries and Prouinces; they had abiding in the cheefest Cities and strongest places; but most especially in the Holy Land, where ordinarily the great Maister of the Order made his aboad, with the greater number of them, keeping an Army cotinually there, as also in other places, where most necessity required. It happened afterward, that for the sins of men, discord mooued among the Christians, and the great negligence in Princes: not onely the Citty of *Ierusalem*, but other places also formerlie conquered (as we haue before declared) were regained by the Infidels; ninetie yeares after the conquest made by *Godfrey*

The death of *Godfrey* of *Buillon* & the instaulment of *Baldwine*.

Hugues de Paganis, and *Gaufrede de* Saint *Adelman*.

How they first attained to the name of Templers.

The King and Patriarch, allow their proceeding.

Pope *Honorius* the second iustituted the Order of the Templers.

S. *Bernard* was the first Maister of the Knights Templers.

The Great Maister of the Order stayed in the Holy Land.

frey of Buillon. All which notwithstanding, this Order of the Knights Templers left not their holy labour: but being expulsed thence, they assembled their forces to other places, performing still worthy deedes of Armes against the enemies to our Faith, and continued sixscore years (after the losse of *Ierusalem*) preseruing that which was left them in the East parts.

The Knightes Templers expelled out of the holy land.

In the yeare one thousand, two hundred and ten, or thereabout, the Order of the Templers, which had continued more then two hundred yeares: was vtterly destroyed and ouerthrowne by Pope *Clement* the fift, who then remained and kept his Court in the Citty of *Poitiers*, in the Kingdome of *France*: And (as some report) he did it at the request of King *Phillip le Bell*. This happened, either thorough their prosperity, or ouer-great abounding in welth, by meanes whereof they grew to wickednesse, and were the ruine of themselues. Or, it may be, King *Phillip* then raigning, was abused by false reportes made of them: Or peraduenture, to get the riches of this Order, he perswaded the Pope to doe such a thing, for there are variable opinions written thereof. Neuertheless, it sufficeth to say, that they were condemned, and all their goods confiscated. And to compasse the matter the more easily (because they were growne very powerfull) a secret Inquisition was made against them, true or false: after which, the King tooke such order in all parts of his Kingdome, that vpon a certaine daie, purposely appointed, all the Templers that could be found, were taken, their goods seazed, and deliuered into the hands of Iustice, which beeing done, processe proceeded against them, and iudgement executed, according as wee meane to declare.

The Order of the Templers destroyed by Pope *Clement* the fift.

A secret Inquisition against the Templers.

As concerning the crimes imposed on them, they were these. That their Predecessors were the cause of loosing the holy Land; That they elected their Great Maister in secret; That they vsed wicked superstitions; That they helde some hereticall propositions; That they made their profession before a Statue or Image, cloathed in the skin of a Man; That they dranke the blood of Men; that they had made a secret coniuration, by their ayde and assistance, to betray all Christendome to the *Turk*; That they were guilty of the most abhominable sin against nature, *Sodomie*; and all these matters directly prooued against them. For which causes, processe was directed against their Great Maister, named Fryer *Iaques*, a native of *Bourgougne*, descended of a very worthy House: and consequent (after him) the like proceeding passed against all the other.

The offences where-with the Templers were charged

F. Iaques great Maister of the Templers first arested.

Finally, the Popes sentence condemned them all to the fire, and accordingly they were executed, and their goods made confiscate; the greater part whereof, was giuen to the Knightes of Saint *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*, who, about this time, or a little before, had conquered the Isle of *Rhodes* from the Infidels. Another part of their goods was bestowed on other Orders; and a third part (by permission of the Pope, or otherwise) remained in the hands of Princes, who tooke possession thereof, euen so soone as the sentence went out against them. This sentence was published thorough all Christendome, and allowed for good and iust by the Chronicles of *France*; as also by *Platina*, in the life of Pope *Clement* the fift; likewise by *Raphaell Volateranus*, and *Polidore Vurgill*.

The Knightes of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem* had part of the Templers goods.

Neuertheless, there are some that doe maintaine the contrarie, affirming the sentence to be vniust, and giuen vpon false Testimonies, charging King *Philip* principally with the fault, saying; That for desire of their goods, he purchased their destruction: saying moreouer, that at the time when they were iusticed, the common people reputed them for Saints and Martyrs, and kept peeces of their Garments as Reliques. Of this latter opinion was Saint *Iaques de Magouce*, *Nauclerus*, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in their Histories; and *Iohn Boccace*, in his Booke of the fall of Princes, affirming, that hee heard it spoken by his owne Father, who was present at the execution of the sentence.

Some authors against the Popes sentence.

It appeareth also, that Saint *Anthonie*, Arch-byshop of *Florence* was of the same minde, and reciteth the case as it happened, in manner following. Pope *Clement* (saith he) and his *Romain* Court being in *France*, whereas then he made his abiding, seeing himselfe much prouo-

S. *Anton. in* 3. *par. de Histor.* How he reporteth the History.

prouoked by *Philip* King of *France*, to keepe his promiſe made him, when he created him chiefe Biſhop; which was, to condemne Pope *Boniface*, and cauſe his bones to bee burned; and the Pope deferring to doe it, becauſe it ſeemed difficult to effect: It fortuned, that a Knight of the Templers Order, a Priour in one of the Commanderies, named *Monfaucon*, in the City of *Toulouſe*, was taken and brought as Priſoner to *Paris*, by appointment of the great Maiſter; in regard of ſome crimes by him committed, and (as ſome doe teſtifie) for Hereſie. At the ſame time, another Natiue of *Florence*, and Knight of the ſame Order, was ſent to the ſame Priſon, by commaund of the Great Maiſter, for many other foule delictes.

Two Knights Templers impriſoned in *Paris*.

Theſe two together, knowing that their miſdemeanor had beene ſuch, as admitted no hope of their deliuerie: concluded, to free themſelues from impriſonment, and to be ſpleenefullie & maliciouſly reuenged on their Great Maiſters, accuſing their Religion, and charging thē with ſuch crimes as haue formerly beene ſpoken off. To effect it the better, they called ſome other to counſell, and practiſed with the Kinges Officers, accuſing the Great Maiſter and the other Knightes, that they were worthy of death, and vtter deſtruction of their Order. Affirming alſo, that the King, beeing a Man good and iuſt, ought to labour it, conſidering the great benefit that thereby would redound vnto him, in confiſcation of ſo many goodly houſes. This being reuealed to the King, he quickely lent an eare thereto, and gaue order, for more ample conference with both the Priſoners. Afterward, he made it ſpeedily knowne to the Pope; declaring, that ſuch an Order deſerued vtter ſpoile and ruine.

King *Philip* made acquainted with the buſineſſe, reuealeth it to the Pope.

The Pope, after he had heard the Priſoners, or the relation made to him by others; or rather, to free himſelfe from the Kinges importunity, againſt Pope *Boniface*: without vſing any more ſufficient inquiſition, or proceſſe againſt them, but onely led by theſe informations: wrote ſecretly thorow all Chriſtendome, that a certaine day ſhould bee appointed for the Knightes Templers, to apprehend their bodies, and ſeaze all their goods. On the ſame day as theſe Letters were expediated, the Great Maiſter (who then made his reſidence in *Paris*) was taken, with threeſcore Knights of the chiefeſt, and after proofe made, beeing brought to confronting: they ſtoutly denyed, and with great boldneſſe, that euer they committed any ſuch offences, no, not ſo much as in thought, but liued as good and faithfull Chriſtians ought to doe. Neuertheleſſe, the proceſſe was concluded againſt them, and all the threeſcore perſons (except the Great Maiſter, and foure other, who were reſerued till another time) were drawne forth of *Paris*, and brought vpon a ſcaffold purpoſely prouided, where (before all the people) they were each after other throwne into a fire, to the ende, that if any one had confeſſed the offences, or any part of them, his life might haue beene ſaued. But although they were exhorted by their Kinred and Friendes, to confeſſe the faultes, albeit they were not guiltie, onely to ſaue their liues: yet did they ſtill make deny-all, calling God and the Virgine *Marie* to witneſſe their innocency, and were all burned, without confeſſing any thing.

One day generally appointed for deſtruction of the Templers

Execution began at the citty of *Paris* on the Knights Templers.

This being done, the Great Maiſter, with one named *F. Danfin*, and one *F. Hugues*, and ſome others that had been Officers in the Kinges Court; were brought before the Emperour and the Pope (by whom great promiſes were made vnto them, if they would confeſſe the crimes where-with they were charged. By meanes of ſuch importunity, they confeſſed ſome part of them, and other thinges beſide: but after that they had made this confeſſion, they were led away to puniſhment, where their proceſſe was publikely read, and the ſentence ratified, whereby the Pope had condemned the Great Maiſter, and all the reſt of his Order. While thus they proceeded, the great Maiſter ſtarted vp on his feet, ſaying, that they ought to heare him; adding further, that he had iuſtly deſerued death, by ſo many offences which he committed againſt God. Notwithſtanding, the crimes where-with both he & the Knights were burdened in the Proceſſe; both he and they were innocent

The crimes confeſſed by the Great Maiſter and others.

cent of them; and whatsoeuer he had confessed: he did it in feare, and at the Popes perswasion, speaking now nothing else but truth. The like saide *F. Dansin*, and thinking to proceede on in more speeches; they were exposed to the fire, and burned. But *F. Hugues*, and his companions, saued their liues by confessing their guiltinesse, according as it was obiected against them in the processe: yet liued they not long after, but dyed (as is reported) miserably, as likewise the two imprisoned Knights did, who were their first accusers; the one, being saide to be hanged or strangled, and the other slaine, which seemed to the people as a great worke of God. In regard whereof, diuers great personages, and of good knowledge, were partly perswaded, that the sentence was vniustly giuen, and ill executed vpon the Templers. Al these thinges are thus alleadged by S. *Anthony*, in the place fore-named, beside the other Authors. Wherefore, I stand doubtfull how to resolue herein, because it is hardly to be credited, that the Pope would faile in a case of such importance. On the other side, it seemeth as incredible, that such an Order, wherein were so many and great diuersitie of Knights; would wholly bee so wicked. But this secret, and many other, must be referred to the day, when the faults of all men will truely be reuealed.

F. *Hugues* and others by confession of their facts, saued their liues.

The Authors Conclusion.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *By what meanes the Holie Apostolicall Chaire or Seate, was transferred into France: How long it continued there; And how it returned to Rome againe.*

SEeing wee haue declared the History of the Knights Templers, me thinkes it fitteth well our purpose (in this next place) to make some mention: for what cause, in the time of the very same Pope *Clement* the fift, the Holy Chaire Apostolique was transported into *France*. It is then to be vnderstood, that Pope *Bennet*, or *Benedict*, eleuenth of that name, being dead, who was an excellent and holy Byshop, and whose body was said to worke miracles after his death: the Romaine Church was thirteene months without a Chiefe Bishop, by reason of the Schisme and discord among the Cardinals Electours, who (during this time) neuer came forth of the Conclaue, and yet could not agree vpon any election. For there was growne two factions or contentions among them; one side holding voice for the *French* Nation; and therefore they laboured to elect a man, that might agree with the appetite of their King. The other faction consisted of *Italian* Cardinals, that stroue to haue a Pope of their nation, and because both partes were equall in power and number; they continued in this long suspence, yet neither of them reaching to their intention.

The death of Pope *Bennet*, the eleuenth, & the schisme then in the Church.

Two Factions among the Cardinall Electors.

When the *French* Cardinals perceiued this impertinent losse of time, they be-thought themselues of a subtiltie, whereby they might beguile and ouerreach the other. For, they would make a party for them; to wit, they would name three *Italians*; one of which three, should be chosen by the *Italians* to bee Pope. If they would not agree on that partie; then themselues should name three *French-men*, such as they had best opinion of, and one of them should be elected by the *French*, with their liking. The *Italians* (thinking the matter firmely in their power, purposed to nominate three *French* men, great Enemies to their owne Crowne, and that the meanest of them should bee elected Pope) accepted the part of nomination, and gaue in the names of three men, who were mightie Enemies to their King. For the King was then but slenderly esteemed by the Romain Church, in regard of the great difference, that had beene betweene him and Pope *Boniface*, Predecessour to *Bennet* the eleauenth, and one of the 3. was the Arch-Byshop of *Bourdeaux*, named *Bertrand*. The *French* Cardinals aduertised their King of this nomination, to the end; that he might compasse the meanes to reconcile himselfe with the other two, which beeing done, to let them haue know-

A *French* subtilty to deceiue the *Italians* in election of the *Pope*

The *Italians* accepted the nomination of three *French-men*.

knowledge thereof with all possible speede.

The King desired kinde conference with the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*.

Heereupon, the King wrote a verie kind Letter, entreating the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, to meet him immediatly at a certaine place, about a matter of great importance, & highly concerning his honor and profit: assuring him, that he was very desirous to hold loue and friendship with him. The Arch-bishop (vpon this gracious motion) made no delay, but came presently to the place appointed by the King, where being met together: The King plainely told him, that he would make him Pope, vnder condition of promises to be passed between them. Which when the Archbyshop heard, he made no difficulty of promising what the King should desire, prouided, that he might attaine to so high a dignity. Finally, by meanes of many promises, signed, sealed, and sollemnly sworne between them: the King gaue him his royal word, that he should bee elected before the other two likewise named. Then, with the greatest diligence that possibly could be made, he wrote back to the Cardinals, who fauored and made good his cause: that they should nominate the Arch-byshop of *Bourdeaux*. So that, although he was then absent, hee was elected the Soueraigne Byshop, in the year of our Lord (according to *Platina*) 1205. and was named *Clement* the fift. And he hauing intelligence of his election, at the instance and request of the King: went to the Citty of *Lyons*, whether hee caused the Cardinals, and the whole Court of *Rome* to come; for it was one of the promises which hee had made to the King. By meanes whereof, the *Italian* Cardinals found themselues deceiued, and constrained (greatly against their wils) to come into *France*, to satisfie the pleasure of the Pope.

Platina would be perused, for according this presage of time, with that in the precedent Chapter.

Thus came the Court of *Rome* into *France*, where it stayed and continued with great honor, but to the endamagement of all *Italy*. And in this Citty was performed, the sacring and crowning of Pope *Clement* the fift, with no meane sollemnity. But as they were in this serious businesse, and the whole World (as it were) attentiue and beholding the ceremonies: a great part of a wal, in the place where the royalty was performed, fell suddenly downe, and killed aboue a thousand men, among whom dyed the Duke of *Bretaigne*, & diuers other worthy persons. And it happened in such maner, that the hug: crowd of people, which thronged (for their owne safety) from the place of this mishap: ouerthrew the Pope from his Horse, where he was in great danger of his life. The King also was in meruailous great perplexity, being carried out of the crowd, sore wounded and trampled vpon. This businesse being somewhat more quietly ouer-blowne; the Pope created many new Cardinals, who were all on the part of *France*. He sent also three Cardinals to *Rome*, to gouerne there the State of the Church for *Italy*; hee determining to dye in *France*, where hee held the Seat eight yeares and eleauen months.

A thousand men & more slain accidentally at the Popes consecration.

The King and Pope in perill of their liues.

After him succeeded Pope *Iohn*, the three and twentith of that name, who liued likewise in France, bringing his Court to *Auignon*, a part of *Prouence*: which was saide to appertaine to the Church, because it had beene bought (as diuers doe maintaine) by Pope *Clement* the sixt, of Madame *Ioane*, Queene of *Naples*, and of *Prouence*. There were sixe Popes, which liued and dyed there each after other, the seat remaining there the space of threescore yeares: whereby some *Italians* tooke occasion, to name it the transmigration of *Babylon*, and so it continued to the time of *Gregorie* the eleauenth, a learned Man, & of holy life, in whose gouerment this exile ceased, and the Seate was restored backe againe in this manner.

Pope *Iohn* 23. Successour to *Clement*, translated his seat to *Auignon*.

The Transmigration of *Babylon*.

Vpon a time, as a Byshop of his Court passed by before him, the Pope demaunded of him; wherefore hee went not to the gouernment of his owne Byshoppricke, for it was not conuenient, to see a Flocke without a Shepheard? whereto the Bishop made this answere. Holy Father, why do you vse these speeches to me? Considering, that your selfe, who ought to giue vs example: doe not goe to abide at your owne Byshoppricke, which hath beene so long time without a Shepheard.

The manner of the Chairs reduction to *Rome*.

These words did not a little moue the Pope; knowing well, what mischiefes

had happened in *Italy*, in the absence of the Prelacy: and therefore he determined to returne to *Rome*, beeing thereto also incited (as some write) by Letters and admonitions from *S. Katherine* of *Stenna*. And for his better attaining thereto, he caused secretly to be prepared one and twenty Gallies: pretending to vse them about some other busines, and bringing them on the Riuer of *Rosne*, furnished with all things necessary belonging to them. Going aboord at an appointed time, they launched forth into the Sea, and within few daies after arriued at *Genes*, and from *Genes*, at *Cornetta*: where taking Land, they went directly to *Rome*, in the year 1364. where he was receiued with great magnificence, and vnspeakable pleasures, as a Father earnestly desired by his Children. Soone after, like a good Pastour, he re-edified Churches and Buildings in *Rome*, which were falne into ruine by age and negligence of men. In which workes, and other holy exercises, hee spent the remainder of his life; which he finished in the yeare, one thousand three hundred, sixty and eight, and was buried with as many moanes and tears, as any other that died before him. But after his death, neither Schismes, or any other discordes happening in the Church; could cause his Successours to forsake their continuall abiding at *Rome*.

The Pope prepared 21. gallies for his returne to *Rome*

The death of *Gregory*, eleauenth Byshop of that name.

The Authours for affirmation of these things, are *Platina*, and *Martine* in the liues of the Popes: *Sabellicus*, *Volateranus*, *Antoninus*, and *Nauclerus*, in their Histories: Beside diuers other of latter daies, who haue Commented vpon their paines, and enlarged this discourse in more ample manner, then this little roome would admit their labour; but for truth and certainety, enough is contained in this breuity.

CHAP. V.

How dangerous a thing it is, to Murmure against Princes; With praise and commendation of their clemency.

IT hath beene a saying of great Antiquity, and deriued out of our Elders graue Prouerbes. *That Kinges haue verie long Armes, and as wide Eares*. Inferring thereby, that Kinges and mightie men, may (a farre off) be reuenged on such as offend them, and vnderstand likewise, whatsoeuer is spoken in secret of them: for there are so many, that contend for affection in such as beare command, as nothing can well be hidden from them. For this cause was it, that wise men aduised; *To speak nothing of the King in secret*, because (in such cases) meere wals are said both to heare and speake. And *Plutarch* saith; *The Birdes can carry our wordes through the Ayre*. If then, for speaking truelie and freely, men haue falne into great dangers: what shall we iudge of such as dare murmure against the mightie? Examples which might be alleaged in this case, are infinite. Among which, we read in the Histories, both Greeke and Latine, that *Antigonus*, one of the Captaines and Successors to *Alexander* the Great, his Armie being in the field, and he couched in his Pauillion one night: heard some of his Souldiours talking without, murmuring greatly against him, not thinking that he was so neere to heare them. Neuertheless, he would make no shew thereof, but altring his voyce (as if it had been some other that heard them) saide softly to them: *That if they meant to vse such language, they should get them further off from the Kinges Tent, or else himselfe might hap to heare them.*

The great power of Princes.

Care of the tongue.

Of *Antigonus* the Captaine to Great *Alexander*.

At another time, the same King *Antigonus*, guiding his Army (in the night time) through a way which was verie foule and dirty, the men finding themselues to be much wearied: murmured against him as they went along; speaking very bad words of him, imagining him to be far behind, & heard nothing. Notwithstanding, he beeing present in disguise among thē, hauing heard their iniurious and discontented speeches, & perceiuing what a priuiledge the darke night allowed him: hee fell stoutly to work among the rest, laboring (so much as lay in him) to releeue them thence.

Another notable example of the same *Antigonus*.

And

And when his intent was compaſſed, he came among the Murmurers, that had well obſerued his paines, and wrought the harder with him for company: to whō he ſaid in like change of his voice: *Speak against the King what you pleaſe, for bringing ye into ſuch a filthy paſſage: But yet I hold it fit and reaſonable, that you ſhould make much of me, for helping yee ſo quickly to be releaſed out of it.*

Of *Pyrrhus* K. of *Epire*, warring in *Italy*.

The patience of *Pyrrhus*, King of the *Epirotes*, may well be ſaid to be no leſſe. For when he made war in *Italy* againſt the *Romaines*, he and his men being lodged in the Citty of *Tarentum*: there were ſome of his younger Souldiours, who, after they had ſupped together, began to talke iniuriouſly of him at the Table. He hauing intelligence thereof, ſent for them before him, and demaunded whether it were true or no, that they had deliuered ſuch language of him: whereunto, one of them boldlie thus replyed. *Sir, moſt true it is, that all theſe ſpeeches which wee haue vſed of you; and be you well aſſured, that if wine had not faild vs at the Table, our tongues had walked much more liberally.* Heereby hee ſtroue to ſhew (in his own excuſe) that wine had induced them to ſpeake euill of him. *Pyrrhus* was no way diſpleaſed with this anſwer, but falling into a pleaſant laughter; ſent them backe to their lodgings, without any other checke or puniſhment.

Of *Tiberius*, Emperor of Rome.

The Emperor *Tiberius*, although he was a cruell Tyrant; yet among other things, and fit for this purpoſe, he left a very memorable example. For, knowing that ſome body had made a diffamatory Libell againſt him, and that many people murmured at his cruelties: hee was perſwaded by ſome, to do Iuſtice and correction vpon the offender. But he anſwered courageouſly; *That Mens tongues ought to be free in the Citty.* Being yet further incited by ſome of the Senate, to find out (by enquiry) the inuenter of the Libell: hee would (by no meanes) yeilde thereto, but ſaid, *He was not void of other buſineſſe, which required more due care, then ſuch idle matter as a vaine Libell.* The great mildneſſe of *Dyonyſius*, the Tyrant of *Sicily* (albeit hee was moſt cruell) to an aged Woman, may not be forgotten. For he being aduertiſed, that this old Woman prayed

Of *Dyonyſius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*.

deuoutly to the Gods, for continuance of his proſperity; ſent to ſeek for her, & cauſed her to bee brought before him. Then he demaunded of her, for what cauſe ſhee prayed ſo earneſtly for him; conſidering, that al the reſt of the people deſired his death? Whereunto the aged woman made this anſwere. *Know Sir, that when I was young, we had here in this Country a moſt cruell Tyrant, of a ſtern nature and wicked complexion: wherefore, I prayed to the Gods deuoutly for his death, and I found my deſire to bee accompliſhed. Next to that man ſucceeded another, who tyrannized in the kingdom much more cruelly then the firſt; and I prayed in like manner for his death. So that by continuall praiers and requeſts, made with ſuch inſtancy to the Gods: as they heard me for the firſt, ſo did they for the ſecond, becauſe ſoone after his death enſued. In his place now art thou come, a more bloody man thē both the others; and becauſe I feare, that (after thee) another will come, worſe then all the three: I pray continually to the Gods, that they wold ſend thee long life and happineſſe.* This free and audacious anſwere of the old Woman, vrged no indignation or diſpleaſure in him, who diſdained all others that durſt reproue him: but he ſuffered her to depart freely and pleaſantly.

The old Woman's anſwere to the Tyrant.

Of graue *Plato*, the Prince of Philoſophers.

Plato, the Prince of Philoſophers, who had long time continued with this Tyrant *Dyonyſius*; craued fauour of him, that he might returne to *Athens*, & his ſuite was granted him. But at his departing thence, *Dyonyſius* demanded of him, what report he would make of him at *Athens*, in the Academy of ſo many famous Philoſophers, whereto *Plato* (boldly) thus replyed. *They that liue in Athens, are not ſo idle, neither can they find ſo much leyſure, as to queſtion of thee or thy actions.* I remember two other aged women, that (with no leſſe libertie of ſoule) ſpake to their Kinges, and both were patiently endured: the one was of *Macedon*, and ſpake to *Demetrius*, Son to King *Antigonus*, before named; the other was a *Romain*, & vttered her mind to the Emp. *Adrian*. For both of them had the like kind of anſwer, when they required to haue Iuſtice done them: *Demetrius* & *Adrian* both replying, that they could not intend them. The Women made anſwere, *That if they had no leiſure to intend them, they ſhould leaue the*

Of two aged women, the one a *Macedonian*, the other a *Romaine*.

Empire to such as could do it. Neuertheleſſe neither of the Princes were offended with their words, but patiently admitted audience, and granted them Iuſtice.

Of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, & the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors.

Phillip, K. of *Macedon*, bidding Adieu to the Ambaſſadours of the *Athenians*, and making them goodly offers, as (in like caſes) it had been a long continued cuſtome; demaunded of them: If he ſhould doe any thing elſe for them? Whereunto one of the Ambaſſadors, named *Democrates* (who well knew, that King *Philip* greatly hated the *Athenians*) being not able to conceale his fury, anſwered: *Wee would haue thee to hang thy ſelfe by the necke.* At this anſwere, all his companions were much diſpleaſed, as alſo all the reſt in preſence, doubting leaſt the King would doe ſome harme vnto them. But in his wonted naturall clemency (or diſſembling his ſpleene) he made no other ſemblance, but turning himſelfe to the other Ambaſſadors, ſaid: *You may ſay to the Athenians, that he that can endure ſuch wordes, is much more modeſt then the wiſe Men of Athens, that haue not diſcretiõ to be ſilent.*

Another example concerning the ſame *Macedonian* K.

Domorates the *Cornician*, went to ſee this King *Phillip*, at ſuch time as he was highly offended with his Queene, and his Sonne *Alexander*. Among other ſpeeches paſſing betweene them, King *Phillip* asked of him; If he had peace and vnitie with the Citties of *Greece*? *Domorates*, who knew very well, that the King took delight to ſee his Commonweales in diſcord; made aunſwere, and truely (in my iudgement) very freelie, conſidering how it behooued him to anſwere ſuch a Prince: *Truely King* (quoth he) *becauſe thou art at diſcord in thine owne houſe, thou enquireſt after the diſſentions of our Citties: But if thou wert at peace with thine owne, it would appeare more commendable in thee, then to ſeek after the afflictions of others.* And yet notwithſtanding, the King was not moued a iot heereat; but conſidered, that hee iuſtly deſerued to be taxed, & therefore became friends with his wife and Son.

Of *Alexander* and *Diogenes*.

As concerning the freedome and boldneſſe, where-with *Diogenes* ſpake to *Alexander*, and with what royall modeſty hee endured it; is ample mention made of in the Chapter of the life of *Diogenes*.

But if we would haue ſome examples among Chriſtians, that of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, a religious man of the order of S. *Frances*, may well fit the purpoſe. He hauing attained to the Papacy, one of his religious Brethren, a very ancient man, went to ſee him in his Cordelier habit. To whõ the Pope hauing ſhewn ſome Iewels and precious Stones, which were very rich; he ſaide withall. *I cannot now ſay as ſometime S. Peter did, I haue neither Gold or Siluer. It is true* (anſweted the Fryer boldly) *nor can you ſay (as he did) to the palſie, lame and impotent people, Ariſe and walk.* Giuing him hereby to vnderſtand, that the chiefe Byſhops were now become more carefull of Riches, then of holineſſe: and the Pope, who knew very well, that his poore Brother had reaſon to ſpeake it, endured his words patiently.

Of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, and a Gray Fryer.

It happened (well neere) in the ſame manner, to an Archbiſhop of *Colongne*, conferring with a Husband-man in the fields. For, as the poore man was at his labour in the fielde, the Arch-Byſhop chanced to paſſe by ſome-what neere him, hauing a Guard of men waiting on him, after the order in *Germany*. As the Arch-biſhop went by, the poore Country-man laughed ſomwhat loudly; which beeing perceiued, the Arch-byſhop demanded, what mooued him to laugh? Whereto the Husband-man preſently anſwered. *I laugh* (quoth he) *at S. Peter, who is tearmed the Prince of Prelates, that hee ſhould liue and dye in ſo great pouerty, and his Succeſſours to bee ſo rich.* The Arch-biſhop feeling himſelfe ſomewhat toucht; to iuſtifie himſelfe, thus replied. *My friend, I go with this fair traine of attendants, becauſe I am a Duke, as wel as an Archbiſhop.* Which when the Husbandman heard, he laughed more extreamely then he did before; and the occaſion being requeſted of this great laughter, the Countryman ſpake verie boldly. *I would* (quoth he) *my Lord gladly haue you tell me, that if the Duke (which you name your ſelfe to be) were in hell; where do you think the Arch-byſhop ſhould be?* Inferring heereby, that two profeſſions can neuer agree in one man: for, ſinning in the one, he cannot iuſtifie himſelfe by the other. At this anſwere, the Arch-biſhop holding downe his head, not making any reply, or offering any diſplea-

Of the Arch-Byſhop of *Colongne*, and a poore Huſband-man.

Two profeſſions hardly agree in one man.

displeasure or iniury to the poore man, in a strange confusion, rode on his iourney.

Of *Artaxerxes* the King of *Persia*, and his Captaine *Aclides*.

To speak of *Gentiles*. *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, had knowledge giuen him, that a Captaine, named *Aclides*, whom he had brought vp frō his youth, Murmured greatly against him. For which offence, he gaue him no other chastisement, but sent him word by the same man that brought the accusation: *Tell him* (quoth *Artaxerxes*) *that he may speak what hee pleaseth of his King; because his King may as well talke of him, and doe also what he listeth to him.*

Of K. *Phillip* and *Nicanor*.

Phillip, the Father of *Alexander*, hearing that *Nicanor* spake euil of him publikely, was counselled by some, to send forth an especiall processe for him. To whom he answered. *Nicanor is not the worst Man in my Kingdome; but I would faine know if he stand in need of any thing, for it may bee, that this necessity requireth our assistance.* Presently he vnderstood, that *Nicanor* suffered great pouerty, and therefore, in stead of punishing his reprochful words; he sent him a rich present. Which being receiued, he that formerly had accused him, came and reported to the King: That *Nicanor* went vp and down the streets, speaking most honorably of the King. *Why then* (quoth the King to *Simicius*, for so was the tell-tale named) *I see that it is in mine owne power, to make men speake well or ill of me.*

Of a rayler & deprauer of his Prince.

This *Phillip* was once more aduised, to banish out of all his Countries, a bad tongued man, one that did very much scandalize him; whereto he answered. *In any case I wil not yeild to his banishment; for seeing he can slander a Man in his owne Countrey: I will not haue him doe as much in other strange places.* Giuing hereby to vnderstand, that whatsoeuer hee did in clemency and magnanimity, proceeded from a Princes good aduise and discretion. He saide moreouer, that hee was much bound in thankfulnesse, to the Gouernours and principall men of *Athens*.

Of the Gouernors of *Athens*.

Because (quoth he) *by the means of their continuall euill, speaking of mee and mine actions: to make them lyers, I may the more commodiously amend & correct mine owne bad gouernment.*

A memorable example in a Prince.

He would neuer punnish any, that spake euill of him; but rather stroue to take away the occasion of any such defaming. If such rules might be in these daies obserued, they would bee two waies very beneficiall to vs: The one, in amendment of our bad liues; the other, that there would not be such store of deprauers. For truely, it is a great vertue, to make no account of euil spoken in our absence: But yet there is much greater temperance, when wee are not mooued or iniuriously prouoked, at offences vrged in our presence.

CHAP. VI.

That Imagination is one of the most principall inward powers, approued by true examples, and very notable Histories.

Like as the exteriour sences are fiue in number, as is generally well knowne to all men (to wit; Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Feeling, and Smelling:) So are there likewise fiue inward sences and powers in man. Now, albeit some doe reduce them to foure; yet the first is vulgar and common opinion, as namely: The sence common, Imagination (whereof wee are now to speake) Iudgement, Fantasie, and Memorie. Concerning the office and vertue of these seuerall sences, we purpose not to discourse at this time: but our intent only is of Imagination, the charge and property whereof, is; to retaine the Images and figures, which the common sence receiueth first from the outward sense, and afterward she sends them to Iudgment, from whence they proceed on to the Fantasie, and thence are conuayed into the Coffer, commonly called Memory. Imagination hath power to change it selfe, by the representation of thinges, although they bee no more presented: which the sense common cannot doe, except shee haue them in presence; wherein is demonstrated the greatnesse, and wonderfull power of Imagination. For we plainly perceiue, that a man being asleepe, and his senses at rest: yet his Imagination ceaseth not from labour, but still representeth all things, euen as if they were personallie present, and the man wide waking.

Fiue senses inward, aswell as outward.

The admirable power of Imagination.

The strange and violent effects of Imagination.

Imagination is able to moue the passions and affections of the Soule, and it can (diuerſly) prouoke the body, alter accidents, turning the Spirits topſie-turuy, and the in-ſide outward, producing likewiſe diuers qualities in the mẽbers. Imagination can make a man ſick or ſound, and worke many other admirable effects. When Imagination conceiueth any matter delightfull; ioy brings the Spirits outward: But if it be of feare or terror, then they fly inward; becauſe that the motion or conceipt of ioy, entranceth the hart, and ſadneſſe or ſorrow ſhuts it vp in reſtraint. The imagination of feare begetteth coldneſſe, makes the heart to tremble, expulſeth heat, and cauſeth a kind of quiuering in ſpeech. Mercy being cauſed and incited by Imagination, in ſeeing the ſufferings of ſome other body: doth (oftentimes) much more moue and change the party ſo conceited, then the patient himſelfe. As may euidently bee noted in ſome, that will quickly ſwoune or fall into a trance; by beholding another perſon let blood, or his wounds handled and dreſt by the Chirurgion; yea, & in more violent manner, then the party that endureth the paine. Strong Imagination hath moreouer the vertue, to make a tranſmutatiõ of things, though they be true when we behold them: as when we heare or ſee a man eate ſuch things as are ſharp or eager, it makes vs preſently to feele a ſtrange eagernes in the mouth. And contrariwiſe, beholding ſweet and ſauory things eaten; the very ſight and apprehenſion thereof, ſendeth the like ſweet Imagination into the mouth, euen as in bitter things it hath the like working.

The power of compaſſion cauſed by Imagination.

The vertue of ſtrong Imagination.

If we would haue examples of ſtrange Imaginations; we may eaſily heare many. Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, he knew a Man, that at al times when himſelf pleaſed, would ſweate very aboundantlie, exciting the expulſiue vertue by meere Imagination. He declareth alſo in the ſame Booke, that another man whom he knew, when he heard a mournefull ſong, or dolorous ſounding voyce, or of one weeping or ſobbing: he would apprehend the ſame with ſo ſtrange an Imagination, as hee fell downe in a ſwoune, lying ſtone-ſtill without any feeling. And whatſoeuer men did vnto him, pricking him with pinnes, or burning his fingers; yet he appeared not to feele any thing. Neuertheleſſe, hee would reuiue, and come to himſelfe againe, when ſome ioyfull or pleaſing ſound came neere him, euen as if hee heard it a great way off. *Pliny* reporteth (well-neere) the very ſame, of a Man named *Hermotimus*, who when he conceiued an Imagination: he ſeemed ſo ſtrangely tranſported, as if the Spirit were gone out of his body; and when he returned to his former condition, he would report what wonders hee had ſeene. *Monſieur Guillaume de Paris* ſaith, he knew a man, who onely by ſeeing a Phiſition, without taſting any dram or Potion: yet ſuch was the violence of his Imagination, that he would fall to purging, as if he had miniſtred Phiſicke to him. It fareth in like caſe with ſuch as are ſubiect to dreaming; for, let vs admit, that it is Imagination which worketh heerein: yet it hath manifeſtly bin knowne, that in dreaming they haue beene burned, or killed; they haue felt pain and torment, though neither weapon or fire touched them, & they haue declared it by loud ſhrikes and cries.

Plin. in lib. 9.

Of meere ſeeing a Phiſition

Of Dreaming

Imagination hath ſuch a powerfull Soueraignty, in the inward apprehenſiue parts: that it imprinteth in it ſelfe the liuely figure of imagined thinges; and then ſetteth them on worke in the blood; yea, this a matter of ſuch power, as it extendeth it ſelfe to the members of a ſecond perſon. As we may diſcerne in a Woman great with Childe, who, only through the preheminence of Imagination, which ſhe faſtens on ſome food whereof ſhe deſireth to eate; imprinteth on the Infant in her whomb diuers ſtrange ſignes or Markes; yea, ſometimes it extendeth to the death both of Child and Mother. It hapneth ſometimes, that he which is bitten by a mad Dog; by his neere imagination conceiued of the Dog, hath the figure of a Dog imprinted in his Vrine. To this purpoſe, it is recorded by ſome Authours, that a King, named *Cyphus*, hauing (with great attention) noted a fight betweene two Bulles, falling (on a day afterward) into a very ſound ſleepe: the ſame Imagination preſented it ſelfe before his thoughts. But when he awaked, he found the young Hornes

The impreſſion of imagined things.

Examples of ſtrange Imaginations. *Auguſt. in lib. 4 de Ciuit. Dei.*

Of byting by a mad Dog.

Of hearing a ſad or mournfull ſound.

Of a fight betweene two Buls.

Hornes of a Bull growing vppon his head. If this were true, it proceeded from this cause, that the Vegatiue Vertue, giuing aide and impulsion to the immagination: it raised such Humors in the head, as were apt to engender and bring forth hornes. According to this which we haue declared, the imaginatiue Vertue hath such Dominion, ouer the bodies of second and third persons; that *Marcus Damascenus* reporteth, that on the Confines of *Pisa* in *Elis*, in a place named Saint *Peter*, a Woman was brought to bed of a sauage child, hauing the skin in forme and semblance like vnto a Camels, which happened in this maner, by reason that at the instant of this childs conception, the Mother (ouer ernestly) contemplated the picture of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, which hung on the Wall in the Chamber. And therefore, as we haue formerly spoken of Infants, that imagination hath such powerfull prehemінence, as it can cause Children to resemble persons imagined by the Fathers and Mothers.

Of the immaginatiue Vertue on the bodies of second or third persons.

What power Imagination worketh on Infants.

Auicenne is of the minde, that imagination may bee so strong, as (when it listeth) it will take and benumb a man in his members, prostrating him on the ground, and tormenting him with the paines of madnesse. Moreouer, saith he, the charming or enchaunting which is made by the eie, passeth ouer from one person to another, by immagination of him that worketh the Sorcerie. Likewise *Thomas Aquinas*, speaking after *Auicenne* saith, *What is that which can most subuert the body it selfe, either the melancholy imagination, or the most pleasing?* answereth; *The violence of the one and other. For, ioy chaseth all the spirits outward, and leaueth a man (as it were) liueless. The other locketh them vp so strongly within, as it groweth to a violent suffocation.* It was well obserued in *Scuil*, that *Iaques Orostius* (who was surprized as prisoner by the Catholick king) apprehended so strong an imagination of feare, as in one night onely, hee became white and aged, being the day before verie blacke and youthfull. Againe, it hath oftentimes beene noted, that imagination hath made men to become Fooles: And other-whiles so extreamly sick, that the power of imagination can neuer be sufficiently admired.

Auicenne concerning Immagination.

Thom. Aquinas in lib 3. de Sū. cont. Gent.

Of *Iaques Osorius* taken prisoner.

CHAP. VII.

Of what Countrey Pilate was: How hee died: Of the Lake named Pilates Lake, and the property thereof. As also of the Den or Cauerne in Dalmatia.

PIlate the most Wicked and sinfull Iudge that euer was, or shall bee, according to the most and common opinion, was a Natiue of *Lyons* in *France*. Neuertheless, some of that Nation, who take the matter scarse pleasing, do say, that the name *Pontius* came from an house in *Italy*, and from *Pontius Ireneus*, Captaine of the *Samnites*, who vanquished the *Romaines* at the *Caudine Fourca*. But bee it howsoeuer, this *Pilate*, either whether it were in respect of his person, or for his parentage, became one of the most eminent men in Rome. And being well knowne by *Tiberius*, the successor to *Octauius* (according to *Iosephus* and *Eusebius*) he was sent by him, in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, to gouerne *Ierusalem*, and named himselfe in his dignitie, Deputie of the Empire. In this maner then did *Pilate* gouerne the Holie Cittie, and the whole Prouince of *Iudea*, which was named *Palestine*, and his Office endured the space of ten years. In the seauenth whereof (which was the eighteenth of *Tiberius* his Empire, according to *Eusebius*, and venerable *Beda*) he gaue sentence of death, against the Sauiour & Redeemer of all mankind, our Lord Iesus Christ, God and man. At which time happened those things, which the holie Euangelists declared of his death & passion, and his resurrection was euident & publicke in *Ierusalem*, albeit they greatly laboured to conceale it. Which being reported to *Pilate* (although hee was wicked) he conceiued, that such a resurrection and myracles of Christ, could not be done by any humain power, but by God. In regard whereof (according as it is recited by *Paulus Orosius*, *Eusebius* & *Tertullian* in his Apologies) hee aduertised the

Pontius Ireneus Captaine of the *Samnites*.

Ioseph. in lib. de Antiquit. 2. Euseb. in lib. 1. de Hist. Eccles.

Euseb. in lib. 1. de Temp. Beda in Lib. de Temp.

Paulus Orosius. Euseb. Lib. 1 Tertul. in Apol.

the Emperor *Tiberius* in the matter: for it was a cuſtome, that the Conſulles and Pro-conſuls ſhould ſend to the Emperor or Senate, to acquaint them with ſuch occaſions as happened in their Prouinces.

Pilate writeth to *Tiberius*, concerning Chriſt & his Myracles.

Theſe meanes appeared verie meruailous to the Emperor, and he referd them to the Senate in Counſell, there to conſult, whether they thought it fit, or no, that this Prophet by his memorable actions, ſhould be honoured as a God. For without authoritie of the Senate, they could cauſe no new God to bee adored in Rome, ouer and beſide the vanitie of their owne ydle Gods. But as the Godhead had not any neede, neither would confirme it ſelf by the probation of men only: euen ſo God permitted, that the Senatours ſhould not agree vppon anie thing, but rather (as ſome Authors ſay) they were greatly diſcontented, that *Pilate* had not written as well to them, as he did to the Emperour *Tiberius*. Notwithſtanding, *Tiberius* prohibited the perſecution of the Chriſtians. After theſe occaſions thus happening, *Pilate* made his abiding at *Rome*, and beeing confirmed by the Deuill for his faithfull ſeruant; he neuer did any thing afterward in his Office, but ſuch things as were moſt vniuſt and wicked. Whereof being accuſed before *Caius Caligula*, the ſucceſſor of *Tiberius*, as alſo becauſe hee had prophaned the Temples, placing Statues & Images therein; and ſomtime had ſtolne monies out of the common Treaſurie, beſide other great crimes and vile actions: he was banithed thence to the Cittie of *Lyons*; others ſay, to *Vienna* in *Dauphine*. And becauſe this was the aſſigned place of his exile, ſome haue thought it alſo to be the place of his birth, where hee found ſuch entertainment and welcome, that he ſlue himſelfe with his own hands; which queſtionleſſe could not happen, but by Gods diuine permiſsion, and that his life ſhould not be taken away, but by the moſt wicked man in the whole world, and that was himſelfe.

Perſecution of the Chriſtians prohibited by *Tiberius*.

Pilate accuſed before the Emperor.

Pontius Pilate his own murtherer.

They that haue written heereof, are the fore-alledged Authors, and *Beda* in his Booke of Times, and likewiſe in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory on the Acts of the Apoſtles. *Euſebius* farther ſaith, that his death hapned eight yeares after our bleſſed Sauiours ſuffering: from whence this wicked *Pilate* could not deriue any benefit, becauſe he died deſperately. For ſo great is the goodneſſe of God, that although he condemned his innocent Son to death; yet if hee had repented him of his ſin, euen he whom he had adiudged to death, would haue granted him eternall life.

Venerab. Beda in Lib. de Temp. & in Hiſt. Eccl ſup. Act. Apo.

Hauing ſpoke thus much of *Pilate*, I may not forget a Lake cald *Pilats* lake, which Lake is in *Swetia*, neere to a City named *Lucerna*, on a plaine enuironed with very high Mountains. From the top of one of them (as ſome good Writers teſtifie) *Pilate* (in his deſperate mood) threw himſelf into the water. And it is a common voice of the people to this day, that euery yeare he there ſheweth himſelfe in the habit of a Iudge: but whoſoeuer ſeeth him, be it man or woman, is ſure to die within that years compaſſe. Beſide this, and the common fame bruited of this Lake, I muſt alledge the teſtimony of *Ioachimus Vadianus*, a man very learned, who Commenting vpon *Pomponius Mela*, writeth another notable thing of this Lake, which is both certaine and meruailous. He ſaith, that if any one throw a ſtone, ſtick, or any thing elſe whatſoeuer it be into the Watet; the Lake containeth ſuch a ſtraunge propertie, that it ſwell, riſe, and mooue with ſo impetuous a Tempeſt, that it ouerfloweth and drowneth a great part of the Countrey, whereby enſueth great loſſe and domages, aſwell on the ſeeds in the grounds, as to Trees and beaſts. And yet notwithſtanding, if no ſuch things be throwne into it, it ſtandeth ſtill without any motion. This *Ioachimus* further ſaith, (being a Natiue of *Swetia*) that there are very ſeuere ordinances made, prohibiting on paine of death, from caſting anie thing into this Lake, and that ſuch as break theſe prohibitions, haue bin put to death. Whither this do proceed naturally, or by miracle, I am not able to ſay, albeit ſome waters haue very great and admirable properties; for part whereof, reaſons may be deliuerd, but for others not.

Of a Lake in *Swetia*, called *Pilats Lake*

Ioach. Vadian. in Coment. ſup. Pomp. Mela.

A ſtrange property of *Pilates* Lake in *Swetia*.

Pliny reporteth a matter like to this, & ſaith, that in *Dalmatia*, ther is a deep hole or caue, wherinto if any man caſt a ſtone, or any waighty thing, there ſodenly iſſueth forth a furious aire ſo violently, as it procureth a daungerous Tempeſt, to all the neere dwellers. It well may be (which yet I will not ſtand to auouch) that the body

Plin. in lib. 2. de Reb. Nat.

Of a ſtrange Caue in *Dalmatia*.

body of *Pilate* was throwne thereinto; and that the Deuill (by diuine permissi-on, and for his much greater infamy) doeth performe such horrid and vncoth accidents in this place. Howsoeuer the cause proceedeth, certaine it is, that such a Caue is there to be seene, and such affrightments issuing thence, vppon the hurling of any heauie thing into it: For the rest, I refer it to the Learneds iudgement.

CHAP. VIII.

Of negligence, in the execution of Iustice vpon Offenders, and for the sins of the flesh.

Plut. in Romulo

WE read in *Plutark*, that when *Romulus* King of *Rome*, and *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*, had made their compositiō to gouerne the *Romains* and *Sabines* ioyntly, there fell a strange kinde of plague and famine in the Cities of *Rome* and *Laurentum*, for two murthers committed by the *Romaines* and *Laurentines*. The one was done by the Kinsmen of *Tatius*, vpon certaine Ambassadors of *Laurentum*; which murder, *Tatius* neglected to punnish. And the other, by the frends of the said Ambassadors vpon *Tatius*, in reuenge of the Iniustice done by his Kinsmen, and suffered by him, which also, *Romulus* let passe vnpunished: whereupon, it being noted that the plague and famine encreased straungely in both Cities, and a common opinion conceiued, that it was a punishment of God vppon them, for those murders committed, and not punnished: they resolued to doo Iustice vpon the offenders; which beeing done, the plague ceased presently in both places.

Plut. in Camillo

The same Authour also ascribeth the sacke of *Rome* by the *Gaules*, vnto the iust iudgement of God vppon the *Romaines*, for two Iniustices by them committed. The one, was the banishment of *Camillus*. The second, their refusall to punish certaine Ambassadors of their own, who being sent to treate peaceably with the *Gaules*, in behalfe of the *Clusians*, committed acts of hostility against them, contrarie to the Law of Armes. And when the *Gaules* sent to Rome, to demaund reparation of the iniurie, the *Romaines* not onely refused to giue them satisfaction; but also made their Ambassadors, (who had done the iniurie) Generals of an armie, to assist the *Clusians* against them: notwithstanding that the *Feciales* (who were certaine Officers ordained by *Numa Pompilius*, to determine of the iust & lawfull causes, either for warre or peace) made great instance to the Senate, that the Ambassadors might be punnished, least the penaltie of their fault, might otherwise fall vpon the Common-wealth, as indeed it did. For, the *Gaules* giuing battell to the Ambassadors, easily ouerthrew them, and prosecuting their victorie, spoiled and sacked Rome.

The *Feciales*, Officers for war or peace.

Heerein I wish to be noted, how grieuous a sinne it is, in the opinion of the verie Paynims themselues, and how dangerous to the Commonwealth, to neglect and omit the punishment of wrongs and iniuries done them; whereby the offences of perticular men, are made the sinnes and transgressions of the whole state, and draw the wrath and punnishment of God vpon the same. Whereof another example may also bee gathered, out of the same Authour and history, concerning the cause and manner of the first comming of the *Gaules* into *Italy*, and of the great spoile they made in *Tuscane*; which seemed to proceede from the iust iudgement of God, for like negligence in the execution of Iustice. For one of the Countrey of *Tuscane*, called *Arruntius*, hauing his Wife taken from him, and kept (perforce) by a Nobleman, called *Lucumo*, and finding no remedie by Iustice (by reason that his Aduersarie was supported by the Magistrates) was so incensed therewith against the whole state, that he went into *France*, and carried with him some of the Grapes, and other commodities of the Countrey, to inuite the *Gaals* to attempt the inuasion of *Tuscane*. Whereto he easily perswaded them, and ferued them for their guide: God so disposing his Iustice, that hee to whom the State had done the wrong, should be the meanes and Instrument of the punnishment due to the same.

The Paynims obseruers of Iustice in punishing iniuries.

Plut. Ibid.

The cause why the *Gaules* came into Italy.

Rome sacked and spoyled by the *Gaules*, in punnishment of two iniuries committed by the Romaines.

Heereto I will adde another notable example (in the same kinde) of the ouerthrow of the *Lacedemonians*, & their losse of

The *Lacedemonians* greeuously punnished, for

omission of Iustice, & for the sinnes of the flesh. *Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 15. cap. 14. Plut. in Tract. de Narrationes amatoriæ. Cicero de diuinat. lib. 1.*

of the Empire of *Greece*, by the iust iudgment of God for the like offence, as both *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, and others affirme, and the euent made it selfe manifest: the Story is thus.

Two *Lacedemonians* passing ouer the plaine of *Leuctra*, were lodged, and curteously entertained in the house of one *Scedasus*, who had two handsome Women to his Daughters. And returning that way againe shortly after, finding the two Women at home, and their father absent, they first rauished, and afterward killed them both.

The Father at his returne, finding his Daughters slain, and vnderstanding who had beene the doers of it, went to *Lacedemonia*, to craue Iustice against the Malefactors. But so potent were both they & their friends there, that hee could by no meanes obtaine it. Whereupon, after infinite maledictions, powred forth (in the sorrow of his heart) against them & their whole state, he went home, and desperatly killed himselfe on the graue of his two Daughters. Not long after, wars growing betwixt the *Thebanes* and *Lacedemonians*, the soule or ghost of *Scedasus* appeared to *Pelopidas* (one of the chief captaines of the *Thebanes*) and encouraged him to giue battaile to the *Lacedemonians* on the plaine of *Leuctra*, where he & his Daughters were buried; telling him, that their death should bee reuenged, and so afterward it fell out. For there the *Lacedemonians* lost not only the battel, but also the Empire of *Greece*, which they had many yeares before possessed. Wherein may also be noted, how God executed his Iustice vpon them in another respect. For, whereas the sinne of the Flesh was growne in *Lacedemonia* to such excesse, as that no part of Greece was therewith so much infected, it seemed conuenient to the diuine Iustice, that the same shold be a meane to draw his further wrath vpon their whole State, that so they might bee punnished, by the meanes of that sin wherein they had most offended.

Rape & murther do sildom escape without deserued punishment.

Examples of Gods seuere iudgements, vpon whole Commonweals, for the sinnes of the Flesh.

And truly, though many sinnes are counted more hainous, and are more seuerely chastised by humaine lawes, then the sinnes of the flesh, yet almighty God hath not more rigorously punished any, in whole Countries and States, then the same. As, to omit the exemplary plague that fell vpon *Sodome* and *Gomor* by fire from Heauen, for the detestable sinne against Nature (which in that respect is called *Sodomy*:) We read in the Holie Scriptures, that all the whole Tribe of *Beniamin* (excepting only sixe hundred) was slaine by the Children of *Israell*, by the commandement of Almightie God, for a rape which those of the Towne of *Gabaa* committed on the wife of a *Leuit*, whom they abused in such excesse, that she presently died. Whereupon, the other Tribes assembled themselues, and first demaunded to haue the Malefactors deliuered vnto them; and then vpon the refusall thereof, they consulted with Almightie God, whether they shoulde inuade them or no, which God commanded them to do, and appointed them a Captaine. And although in two battailes the children of *Israel* had the worst, yet in the third battaile, *Percussit eos Dominus* (saith the Scripture) *in conspectu filiorum Israell, &c. Our Lord God strooke those of the Tribe of Beniamin, in the sight of the children of Israell, who killed of them* 25000. *men, that bare Armes.* Whereby we may see no lesse, then by the former example, as well the enormitie of the sin of the flesh: as also, that refusal to do Iustice on a few Offenders of the Towne of *Gabaa*, drew al the Tribe of *Beniamin* into participation of the Offence, which was therefore punnished in them all alike.

Iudges 20, 47

Iudges 20, 46

The whole Tribe punished for the sinne of few.

But to omit the later consideration, to wit, of omission to do Iustice vppon Offenders, and to say somewhat more concerning the punishment of God for this fleshly sinne, we haue a notable & fearefull example thereof in the kingdome of *Spaine*, conquered by the *Moores*, and possessed by them seauen hundred yeares for that Offence. For, when the Kingdome had flourished both in Religion & power, from the time of King *Recared*, the first Catholicke King thereof, the space of an hundered and twentie yeares: the wicked King *Vitiza*, (being a man whollie giuen to Lust and Carnality) infected and corrupted all *Spain*, not only with the bad example of his owne dissolute life (hauing manie Wiues at once, beside diuers Concubines;) but also with abhominable Lawes, whereby he gaue leaue to all sorts of men, to haue as manie Wiues & Concubines as they listed; enforcing Priests, & such as would haue

Spaine conquered by the *Moores* for the sinne of the flesh.

Rodric Toletan. in lib. 2. de rebus Hispan. cap. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Genes. 19, 24

haue liued chastly, to marry. By which meanes, all *Spaine* becam within a while, to bee no better then a common Stewes or Brothel. And althogh almighty God, (according to his accustomed mercy) expected their conuersion and amendment all the time of his raigne, and laide only the penalty thereof vpon him, depriuing him both of his Crowne and eye-sight, by the meanes of *Rodericke*, who succeeded him in the kingdome: yet when the saide *Rodericke* followed his steps, aswell in his vicious life, as maintenance of his abhominable Lawes, it pleased God in his Iustice to permit him, to giue the occasion both of his owne ruin, & likewise of the ouerthrow of all *Spaine*, by this sin of the flesh, wherewith the whole Kingdome ouer-flowed. For, whereas King *Roderick* had sent a Kinsman of his own, called Count *Iulian*, Ambassadour into *Affricke*, and (in the meane time) rauished his Daughter, or (as some Write) his Wife: the Count vnderstanding it at his returne, was so incensed there-with against the King, that in reuenge thereof, he practised with the Moors, to bring them into *Spaine*, who with his assistance so speedily conquered it, and with such destruction of the people, that the punishment of God was most euident therin. For, hauing first ouerthrowne K. *Roderick* (whose body could neuer after the battell be found) they subdued almost all *Spaine* in eight months, or (as * some say) 14. and slew 700000. of all sorts of people; beside great numbers of Captiues, which they sent prisoners into *Barbarie*. And from that time forward, they remained in possession of that kingdome, or of some great part thereof, for the space of 700 yeares.

Idem Ibidem. Ioan. Vaseus. Chron An. 712

Almost all *Spain* conquered by the Moores in 8. months.

**Ioan. Vasseus in Chron. An.* 714.

The subuersion of Spaine by the *Moors*, attributed by wise and holy men (in the same Age) to Gods Iustice, for the sins of the flesh. *Baron. An.* 747

This example of the Conquest and subuersion of *Spaine*, for the sinnes of the flesh, was so famous, and so much obserued by godly and Wisemen, at the same time when it hapned: that S. *Bonifacius*, borne in *England*, and Byshop of *Mentz* in *Germany*, (who liued in the same age, and holpe to conuert the *Saxons* and *Frisons* from Paganisme to the Christian Faith) proposed it to one of the English Kings, called *Ethelbald*, K. of the *Mercians*, to withdraw him from his dissolute life. And forasmuch as his Epistle to him containeth verie notable matter, I will alledge heere some part thereof, translated out of Latine, thus.

A notable Epistle of S. *Bonifacius* an Englishman, Bish. of *Mentz* to *Ethelbald*, K. of *Mercia*. *Baron. cod. An.*

I beseech thee deere Son in our Lord, that if this bee true which is reported of you, you will repent and amend your life, remembering how vnfit it is for you, who haue the Image of God created in you, to conuert the same into the Image of the Deuill by Licentiousnesse. And that you, whom no merrits or deserts of your owne, but the bountiful goodnesse of Almightie God, hath made a Prince and King to gouerne many, shoulde make your selfe slaue vnto the Deuill, by the sinnes of the flesh. For, as the Apostle sayth, What sinne soeuer a man commits, hee makes himselfe Slaue thereof. *And the Paynims themselues, who know not the true God, do obserue in this point, that which God ordained from the beginning, liuing in all true loue and loyaltie with their wiues, and punnishing Adulterie and fornication. For, if in olde Saxony (where there is no knowledge of Christ) either Maid or Wife do commit Adultery or Fornication, shee is first strangled, and after burnt. And he that corrupted her, is hanged ouer her. Or else, shee is stripped naked to the middle, and whipped by chast Matrons from Towne to Town, & prickt with sharpe Kniues, vntill shee dye therewith.*

How rigorously the *Saxons* in Germanie (being Paynims) punished adulterie and fornication.

If therefore the Gentiles (who knew not God) haue such a zeale and loue to Chastity, what shold you do that are a Christian king? Therefore haue pittie vpon your owne soule, & vpon the multitude of your people which perish by your example: and for whose soules you are to yeeld account. Consider also this, that if the English Nations (as the very Painims in France & Italy do cast in our teeth) do contemne marriage, and giue themselues ouer to vnlawful Lust, it must needs follow that the Children which shal proceed of thē, wil degenerate, and become (at last) Cowardly and weake in warre, vnstable in faith, shameful, and reproachfull among men, & hateful to God. As it hath alreadie chaunced to the Prouensales, Burgundians, & Spaniards, *who falling from GOD by the same meanes, are now (by his iust iudgement) seuerely punished for the same by the Sarazins with losse of the Christian faith.*

The hurt that followeth to a Commonweale, by vnlawfull procreation.

Thus wrote this worthy Byshop a few yeares after *Spaine* was conquered by the *Moores*; and further added certaine examples of Gods Iustice, extended vpon some English Kings for their Licentious life, and other offences. As vpon King *Ceolred*, predecessour of *Ethelbald*, who (saith

The vnfortunate ends of the Kings, *Ceolred*, *Ofred*, & *Ethelbald*, in punishment of their licentious liues.

(saith he) was not only a deflourer of Religious Women, but also a breaker of ecclesiasticall priuiledges. And therefore it is said, that God suffered a wicked Spirit to take and possesse him, as hee was banketting with his Nobility, and to kill him, after that hee had blasphemed Almighty God, by his procurement. And to the same cause he also attributeth the vnfortunate end of *Ofred*, King of *Northumberland*, who he saith, was *Earundē culparū reus*, *Guilty of the same faults*; and that therefore God suffered him to bee miserably killed. Thus this holy man admonished King *Ethelbald*, who as it may be presumed, contemned his Counsell; and therefore receiued at Gods handes, the punnishment due to such great neglect: for he was afterward cruelly murdered, as appeareth in the English histories.

Polidor. lib. 4. et Supplement. Epicomes Hist. Bede.

CHAP. IX.

Of the inuention of Belles, with the vse of them, and what benefite ensueth by them. Also, who were the first that coniured Deuils.

ALthough this may seeme to bee a meane subiect, to speake of such a common thing as Belles: yet so it is, that considering how necessary they are for Diuine seruice, and conuocation of Christian people together, with other effects, whereof we are to discourse, it may (vnder fauor) be presumed, that the inuention & vse of them (in Gods Church) proceeded doubtlesse from inspiration of the blessed spirit. The Lord commanded in the old Testament, that two Trompets of Siluer should bee made, which the Priests should sounde, to the end that all people might bee called to the Diuine Sacrifices. And our Lord, speaking of his comming in the day of Iudgement, saith amongst other things; *That he wil send his Angels vvith Trompets, to assemble and congregate the elect.* Now following this good example, Christian people comming to increase in some number, to assemble so great a multitude together at one time, to make Prayers, and offer sacrifices in the Temples, neither Trompets which had bin formerly sanctimoniously instituted for this businesse, nor the voices of men could be sufficient; but it was thē thoght fit, to inuent some strong Instrument: by meanes whereof, an assembly might the sooner be made. And to compasse this, among all other that men could dreame on, the vse of a Bell was found to be the best & apteſt; as being of loudest sound, and to be heard the furthest off.

Bels necessary for Diuine Seruice.

Numb. 10, 2.

Math. 24, 31.

The encrease of Christian people in the world.

This inuention then must needs be reputed verie meruailous, and woorthy the name of so excellent a man, as was *Paulinus* Byshop of *Nola*, of equal standing in time with S. *Augustine*, and with S. *Ierom*: who wrote many letters vnto him, which yet at this day are to be read. He then was the first, that (in his Church and Byshoppricke) brought vp the vse of Bels; which afterward was continued through Christendome, as a thing most necessary: and hence it commeth, that *Nola* being a Latine word, signifieth a Bell. Now, it is further to bee noted, that Belles are not good only in the cases fore-named, but they are said also to haue a wonderful effect, which is; that the Deuils or Spirits houering in the aire, do flie the sound of a Bell, and hold it in horrour, as a thing found out and instituted, for giuing honor and worship to the true God. And so much the rather, because as they delight themselues in Musicke, which inciteth & prouoketh men to euill; euen so, the sound of Bels they shun and are offended at, as being most hurtfull and contrary to them. And yet they cause a christian man to reuiue his spirits, putting him in mind of God, and such times as befit his Prayers and Sacrifices: for being dedicated to those vses, they moue a man inwardly, & exalt his soule with cheerefulnesse to deuotion.

Paulinus Byshop of *Nola*, the first Inuenter of Belles.

Nola signifieth a Bell.

The sound of Bels displeasing to deuils.

Belles are cheerfull to a Christian man.

They are said also to haue another verie profitable propertie, to wit; That the sound of them doth breake the ayre, and driue on the Clouds, diuiding thunders, and verie euidently resisting Tempestes: because, that by the power and promptitude of such sounds, tempestuous clouds do breake and scatter themselus: by which meanes their force and furie ceaseth. As daily may be noted by experience, that when there is any great wind or tempest, by

Great vertue in the sound of Belles.

by ringing a multitude of Belles, the extreamity presently beginneth to growe calme. Notwithstanding all this, I deny not, but that the deuout Praiers of faithfull Christians, in such perrillous seasons haue much greater Vertue and efficacie: yet neuertheleſſe (as I haue saide) it is a matter most certaine and naturall: and whereof wee haue had good apparance, by a great troope of people walking in the Fieldes; for, as they shout or exalt their voyces, the ayre (by little and litle) doth deuide it selfe, so that if any Bird (by chance) be flying aboue them, she falles downe to the grounde for want of Ayre to support her. And it must needes be so, because (to speake truly) Voices and sounds in this manner formed, doo penetrate and cleaue the aire, euen so farre as the place of their power extendeth; and where they are to finish their strength.

Prayer is of great efficacy in times of trouble.

Whither Deuils do auoid the ringing of Bels, or no.

Now, in regard it may seeme strange to some, that I haue saide Deuilles do fly away at the sound of Belles, because they haue no bodies or vnderstanding to hear or elſe to bee handled and felt, but that (simply) their intelligence is incorporeal. To such I answer, that those things which are not by bodily sense to be comprehended, which they want, they attaine vnto it by intellectuall knowledge; in which manner, wicked spirites are tormented by fire.

Ephes. 4, 7. In like case, we read that Saint *Paul* commanded Women beeing in Churches, they should be silent, and vailed on their heads, for the presence & reuerence of the Angels, albeit they haue neyther eyes or eares. Also it is most certain, that the Angell *Raphaell* saide to *Tobias*, that he offered to God the Prayers which he made. According to this example, it is written in the 6. Chapter of *Tobias*, that the Angell *Raphael* going with yong *Tobias*, after he had kild the fish in the flood of *Tigris*, hee bad him keepe the Liuer, saying; That throwing it into the fire, the fume arising from it, had the power and Vertue to expell Deuilles from the place perfumed therewith, and they neuer to returne thither againe. Afterward, in the eight Chapter, wee read, that hee laid the Liuer vpon the burning Coales; and with the perfume arising from it, he chased away the Deuill, that had bin the death of *Sarraes* seauen Husbandes; and she freely deliuered from all affliction.

Tobias 12, 12.

Tobias 6, 7.

Tobias 8, 3.

Concerning the expelling of Deuils and Coniuring them by Holie words, & other meanes, as now adayes is vsed: it is a case so ancient, that *Iosephus* writeth in his Antiquities, that *Salomon* was the Inuenter thereof; and the first that (by his speeches) chased them away, being therin illumined and enstructed of God. He declareth also, that he knew an *Hebrew*, named *Eleazar*, who in the presence of the Emperour *Vespasian*, and the whole band of armed men, healed such as were possessed with Deuils; and in dooing it he would hold a Ring against the parties Nose that was possest, whereto was fastned the roote of a certaine hearb, which (he said) was taught him by *Salomon*; and while the hearbe continued his smel, and it was applied to the Patients power, the Deuill could not preuaile, but fled away from him. Returne we againe to Belles, whose sound is generally affirmed, to afflict, torment, and expell Deuils or euill spirits. And for this cause, to despight the Deuill, and for his confusion, there is no Sect, nor Religion of Faith, or of any Law whatsoeuer, that dooth make vse of Bels for Diuine Seruice, but the Christian Catholicke Church only.

Salomon did first inuent the expelling of Deuils.

Of *Eleazar* the *Hebrue*.

The conclusion concerning Belles.

CHAP. X.

Of a Combate fought between two Knights of Castille, in triall whereof happened very memorable accidents.

Diuers times haue chanced great aduentures in the triall of *Duelloes* & single Combats; which (in iust reason) haue deserued especiall memory. Neuertheleſſe, being matters so manifest, I shal speake but of one onely; because therein hapned very strange fortune. In the time of *Alphonsus* King of *Castille*, who was father to the King *Don Peter*; there grew a quarrell betweene two Knightes of his Court; the one, beeing named *Ruparz de Viedma*, and the other *Per Rodriguez d'Auvila*. The quarrell grewe from hence, that *Ruparz* saide in presence of the King, hee beeing then at *Valladolid*,

A Quarrell betwixt two Knights of *Castille*, and the cause thereof

that *Pay* was a Traitor, because hee neyther being of *Castile*, or a subiect to the King, came thither with the Armie of *Portugall*, to the preiudice of *Castille*, and against his owne King, except he had bin drawne thereto by duty.

This he offered to approue by Testimonies, and by Armes, or any other maner of proofe, whereto hee might stand bound: and heereupon he defied *Pay Rodiguez*, who was then absent. But beeing aduertised thereof, he wrote to the King, that hee stoode not obliged to make any answere, because *Ruypaez* was a Traitor, and would haue slaine his owne King *Alphonsus*; whereof he would make proofe by Armes, and on that accusation he defied him. And because the proofe which he purposed to make, concerned no lesse then Capitall Treason, a case farre aboue his Aduersaries imputation to him, hee required the King to grant him safe conduct, whereby he might safely come to his Court, there to approoue his words by Combate.

When the King was made acquainted heerwith, he stood in some doubt, which of these two Knights was the Accuser or Defender; considering, that the first man had first accused, and the other much more aggrauated the matter. Wherefore, he aduised with his counsell in this case; & concluded, to giue safe conduct to the accuser of High-treason, by means whereof, he came to the Court, & made his accusation in the Kinges presence, where the partie accused gaue him the lye: and therefore, the field was granted by the King, but the day somewhat prolonged, for the space of ninetie dayes, as is recorded, because *Ruypaez* was then sickly.

The day being come, they both apeared in the fielde, where the accustomed solemnities being performd, they entred Combat, and some wounds being giuen on either side, the night preuenting anie further proceeding, they were parted, without victory to the one or other. The next day they were brought againe into the field, where like bold and hardie Knights, each did his best endeuour to vanquish the other: and albeit they fought verie manfully, with many wounds, both giuen and receiued, yet neither of them failed a iot in strength or courage, but wasted all that day likewise, without anie discerning, which of them had the better aduantage. Whereupon, vnder equall tearmes of victory, they were once more commaunded from the field, both with great meruaile and compassion in the Beholders, that two such worthy Knights should thus hazard their liues. Vpon the third day, they were in like maner broght into the field, with the very same vndaunted spirit in either, as formerly hath been witnessed, though not in such strong ability of body, yet thus they there continued againe till night came, neither beeing more aduantaged then the other.

When the King had well considered heereon, hee greatly pittied the losse of two so valiant Knights; wherefore, hee caused them to bee parted, determining to imploy them both in his wars against the Moores, and heereupon their Weapons were taken from them. And the King saide (out of his Iudgement) seeing *Pay Rodiguez* had done his woorst to kill *Ruypaez*, & yet could not conquer him, he was verily perswaded, that he had not conspired his death, but held him to be a loyall and true Knight. In like manner, hee absolued *Pay Rodiguez*, of the crime attributed to him by the other: because, hauing continued three daies in such sharpe triall, God surely woulde haue shewne the innocence of the one or other in both their quarrels. And therefore reputing them both to be good and worthy Knights, they were conducted from the field with great honor.

An answer returned to the Challenge. & the accuser further charged.

The k. doubtfull in the accusation.

The Combat granted.

The first daies fight.

The second dayes fight.

The 3. dayes fight.

The King ceaseth the combate.

The Kings opinion of the Combattants.

CHAP. IX.

Of manie admirable things, hapning in diuers parts of the world.

ALthough the works of Nature are very wonderfull; and an argument of the infinit power of the Creator of all things: yet such thinges as heeretofore haue beene ordinary, and which the wise and learned haue well vnderstoode, do raise in me much more admiration; as the birth of men, Beasts, Plantes, and production of their Fruits, with all other ordinary semblable things. There are some other beside, not so

Concerning the admirable workes of Nature.

so vulgar, which neuertheleſſe (in their Nature) do much amaze vs: Howbeit, we wonder to behold thinges, which ſeem repugnant to the common eſſence and order of things, as ſuch bee, which are reported and affirmd by men of great authority.

Pontanus, of an hie rockie Mountaine, neere to *Naples*, & a tree growing out of it.

Pontanus, a verie famous and moſt lerned man, by reaſon of his great reading, ſaith, that he and manie more, haue ſeen an high Mountaine, in the Sea neere to *Naples*, being an huge part of a Rocke, or mighty maſſe of Flint, fallen down therinto by fortune. Within which flinty Rocke grew a great Tree, ſo faſt knit and combined within the ſtone, as it ſeemed that Nature had there produced it, and made it meerely grow out of the ſtone or Rocke, euen as if they were both but one bodie, albeit it was truelie Wood. Which apeard to proceed from nothing elſe, or anie other place then the earth, where the Water made a mixture of it ſelfe with the Tree, and ſo conuerted and knit it into the Rocke, locking it faſt on all ſides. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe it was in ſuch a place, where (it may bee) men very ſildome reſorted, and it a matter of ſuch rarity, it ſeemed the harder to bee comprehended.

Alexandrinus, of *Alexandria*, concerning a Marble ſtone.

Another thing is declared by *Alexandrinus* of *Alexandria*, in like manner very meruailous, which happened at *Naples*, where he then dwelt; to wit, that in cutting Marble ſtone, hewne formerly out of a Rocke, and preparing for buildings: as they Sawed thorough the middle, they found (within it) a Diamond of great Value, which had been cut and poliſhed by the hand of man.

Oyle found in a Marble ſtone.

The ſame *Alexandrinus* further relateth, that as they prepared another Marble ſtone, ſtriuing to diuide it in the middeſt, it was of ſuch extreame hardneſſe, that they were faine to break it with pick-axes. And in the middeſt of the ſtone, they found a great quantitie of Oyle encloſed, euen as if it had beene in a Glaſſe or Bottle; and the Oyle was very cleare, faire, and of an exceeding ſweete ſauour.

Baptiſta Fulgoſo in lib. 2 de Col.

Baptiſta Fulgoſo, in the firſt Booke of his Collections, certifieth and ſaith, that hee had ſeene a Mountaine very farre off from the Sea, where was found (aboue an hundred fadome deepe in the earth) a Shippe ouer-turned, and euen as conſumed: yet not ſo much, but that the form thereof might well be diſcerned, and perfectly knowne. They founde likewiſe Anchors of Iron, Maſtes and Sail-yards, yet broken and halfe conſumed. But that which is moſt to be admired, they found there the bones and heads of foure perſons; and theſe thinges were ſeene in the yeare, 1460.

A Ship, Anchors, Maſts, and Sail-yardes found an hundred Fadome deep in a Mountaine.

Some of them that ſaw theſe thinges, were perſwaded, that they had been thus couered with earth, from the time of the Vniuerſall Deluge (if before that time any Shippes were vſed, or men ſayled on the Seas in theſe times) which may eaſily be beleeued, in regard that before the Flood, almoſt all Arts were founde out. Others were of opinion, that this might be ſome Ship, which had been ſubmerged in the Sea, and that by the interiour concauitie of the earth, the waters had driuē it in ſo farre; where, ſince the mutation of times, the earth remaining dried vp, it ſtayed there as immured vp in a Vault: but howſoeuer it came thether, the aduenture was admirable.

All arts found out before the flood.

The ſame Author declareth moreouer, that he ſaw an hard ſtone; which being broken thorowe the middeſt, a liue Worme was there founde within it: to whom it was impoſſible there ſhoulde come any nouriſhment, but what the ſtone it ſelfe affoorded her. A Serpent alſo was preſented to Pope *Martin* the fift, that liued in the middeſt of a ſtone likewiſe: and it ſeemed, that Nature had thus created her within, and that (without any other nouriture) ſhe receiued ſuſtenance by the onely Vertue and propriety of the ſtone.

A Worme found liuing in an harde ſtone.

A Serpent liuing in a ſtone.

CHAP. XII.

The variable opinion of Philoſophers, concerning Humaine Language: And of the Originall of Marriage.

GOd created Man, after hee had created all other thinges, whereof hee made him Lorde: this is verie true, and wee ought to beleeue it as an Article of our Faith. But this Light and Truth failed, and was

The Phylosophers ignorant in the worlds creation.

vtterly vnknowne to the auncient Phylophers, when they beganne to immagine and to search out the Originall and beginning of the world, and of all thinges elſe whatſoeuer.

Diodor. Sicul. in Lib. 2.

Diodorus Siculus reciteth the opinions to this purpoſe, and ſaith; Some were of the minde, that the world and men had both a beginning. Others, out of more vaine fantaſie, ſaide; that all things were eternall, and that not any thing had a beginning. Now, among the former of theſe two Opinions, there were great differences.

Epicurus and his Sect.

Epicurus, and ſome other of his Sect, (who mannaged the Diuine prouidence by ignorance) affirmed men to bee caſually created and granted their beginning by the Attomies; to whom he vſually attributed the Originall of all things. The Poet *Lucretius* alſo followed him in this vanity: VVherein *Lactantius Firmianus* ſmiled, and elegantly mocked him.

Attomies, little Moats in the ſun, hardly to be diſcerned.

Lactan Firm. in lib. de Oper. dei lib. 7. de Inſtitut

Anaximander found out a matter well deſeruing laughter, to wit; that of Water and Earth, and by the heate of the Sun, man was firſt producted; as if there belonged no more to a man, then vnto a Fly.

Anaximander.

Empedocles.

Empedocles was almoſt of the very ſame opinion, intermedling the matter of man with Water and Fire, and ſaide; That euery member was firſt created by it ſelfe, and then conioyning themſelues (at a venter) together, they formed and Organized the body of man.

Democritus.

Democritus was not wholly of the ſame minde, ſaying; That man was made of Water, and the ſlime of the earth. The *Stoicks* were of a more ſound iudgment, for they confeſſed, that all thinges were made by Diuine prouidence. They further held, that God had created man, & all other creatures: *Lactantius* alſo ſpeaketh as much. Diuine *Plato* was of this opinion, and of him (according to *Lactantius*) the *Stoicks* Learned. But much more clearely *Cicero*, in the firſt Booke of his Lawes, where (commending man) hee ſaith: *This Creature, full of reaſon and Counſell, among all the other, was created by the Lorde God his Maiſter, in more great perfection then anie other animate thing.*

The Stoicks.

Lactan. Firm. in lib. 2. & li. 7

Cic. in lib. 1. de Legib.

Of the other and ſecond opinion, to wit; that men are eternall, and without beginning, and to endure continuallie, was *Ariſtotle* alwayes, of whom *Lactantius* ſpeaketh in his ſecond Booke, that to draw himſelfe from other opinions, hee held this: which alſo was obſerued by the Sect of the *Peripatetians*, of whom hee was Prince. *Pliny* was of the ſame opinion, which *Lactantius Firmianus* reproued, and deſtroyed as falſe. The like (moſt learnedly) did *Tho: Aquinas*, in his Summary againſt the *Gentiles*.

Ariſt. Prince of the *Peripatetians.*

Lact Firm. in lib 2.

Plin. in lib. 1. Lact. Fir. lib. 2.

Tho: Aquinas, in Sum. cont. Gent.

But leauing theſe opinions of Men without Faith, wee ought to beleeue for truth, that Man was formed by God, the Creator of all thinges, and that to multiplie this humaine progeny, it was conuenient to create the Woman: which hee did, and tooke her out of the ſide of the firſt man. And to the end, that he ſhould not indiſcreetly keepe companie with her, as other vnreaſonable Creatures doo together, hee inſtituted Holie Marriage betweene them, ſaying vnto them; *Encreaſe, Multiply, fill the Earth, and poſſeſſe it.* As it is teſtified by *Moiſes* in Geneſis, and by *Ioſephus*, in the firſt Booke of his Antiquities. Notwithſtanding, the Gentiles being depriued of this Holie Hiſtorie, do attribute the inuention thereof to others. Among a great number of whom, *Trogus Pompeius* ſaieth; that *Cecrops* King of *Athens*, inuented marriage. Finally, the Redeemer of all mankind being come into the world, he approued it, and inſtituted it as a bleſſed Sacrament, reprooving the repudiation permitted by the Iewes, to take away the rigour of their ſeueritie, as Saint *Mathew* declareth in his nineteenth Chapter: as alſo, Saint *Marke*, and Saint *Paule*.

The neceſsity of the Womans creatiō

The Inſtitution of mariage

Geneſ. 2, 23.

Ioſeph. in lib. 1. de Antiquit.

Cecrops King of *Athens* ſaid to inuent Mariage.

Math. 19, 7.

Marriage then was thus inſtituted, ioyning one Man with one Woman, and not with manie, neither one Woman with manie Men; which was moſt iuſtly done, becauſe the contrarie dooth wholly contradict Natural reaſon. Moreouer, it was appointed by Diuine Lawe and Ordinance. Beſides, what thing could bee more conformable to Naturall rule (albeit, neyther the Lawe, nor Faith commaunded it) then to haue one ſole Companion, and not confuſion of two or manie VVeomen? In which confuſion, when as a VVoman will not liue and abide with her Husband, but withdraw her ſelfe to others, it is againſt the Lawe of Nature, which forbiddeth that

One man and one Woman, ioined in mariage.

The rule of Nature, and how to be obſerued betweene man and woman.

that to be done to another, that the partie would not haue done to himselfe, for amitie consisteth in paritie of personnes. How can it be then, that loue and amitie should be perfect, where there is so great inequalitie? And where a man is at libertie with manie Weomen, when the woman is combinde and made subiect vnto one man only?

Lone consisteth in paritie of persons.

It is not possible, that true and perfect amitie shoulde diuide and extend it selfe vnto manie, as *Aristotle* hath well maintained it. It would rather seeme a kind of seruitude, as wee may well note among barbarous people, who haue manie Weomen, and with whom they deal in the Nature of Seruants, rather then as Wiues, Friends, and Louers; besides, the multitude of Wiues doth hinder all good order, which ought to be obserued in Domestick affaires.

Arist in lib. 8. de Ethic.

Moreouer, wee see Naturally, that in all kinds of Beasts, the Sires or Fathers (as we tearme them) haue a great sollicitude and respect to their young ones, as well for teaching as nourishing them, & they are euermore (or most commonly) paired. For, the Male hath no more but one Female, as we may behold in all Birds, and in the most sorts of foure-footed Beasts. Whereby may bee gathered, how a man ought to behaue himselfe, and how he should carrie his Loue and affection vnto his children, and that no man ought to haue more then one Wife onely.

Example of the care in bruite beasts, of their Females.

Seeing then, it standeth thus on the behalfe of men, by the verie same reasons it is prooued, that the Woman ought to haue no more then one Husband. For, if she should haue more, there would arise thereby verie great inconueniences, becausse the Children borne of a woman which is married to manie Husbandes, cannot be saide to haue any certaine Father: by meanes whereof, and in a case so doubtfull, all loue and paternall care, eyther for education or nourishing, perrisheth presently. Nay, besides this, the difference of Linage and Kindered cannot bee discerned or considered, whereon ensueth vnlawfull and damnable Copulations.

One law bindeth both mē and women, to haue but one wife, and one Husband

The first man that presumed (against the Law of Nature) to haue two Wiues, was *Lamech* the seauenth man, accounting from *Adam*, in descending by the line of the peruerse and wicked *Caine*; as it is found in the fift Chapter of *Genesis*. By the example of which *Lamech*, many Iewes, and other bestiall barbarous Nations, accustomed themselues to take manie Wiues, wherein they erred and sinned greatly.

The first mā that dared to haue 2. wiues.

But if *Iacob*, *Dauid*, and other Saintes of the Law, had more then one wife: it was becausse they were dispensed withall by the holy spirit, and for some perticuler occasions. But the other Iewes, that tooke manie Wiues without perticuler allowance from God; sinned hainouslie, and with them also haue failed many barbarous Nations, as being a matter conformable to their brutish inclinations, & carnall appetites. Among whom were the *Numidians*, *Ægyptians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Tharsians*, and some others, who entertained as manie wiues as they were able to keepe.

Holy men dispensed withal by God.

The Nations that had many Wiues.

VVicked *Mahomet* also in his false Law, both counselled and permitted the same sinne; to the end, hee might draw the more Iewes to him, and all other carnall-minded men. But the *Romaines* and *Græcians*, with diuers Nations, that had better Lawes and Customes, neuer allowed any man to haue more then one VVife, nor a wife more then one Husband.

Mahomet allowed plurality of wiues.

CHAP. XIII.

Of what estate, and at what yeares or Age, a man should be married vnto a Woman.

THe ancient Morrall Philosophers, held diuers Opinions concerning the age & yeares that men and VVomen should be married together, to the end, that they might bee proportionable in abilitie one to another. *Aristotle* deriuing his argument (it may bee) from hence; That VVeomen conceiue and beare Children vnto the yeares of fiftie, and men are able to beget vntill the yeares of seauenty, saith; *That they ought to Marrie at such an Age in either; that (at one and the same time)*

Aristotles opinion of Man and Womans procreation of Children.

Hesiodus and *Xenophon* for the years for marriage.

Lycurgus his Law for marriage.

Arist. in Oecon.

The Authors reasonagainst *Aristotles* yeares of marriage.

The man should be elder then the Woman.

A Maide in yong yeares is fitter for a man then a Widdow.

time) they may both cease begetting & conceiuing. So that by *Aristotles* rule, the husband ought to be twentie years (or thereabout) more aged then the wife. *Hesiodus* the Greeke Poet, and *Xenophon* the Phylosopher, doo graunt them a little lesser time, saying; *That when they marrie, the woman should be fourteene yeares olde, and the man thirtie.* *Licurgus* the Law-maker of the *Lacedemonians*, conformeth himselfe almost with *Aristotle*: For, by his Law, he prohibited any man to marrie sooner then at thirty seauen years, and the Woman at seauenteene.

This Law of *Lycurgus* hath beene approoued by diuers, to the end, that (the more facillie) the woman might inure hir selfe to the maners of her husband, comming then into his power from her yonger yeares. For, as *Aristotle* saith in his Occonomie: *The diuersity of manners & conditions, do hinder amitie and true Loue.* Neuertheless I do not alow this Law of *Aristotle*, that grants a man twenty years more then a Woman (vnder reuerence and anthoritie due to so worthy a Man) and my reason is, because wee see, that when a man attaineth to threescore years of age, albeit he can then beget: yet so it is (and that most commonly) if hee passe on further, the rest of his daies are so laden with diseases and passions, that if the Woman bee then at the yeares of Fortie, he is then to her, rather a burdenous paine and trouble, then as a Husband of consolation.

Therefore, when there is a lesse difference in their yeares, their affections do mortifie themselues (as it were) both together at one time, and their willes and intentions grow to more conformitie, then when there is such great inequalitie in their ages. I denie not, but that the man ought to bee the eldest; but it sufficeth, if it be by the space of eight or ten yeares, and the Woman sixeteene, seauenteene, or more, hauing respect vnto the Ages and Liues of these our present dayes.

Also, I dare maintaine, that a man ought to take a Wife which is yong, welfeatured, and a Maide, rather then a widdowe, or one in yeares, formerly moulded vnto anothers manners and humors: because it is most certaine, that in soft & tender youth, much better and easily may be imprinted, euen such maners and conditions as the Husband would wish, (with absolute priuiledge of Obedience) then in rugged, stubborne, or aged sullen Nature.

To this purpose we haue a notable example, in *Timotheus* the cunning & excellent Flute-player; and who for mony made no spare of his skill, for the instruction of youth in his singuler qualitie. He obserued it as a custome, before he wold accept of any Scholler; to know, if formerly he had practised any beginning of the Art, for he wold take more then halfe the price doubled of such, then of them that knewe nothing therein. And his reason was, because he should take more paines to briole such a one, of an euil apprehension alreadie learned, then hee could any way doo, by direct teaching such as formerly knew not a note. This example serueth well for widdowes, that formerly haue beene taught and enstructed by others: and therefore, do require the more difficult labour, to chaunge the bad Tunes, and strange conceits, learned or practised in their first Husbands daies. In which respect (and verie iustly) I preferre the Marriage of Maids, before that of Widdowes; because, beside what els hath beene, and yet further may bee alledged, womē do contain a singuler loue and memory of them, with whome they had their first acquaintance.

Now; as concerning Parentage and a wealthie Dowrie with a VVoman, I read, that a yong Grecian went to *Pittacus*, one of the seuen Sages of Greece, to craue his Counsell in the case of marriage, vsing these wordes; *I am offered my choise of two women in marriage; the one is equal to me in goods & parentage, the other exceedeth mee very farre, which of them is fittest for mee to elect? Pittacus* returned him this answere: *See yonder are two children, practising to play at defence with Cudgels, go vnto them, and they will giue thee Counsell.* He did so: and as he approched neere the Boyes, who were laying their heads together, concerning their owne play: When they saw the young man come, that exceeded them so much in strength and stature, imagining he came to play with them, they laide downe the weapons, saying; *Euerie man shoulde play with his equall.* By which childish precept or admonition, hee perceiued that hee ought to marrie his equall.

Plutarch

Of *Timotheus* the skilfull player on Flutes.

An euill Custome once learnd, is not easily cured.

A note for Widdowes.

Marriage of maids, preferred before that of Widdowes.

Of a Wiues parentage & riches in mariage, the case aduised by wise *Pittacus*.

Equality is the fittest thing in marriage.

Plutarch, his graue aduise concerning marriage.

Plutarch, in his Treatise of nursing Children, saith: *A man ought not to marry his Sonne to a Woman richer then himselfe, neither of any greater condition. For* (saith he) *he that allies himselfe, where he is exceeded in wealth; instead of begetting Kinred, purchaseth Maisters and Commanders. And when a rich Woman marries her selfe to a poore Man; pride alwaies will haue the supremacy in her braine, liuing altogether vnruly and incompatible, onely by the contempt she hath of her Husband.* The Philosopher *Menander* saide: *A poore Man that matcheth himselfe with a rich Wife, giues himselfe in marriage to the woman, and not she to him.* *Lycurgus* his Law against dowries in Marriage.

Lycurgus appointed a Law to the *Lacedemonians*, that they should marry their Daughters without any dowries; to the end, that each one should endow themselues with vertues, and onely (therefore) to be required in marriage. Now, albeit this Law seemed rigorous to some, yet (for all that) it was very allowable; being kept in one body, as well as in another. And then, if the Father had no Mony or other goods in marriage with his Wife: hee was the lesse obliged to giue any with his Daughter; and hereby it was the better knowne, that when a Man sought to be married, whether he did it in respect of riches, or no. But it were a great deale of lost labour, in seeking now to perswade this among vs: considering, that men are so well acquainted with this abuse, as marriage (in these daies) is procured for nothing else.

A hard matter to be perswaded in these dayes.

Notwithstanding, I will still maintaine, that when a rich Man desireth Marriage; he should not greedily gape after riches, but rather to enioy a noble and vertuous Wife. Taking example by *Alexander* the Great, who although he was a mighty King, as is wel enough knowne: yet he tooke to Wife *Barsina*, the Daughter of *Arbassius*, without any riches; but she was young, vertuous, and of royall descent, and hee that is most rich, should most seeke after this vtility. So shall he be sure to auoyd all discontentment, for, by setting Monies aside, which couer many vices: such strange deformities would appear naked and manifest, which else cannot be seene, men being blinded with Auarice; for they are so cunningly dissembled, that though they are apparant, yet they will not be discerned. I misslike not, that in equall nobleneſſe, a man should make his best election, & please his affections to his own contentment: euen as I vtterly condemne him, that (for Wealth) can be content to take a vile and infamous Wife.

Example of great *Alexanders* marriage

Mony couers many foule imperfections.

An example deriued from the earth.

I shall not need to labour my selfe in this matter, because the very earth herein is a Schoole-maister to vs, for, if we sow in a sharpe ground, and not prepared: it will bring forth fruit that hath no sauour, although our Seede be neuer so good and delicate. On the contrary, sow Seede (scarse rellishable) in a well husbanded ground, and it will yeelde fruit most perfect and excellent. In like manner, to haue good and absolute Horses, we must make our election in a well tride breede or race; much more then should we haue care of our Children and Successours. Truelie, in my iudgement, a man makes very slender account of himselfe, and badly satisfieth his owne Obligation for which he was borne: if hee leaue not to his Children as Noble a Linage, as he was Heire to by his Father; which he cannot doe, in giuing them a Mother of worse condition then himselfe. Moreouer, if he haue any care of his owne honor and reputation, he will encrease more Wealth and Dignity to his Children, then he receiued from his Father. How highly then doth a man stand charged, and greatly indebted; to leaue a good Issue behinde him, and of true borne blood? Yea, much greater then was left to himselfe, for auoyding all occasion, of giuing his Children cause to complaine of him.

Example of Horses.

How carefull a man ought to be in choise of his wife.

Paulus Æmilius declareth, that *Manesteus* the *Athenian*, Sonne to *Iphicrates*, the excellent Captaine, whose Mother was of mean condition and poor birth, which the saide *Iphicrates* had taken in marriage, was demaunded; which hee loued best, either his Father or Mother? He answered; My Mother. They that mooued the question, wondring heereat, desired to vnderstand his reason. *Because* (quoth he) *my Father, in regard of himselfe, hath made me a Native of Thrace, and the Sonne of a poore Mother: but she hath made mee an Athenian borne, and the Sonne of a famous Captaine.*

Of *Manesteus* the *Athenian*, Sonne to *Iphicrates*, and his worthy answere.

As

Of beauty & blackneſſe, a meane betweene both

As concerning beauty, ſetting aſide their opinions, who ſay, that choyſe ſhould be made of one neither foule or faire, but a meane betweene both: I ſay, that euermore (to our vttermoſt power) make a faire Wife our eye-marke, prouided ſhe be vertuous, as we haue formerly ſaid. For otherwiſe, my aduiſe is, rather to take a vertuous homely one, then a faire one, of proud and bad Nature. And the reaſon of chuſing a faire Wife, onely is this; in regard of generation and poſterity, and to haue beautifull Children. *Virgill* declareth, that the Goddeſſe *Iuno*, making great promiſes to *Æolus*, ſaid: She would giue him one of her goodlieſt Nimphs, becauſe ſhe might bring him beautifull Children. *Archidamus*, King of *Athens*, was condemned in a great amercement of Money, becauſe he had married a Woman of little ſtature, the Iudges ſaying; that he would leaue thē a race of little Kings, and of no conſtitution. This which I haue ſaid, is not by way of commaund, but of councell, which may be accepted and done, without any difficulty, or exception of perſons. For marriage vnited with a homely Wife, is as holy as that of the faireſt, and with the poore, as with the rich, with a Widdow, as with a Maide: becauſe vniuerſally, where nature and charity is, all different thinges haue equality, and good conformity.

Iuno her promiſe to *Aeolus*

The Authors intent in this caſe.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the cordiall loue and amity, which ought to be in Marriage: With ſome examples of loue among the married.

Marriage where, and to what end inſtituted.

LOue and Charity betweene two vnited bodies, deſerueth to be commended, becauſe Marriage is ſo excellent a thing: as well in reſpect of him, that inſtituted it, which was GOD, as the place of inſtitution, which was Paradiſe, and that proceeding from it; to wit, the propagation and perpetuity of mankind, with remedy againſt all ſenſuall appetites, and wicked concupiſences. All other loues in this humaine life, with what men ſoeuer they be; are meere improper loues: but this is Diuine, and (in truth) it is that, which makes vnion both of Soule and Body, for ſo is it ſealed and confirmed, by power of ſupreame prerogatiue. And there is nothing elſe, that betweene two thus conioyned, can be ſo particularly proper; becauſe both heart and body are common, betweene a good and loyall married couple. Which cannot bee ſo in other amities, that ſmall thinges can ſoone deſtroy, and ſlender trifles ſeparate; nay, which is much worſe, the longeſt continuance therof is but for little time. The proofe heereof hath daily beene ſeene, for few haue continued to death, becauſe the will of man is ſo mutable: as a new friend can eaſily thruſt an old one out of his place. But true and intire loue betweene Man and Wife, cannot bee ſundred, neyther by infirmity, pouerty, misfortune, or diſfauour, for nothing but death only can be the deuider. Nay, it ſeemeth alſo to continue after death, as hath beene noted in ſome worthy widdowed perſons, whoſe examples are infinite.

The body and Soule is vnited together in marriage.

Coniugall loue hath continued after death.

Among whom, and deſeruing beſt conſideration of all other, the loue of *Adam* and *Eua* hath moſt eminence: conſidering, that the fruit of life being forbidden them, *Adam* notwithſtanding, to pleaſe his Wife, expoſed and ſubmitted himſelfe to all perrill. When *Paulina*, Wife to the wiſe and learned *Seneca* of *Cardona*, heard that cruell *Nero* had put her Husband to death, and that he had choſen his owne death, by making inciſion into his veines: ſhee would not onely beare him company in death, but alſo in the very ſame manner of dying, and therefore ſliced her veines, according as it was done vnto *Seneca*. When *Nero* had intelligence therof, and knew that this enſued from inuiolable loue: he cauſed great ſpeede to be made, to ſaue her in the perill of death. For, being euen vpon expiring, he cauſed her veines to be bound vp, & kept her that ſhee could not dye: by meanes whereof, the good Lady liued all the reſt of her time in great affliction, and colourleſſe, in ſigne of the loyall loue ſhe bare to her Husband. We read in the liues of the Emperors, that *Lucius*

The incomparable loue of *Adam* and *Eua*.

The rare loue of *Paulina*, wife to learned *Seneca*.

The loue of *Triata* to her Husband *Lucius Vitellius.*

Lucius Vitellius, Brother to the Emperour *Vitellius*, being benighted in a dangerous battaile: his Wife, named *Triata*, loued him so perfectly, as she entred disguised among the Souldiers, to beare her Husband company, and to assist him in life or death, fighting more valiantly then any of the rest. Thus did her intire loue make her forget feminin weakenesse, life and safety.

The loue of King *Darius* to his faire Q. *Roxana.*

Quintus Curtius reporteth, that King *Darius* being conquered by *Alexander*, and spoiled of a great part of his Kingdome: endured it with stout courage and patiently, without trouble, or shewing the least signe of sadnesse. But when newes was brought him, that his Queene and Wife was dead: to shew that hee loued her more then his royal dignitie; he wrong his hands, and could not containe, but wept bitterly. *Ouid*, *Iuuinall*, *Martiall*, and others, speaking of the worthy Wife to King *Admetus*, doe say: That shee (to giue life to her sickely Husband) slew her selfe, hauing heard answere from the Oracle, that his life should bee saued, if one of his deerest friends would dye for him. Notwithstanding, in the small credit giuen to Poets: I should haue spared this example, if holy Saint *Hierome* had not made mention thereof.

The loue of queen *Alcesta* to her Husband *Admetus*

The younger *Pliny* writeth in a Letter of his, that a Fither-man was sicke of a grieuous and incurable disease, whereby he endured daily extreame Agonies. Which his Wife beholding with great compassion, louing him sincerely, seeing all hope of helpe vtterlie lost, & no remedy to be found, though all meanes possible had beene sought for: she councelled her Husband, not to liue any longer in this tormenting paine, but saide vnto him; that seeing he must needes dye, he should bid death welcome, and so end all grieuance. The Husband liked well of her aduise, and yeelded thereto, and they both getting vp on a high Rocke, the Wife bound her selfe fast to her Husband, and throwing themselues head-long downe, were bruised in many peeces.

The loue of a poore Fisherman and his wife, euen to the death.

Baptista Fulgosa delareth, that a poore labouring man in the Kingdome of *Naples*, trauailing along by the Sea side with his Wife: she chaunced to stay a while behind him, about some vrgent businesse. In which time of tarryance there arriued a Foist of *Moores*, who bearing her aboord: the poore man had no more sight of her, but onely of the Foyst, which launched off into the Sea, whereby hee conceiued, that the *Moores* had carried his Wife away with them. Hereupon, confounded with greefe, he threw himselfe into the Sea, and swum after the Foist, crying vnto them which were within it, that seeing they had taken his Wife from him; they would be pleased to take him also. Which made them take him vp into the Gally, to the no little amazement of the *Moores*, and great comfort, (though in floods of teare) of the woman. Afterward, they were both brought before the King of *Thunis*, to whom the Vessell belonged, and the whole Story being related to him, which mooued his mind to such great compassion: as he not onely deliuered them, but also sent them home againe.

Of a poore labouring man and his wife in the Kingdome of *Naples.*

To speake likewise of the loue which *Artemisia* bare to her Husband *Mausolus*: wee must then consider, what a glorious Sepulcher shee builded for him, calling it *Mausolæa*, after his name, and rancked among the 7. wonders of the world, only for the costly workmanship thereof.

The loue of *Artemisia* to her Husband *Mausolus.*

The loue of *Tiberius Graechus* to his Wife, was likewise very admirable, and although the example bee stale and common, recited at large by *Valerius Maximus*, yet may we not well spare to speake thereof. He hauing found two Serpents in the Bed Chamber where hee vsed to take his rest: desired to know the augury thereof, whereto he had answere. That he must needes kill one of them, yet with this caution: that if he killed the Male-Serpent, then he should dye before his Wife; but if the Female, then his wife should dye, and he remaine alive. Whereupon, he louing his wife much better then himselfe, made effectuall demonstration thereof; when he chose rather to dye, then to behold the death of his Wife: for he slew the Male-Serpent, and dyed himselfe, leauing her to suruiue a widdow. But it is to be doubted, whether she was the most happie of both, in hauing such a Husband, or infortunate in the losse of him. Now, as concerning a two-fold Argument, where-

The loue of *Tiberius Graechus* to his wife.

A double Argument of loue.

whereby to approoue the ſinceritie of loue, to wit: a woman to kill her ſelfe, for greefe and feare of her Husbands death, or elſe, to mourne in ſuch contriſting manner, as death to enſue vpon meere ſorrow.

Concerning the firſt of theſe, wee haue already related in the ſtory of fair *Alceſta*; and for the other, we haue a notable example in *Iulia*, the Daughter to *Iulius Cæſar*, and Wife to *Pompey*. The garment of her husband being brought vnto her, gaſhed and all bloody with a wound which he had receiued: ſhe imagining her Husband to be ſlaine, before ſhe had leyſure to heare the cauſe thereof, fell into ſuch a ſtrange conceipt and alteration; as her vnderſtanding was quite loſt, and being immediatly deliuered of a Childe (where-with ſhe had long gone great) inſtantly died. And her death ended the worlds peace, which (by her meanes) was preſerued in the kinred of *Iulius Cæſar* the Father, and *Pompey* her Husband. The loyalty of *Lucretia* towards her Husband, is ſo notable, as now it were needleſſe to report it: for, loathing to liue defamed, after her chaſt body was adulterated, ſhe reſoluedly ſlew her ſelfe. The loue of the wife to Count *Fernand Gonçales*, is alſo very memorable, & likewiſe the meanes whereby ſhe deceiued the king: for ſhe remained Priſoner in the habite of a man, while her Husband fled, and ſaued his life in her womans garments. There are infinit examples to this purpoſe, which (for auoyding prolixitie) I forbeare to ſet down, and although (by our lawes) none are allowed to kill themſelues: yet are theſe examples worthy to be noted & conſidered, conſidering they were performed by Paganes and *Gentiles*, not hauing any light or knowledge of our Faith.

The loue of *Iulia*, daughter to *Cæſar*, and Wife to *Pompey*.

The loue of the *Romaine Lucretia*.

The Wife of Count *Fernand Gonſales*.

CHAP. XV.

Of diuers cuſtomes, which our ancient forefathers obſerued in their Marriages.

MArriage contracteth it ſelfe, with the ſole conſent of the man and woman: but to the end, that this conſent might be the better authoriſed, and remaine in intire perfection; it was thought requiſite, to ſhew the ſame by wordes and outward ſignes, becauſe none but God onely knoweth and vnderſtandeth our harts, & hence it proceeded, that men inſtituted many ceremonies and ſollemne wordes. As for thoſe which are obſerued among Chriſtians; they are ſo euident and notorious, as there is no need to ſpeak of thē. Wherefore, I will onely diſcourſe of ſome cuſtomes, which barbarous nations, and the *Romaines* alſo vſed in their marriages, the diuerſity whereof (it may be) will yeild ſome pleaſure.

Single conſent is the act of Marriage.

The ancient *Romaines*, according to *Cicero*, were married in two kinds, and they had two manner of wiues or women, anſwerable to the diuers ceremonies of their marriages: the one was more common then the other, and ſhe named her ſelfe Matrone; the other was ſtiled Mother of the family. Of this latter kind, it ſeemeth that they were maried, as (well-neere) Chriſtians now adaies are. For the Husband would demaund of the woman, if ſhe would bee Mother & Miſtreſſe of his Family; and ſhe anſwering, yea; gaue her conſent. She likewiſe then demanded of him, if he would be Father of the Family, and he anſwering alſo, yea: then they took and ioyned their hands together, and this form of marriage was held for lawfull. By this meanes, the wife attained to ſuch place in her husbands houſe & family, as ſhe ſhould haue had, if ſhe had bin a Daughter of the ſame houſe: for now ſhe was ranked in the number of the ſame linage, & (as a daughter) came to ſucceed in hir husbands inheritance. Hereof *Boetius* ſpeaketh more amply, in the ſecond of *Ciceroes Topicks*. The other ceremonie was more common, & by ordinary words: and ſuch weomen were not accepted as mothers of families, albeit they were termed Matrones.

Ciccro in Topic. Two kinds of Marriage among the *Romaines*.

The firſt kind of Marriage.

Boetius in ſecund. Topic. Cicero. The ſecond kind of Marriage.

The *Romaines* had alſo this cuſtome, that bringing the new married wife to her Husbands dwelling; ſhe muſt ſtay at the doore, and not enter, vntill ſhee were (perforce) drawn in. Giuing thereby to vnderſtand, that ſhe went by conſtraint to the place, where ſhee was to looſe her virginity. When they gaue the wife into her husbands power, they firſt cauſed her to ſit downe in her mothers lap; frō whence the husband muſt forcibly

Another cuſtome of the *Romaines*.

forcibly fetch her, while the Daughter held faſt her Mother with ſtrong embracings. This they obſerued as an auncient memory of the *Romaines*, when they forcibly fetcht the *Sabine* Virgines from their mothers: by means of which rapture, it ſucceeded well to *Rome*, and greatly encreaſed their people. And yet before they proceeded thus farre, it was an order eſtabliſhed; that the Bride ſhould touch both Fire and Water, which Ceremony they vſed (according to *Plutarch* and *Lactantius*) as ſignifying generation by theſe two Elements, becauſe they are the two principall generatiue cauſes of all thinges. Others ſay, it was done to the end, to ſhew the wife ſincerity of heart, and loyalty by her to be kept: becauſe water waſheth away all vncleanneſſe, and bad mixions are purged by fire, as wee may diſcerne in Metrals. They held likewiſe (as a very euill preſage or augury) any marriages made in the month of May; in regard of ſome vanities and ſuperſtitions remaining among them, which are largely reported by *Ouid* and *Plutarch*.

The *Sabine* virgins brought perforce from their mothers

Plutar in Prob. Lactā. in lib. 1. de Inſtit. Diuin.

Ouid de Faſt. Plutar. in Prob.

They had alſo another Cuſtome, that when the Bride entred the doore of her Husbands houſe: he ſhould ſay (with a loude voyce) *Caia Cecilia*, and ſhe, *Caio Cecilio*. This they obſerued, becauſe *Tarquinius Priſcus*, ſeauenth K. of the *Romaines*, had a wife moſt chaſt, wiſe, and endued with many vertues, who was named *Caia Cecilia*, but before ſhe came to *Rome*, ſhee was called *Tanaquill*: and therefore the Husband pronounced theſe wordes, to put his Wife in minde of that vertuous Woman, that was a Crowne and honour to her Husband. There went one alſo before the Bride, home to the doore of her Husbands dwelling, carrying a diſtaffe laden with Flaxe, and a Spindle hanging by; to put her in minde, that ſhe ſhould exerciſe ſpinning: *Pliny* is the Authour that ſpeaketh theſe things.

Caia Cecilia. Caio Cecilio.

Huſwifely enſtruction.

Plin. in lib. 8. Cap. 40.

Theſe *Romaines* had yet another cuſtome, that when a man married a widdow; the ſollemnity was kept on a feaſtiuall day; but if he wedded a Maide; then it was kept on an ordinary working day. *Macrobius* and *Plutarch* are the Authors hereof; and *Plutarch* ſaith, that the nuptiall celebration made on the Feaſt-day, was expreſſely ſo done: becauſe the people beeing then buſied at playes and recreations, ſhould take no knowledge when Widdowes were ſecondly married. Contrariwiſe, the weddings of Maides were ſolemnized on working daies, becauſe they ſhould be ſeene and knowne generally. But *Macrobius* affirmeth, that Maides nuptials were not performed on Feaſtiuall daies; becauſe (as we haue already ſaide) of the Ceremonie, of forcibly fetching them from their mothers laps, which could not be done vpon any feaſt day.

Of Maides nuptials were not celebrated on feaſtiuall daies.

Macrob. lib. 4. Plutar. in Prob.

I forbeare to ſpeake of other ſollemnities and Ceremonies among the *Romaines*, to come to them of the *Babylonians*, whoſe forme of marrying their Maids was thus. On a certaine daie in the yeare, the Maides were brought into a publike place of the Citie, where marriage was graunted to them that were the faireſt: but not any dowrie to be giuen with the Maide, for thee was then deliuered to him that would giue moſt Mony for her. The ſame order they obſerued in the ſecond degree of beautie, and ſo in all other degrees, to the very meaneſt and ſimpleſt: who if they could not bee married without Mony, they then muſt giue it, that had the faireſt Wiues, by which meanes, ſome vnſightly and hard fauoured Maides, were as well marryed as the brighteſt beauty, without bringing any Mony with them. *Marcus Antonius Sabellicus* ſaith, that this was alſo a Cuſtome among the ancient *Venetians*: but then you muſt vnderſtand, that ſuch as were of meaneſt handſomnes, brought no dowries with them, neither did they receiue any; or bought them, but took them freely.

Of marriages amongſt the *Babylonians*.

Wiues had for the moſt Money.

Marcus Antonius Sabellicus.

The ancient French-men, becauſe their Daughters ſhould not complaine of beeing marryed againſt their wils; they had a Cuſtome, that at ſuch time as their Daughters were fit for marriage; they would inuite a great number of young men to a Banquet: but they were men of ſuch qualitie, as might each way be anſwerable to their owne condition. In this Banquet time, the maid had free leaue, to elect a Husband among the inuited: and, for a publique ſigne, where, and on whom her affecti-

An ancient Cuſtome among the *French*, for marrying their Daughters.

Of marrying a Maid and widdow, and on what daies

on

A marriage Custome in *Affrica*.

on was placed, shee brought him a Bason of Water to wash his hands. In a Citty of *Affrica*, called *Leptina*, they had a Custome, that the first day of a Brides comming to her Husbands house; she should send to borrow an earthen pot of her Mother in Law, and she would returne aunswere of lending her none. This was done to no other end, but to teach her obedience to her Husbands Mother, and hauing so hard an answere at the first motion, to expect no better, but on good desert. The * *Massagetæ* tooke each Man a Wife in Marriage; and yet notwithstanding, one Woman was common to all, and all the Weomen common to any one. *Eusebius* saith, that the ancient *Bretons* had the like Custome. The *Arabians* of *Arabia Fœlix*, had an ancient wont, that a married Woman was common to al her Husbands kinred. And *Strabo* saith, that when any of them went to her, he would leaue a Ring or Iewell at the entrance of her doore; that if any other should come, he might know the place was already taken vp, and he not enter, for this was especially respected among them: beside, he was punnished with death, that made vse of any Woman not of his owne kinred.

* People of *Scythia* in *Asia* beyond the *Caspian* Sea.

Euseb de Euan preparat. lib. 5.

Strabo concerning the *Arabians*.

It fortuned, that a Woman highlie endued with beauty, was often visited (in that kind) by her Husbands kinred, and she beeing importuned by so frequent visitation: left a Ring at her doore, that whosoeuer should come, might suppose the place to be alreadie supplied. This honest deceipt endured many daies together, & no man could get entrance, till at the last, all her husbands kinred being (one day) assembled in a certaine place: one of them closely slipt away, intending to visite her, in such an assurance of any other. But finding the Ring at the doore, and remembring that hee had left all the kinred else (but himselfe) together: hee supposed some Adulterer to haue intruded; whereupon he ran to aduertise her Husband and the rest. But they being entred, found her alone at her worke, and she confessed to them, the cause of thus deceiuing them, and keeping her selfe onely to her Husband. When they had well considered thereon, and found her intention to bee grounded on vertue, for auoyding of dishoneſt conuersation, arising by such number of her Husbands kinred, to liue in the greater temperance and chastity, sworne enemie to the brutall vsage and Custome of the Countrey: their own reason confirmed her honorable minde, and in stead of condemning, they highly commended her.

A pretty Story incident to the purpose.

An admirable vertue in an Heathen woman, for loue to her Husband.

CHAP. XVI.

¶ *Who were the first Inuenters of Letters, and of Latine Syllables.*

IT is not to bee doubted, but (among all the Inuentions of Men) that of Letters was the best and chiefest: for, to present iudgement, they deliuer things long since past, and communicate businesses which are furthest off; nay more, they make a Man (almost) immortall, so that, if it were not for Letters, there had neuer beene so many wise men in the World. Therefore the Latines are highly beholding to *Nicostrata*, Daughter to *Ionius*, King of *Arcadia*, who after the death of her Husband (by whom shee had her Sonne *Euander*) leauing *Arcadia*; came into *Italie*, and made her stay on the Mount called *Pallatine*, or *Palatium*, neer to the Riuer of *Tyber*, where now *Rome* standeth. There she builded a Castle, whereof she made her Sonne *Euander* Lord, and then shee married with *Faunus*, King of the *Laurentines*. She being excellent and skilful, in foretelling matters to ensue; most learned in the Greeke Carracters; and endued with an extraordinary ingenious spirit: inuented nineteene newe Carracters of Letters, which she her selfe taught to the grosse and vulgar people.

Letters the best of all other inuentions.

Nicostrata the first Inuentresse of Letters.

After her, one named *Syluius*, Maister of the Plaies or sportes, found out the Letters H. K. and Q. albeit they are no Letters, but Aspirations. The Greekes afterward, in the time of Saint *Augustine*, found and receiued the two Letters X and Z. And so they all were ranked

Syluius the Maister of the Sports.

ranked together, euen in such manner, as now we haue them. The people wondring at the wisedome of their Lady *Nicostrata*, named her a Goddesse while she liued, and began to render honours to her, as to a Diuinity. After her death, they erected a Temple to her in *Rome*, neere the Capitall, and dedicated it to her name.

Dyonisius Lycinius the *Romaine*, a man very ingenious, found and deuised (afterward) the order of Syllables. For which inuention, they made him a Statue, and exalted it in meete place, and for his honour.

Dyonisius Lycinius the Inuenter of Syllables.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Valasca, a Lady of Bohemia, who hauing procured all the Ladies in the kingdome, to kill their Fathers, Husbands, Brethethren and Children; gouerned Bohemia the space of seauen yeares.

LEt me quicken your memory, with some-thing spoken in the two and twentith Chapter of our first Booke, where speaking of the *Amazones*. *Æneas Syluius* (who was Pope *Pius* the second) is remembred, concerning his History of the *Bohemians*, and the Women of that Countrey. Among whom *Valasca*, a Lady of incomparable Spirit, deserueth to haue her History not vtterly forgotten: because it is very memorable, and why shee conceiued such great hatred against the *Bohemians*.

Valasca, a worthy Ladie of *Bohemia*.

You must know then, that *Crocus*, second Duke of the *Bohemians*, dying without issue Male: his Daughter *Libussa* (accounted for one of the *Sybilles*) with fauour and applauses of the common people, was established in the royall seate of her Father, and gouerned the Prouince for many yeares, to the generall liking of euery one. At length, hauing giuen a very vpright sentence, of some possession belonging to a powerful Lord: he (growing much displeased with the iudgement) mooued the people against her, saying: That it was a very vnworthy case, and

Libussa heire to the Kingdome of *Bohemia*.

The people mooued against *Libussa*, in regard of her sexe.

the people greatly to be blamed, being of such a great and Noble Nation, that they should be subiected to the gouernment of a woman. *Libussa* obtaining silence of those hot seditious Vp-starts, told them; that she knew well enough their new desseigne and contriued deliberation: yet they took her ouer-short in satisfying their will. Wherefore, she prayed them to meet together the day following, and shee would labour to content them in all things, for she desired their contentment aboue all things else. The morrow being come, the popularity flocked together in mightie troops, and being (from all parts) congregated in a principall place, and they all attentiue to heare *Libussa*, the Princesse began to speake in this manner.

The Oration of *Libussa* before all the people.

You know (*Bohemians*) that (to this day) I haue bin to you a milde & peaceable Lady and Mistresse, without offending any one of you, much lesse vsurping vpon your goods: whereby you iustly conceiue, that you had not me as a Dutchesse, but rather as a Mother. Neuertheless, for ought I can perceiue, mine administration hath beene scarce pleasing to ye, whereat I do not much meruaile: for herein you imitate all other men, who neuer are satisfied, but can rather wish for a milde and iust Gouernour, then they know how to keepe him when they haue him. For mine owne part, very gladlie doe I (at this instant) set yee at libertie: and as you desire a man, to rule and awe ye after his manner; so am I contented that you shall haue such a one. Wherefore, take my white Palfray, and bridling and adorning him in his best furniture, bring him forth on this plaine, whence he may take his way whether he will alone. But cease not you to follow him, till you see him stay before a man, feeding vpon a table of Iron; whom bring hither with you, and he shall bee your Prince, and my Husband.

These words were pleasing to them all, and furnishing the Horsse; as *Libussa* had directed, so they suffered him to wander loose, and they following after. The Horsse hauing gone the distance of tenne Miles, stayed at a Riuer called *Biell*, and there hee stood gazing on a Country Boore, named* *Primislaus*, to whom hee shewed

* Of this *Primislaus*, the

A Duke of *Bohemia*, mention is made by *Baptiſta Fulgoſ.* in his 3. Booke of Memorable actions.

many Horſe-trickes, whimmowing and leaping before him, as if he would haue made open notice, that he knew him to be his Maiſter. The *Bohemians*, as well Nobles as Plebeians, ranne quickly to the place, and hauing ſaluted the plaine Villager, ſaid vnto him: Mount vpon this Horſe, and goe with vs to the Princeſſe *Libuſſa*, for ſhee requireth you as her Husband, and the *Bohemians* will accept ye as their Prince. *Primiſlaus*, although he was ruſtical, yet notwithſtanding (as it is a generall deſire to rule, and no man but will conceite himſelfe worthy enough of it:) vſed them very courteouſly, and ſaide; hee was ready to obey them, in whatſoeuer they would commaund him. And hauing heard he muſt goe viſite *Libuſſa*, it beeing a long iourney (as he ſuppoſed) to her, and not hauing broken his faſt that day: hee turned his * Ploughſhare or Coulter, where-with hee had laboured in the fielde, and ſetting Bread and Cheeſe thereon, fell hartilie to feeding. This was an euident Teſtimony to the *Bohemians*, of the words vſed by *Libuſſa* to them: whereat beeing ſomewhat amazed, they dutifullie attended vntill he had dined. When he had ended, hee mounted vpon the Horſe, and they conducted him to the Citty; where he married the Dutcheſſe *Libuſſa*, who ſo long as ſhee liued, was partly gouerned by the aduiſe of her Husband. But ſhe beeing dead, the Kingdome remained to *Primiſlaus*, and and ſo the authority of women ceaſed, which (till that time) was made very famous by *Libuſſa*.

This maketh me to remember Q. *Cincinnatus*, who from the Plough, was called to the Office of Dictater.

But then *Valaſca*, a young Lady, and of high courage, equalling any of the *Amazones*, who had ſerued *Libuſſa* as Secretarie to her cloſeſt counſels: ſhee could not endure that the power of Weomen ſhould thus bee dejected, but aſſembling her company on a daie in ſecret, ſhe vttered theſe, or the like ſpeeches.

The Oration of *Valaſca* to all her Noble Siſters.

My deare Siſters, we haue loſt our great and royall Miſtreſſe, who alwaies maintained the ſubiection of Men, and neuer could endure that they ſhould be Maiſters: but liued like an Empreſſe, & we (with her) as if we were Queens. But now we ſee (miſerable that we are) how wee muſt be curbed all the reſt of our dayes, vnder the ſlauiſh yoake of Males; whereby we ſhall be in a much worſe condition then Slaues, except wee can regaine our former freedome. Whereof if you conſidered as deepely as I doe, and that all your harts were like to mine: I would not doubt, but that eaſily wee might recouer our firſt condition. I haue beene (as you all well know) of moſt priuate counſell with *Libuſſa*, and haue learned her beſt knowledge, both in Enchantments, and compounding Druggeries, fit and conuenient for our purpoſe. If then you will yeelde to follow me; without faile we will haue a new regency ouer Men. All the Weomen hauing heard *Valaſca*, thought well of her ſprightlie motion, and conſenting to her aduiſe, the conſpiracy was inſtantly plotted againſt the men.

Valaſcaes counſell fully allowed.

While theſe affaires were thus working, one night *Primiſlaus* had a dream, that a virgine gaue him blood to drink, and he (hauing learned of *Libuſſa*, as alſo by others inſtructions, ſundry ſecrets of diuination) growing fearefull of this dreame: was carefull to foreſee, and remedy al harms before hand, that might prelage any future perill. And calling al the greateſt Lords of his land to conſultation, his maine intention was; to repreſſe the ouer-bold liberty of Women, and to reſtraine them within ſtricter bounds. For the Ladies of the countrey had a cuſtome to ride great horſes, to run, louſt, draw the Bow, hunt, and throw Darts: in breefe, they made vſe of all exerciſes, that were conuenient for Men onelie. Which made the Gentlemen generally, to deſpiſe the humor of their baſe minded Prince: telling him: that women, by their ſoupleneſſe of body, and gallantry of ſpirit, were much more worthy to be cheriſhed & loued, then men of ſottiſh and idle diſpoſition. *Valaſca* (all this while) ceaſed not day and night, ſtill to harten on the coniured Siſter-hood, and effectually prepared the Tragicall act, threatned againſt the Mens liues: giuing them diuers Beuarages and Enchantments, to diuert their affecting thoughts from me, winning (day by day) many married wiues, to ranke themſelues in this band and faction.

The Dreame of *Primiſlaus*.

A Cuſtome obſerued by the women of *Bohemia*.

The care and endeuour of *Valaſca*, in proſecutiō of her purpoſe.

And at length, when they had leuied a good

The bloody Stratagem of *Valasca.*

good and sufficient number, as well of married as vnmarried: the Stratagem was this, that in one night, Women shold kill their Fathers, Husbands, Brethren, & Male Children, as they lay sleeping in their Beds, by potions purposely prepared for thē. Which being accordingly performed, the women were all in Armes, and mustering at a place appointed by *Valasca*, which was not far from the Citty of *Praga*, where conquering some that made resistance; they went on to *Vissagrada*, for *Primislaus* made there his abiding, and there they purposed to entrap him. But perceiuing they could not surprize the Fortresse, they with-drew to a Mountain (a place naturally very strong) and there they builded a Castle, that they named *Dieuize*, to wit; *The Mountaine of Virgins*, for (in their language) Virgines are termed *Dieuize*. To all such as escaped this bloody massacre, this exploit seemed strange and abhominable: for they saw how their number daily encreased, and feared that all the rest would flocke vnto them. Whereupon, they made it knowne to *Primislaus*, that they were readie, and likewise resolued, to giue battell to these new vpstart *Amazones*: willing him to march forth with his Army; and they would ioyne their forces with him. The Prince gaue them to vnderstand, that (as then) he could not goe foorth; because the Gods had aduertised him, that all such should dye, as instantly offended the Women; and therefore the busines must be referred to some other apter time. But they (making no account of this answere) hauing prouided a powerfull Army of their owne; went directly to *Dieuize*, where comming to handy-strokes with *Valasca*, all the men were discomfited, not without great losse and slaughter of the most part of them. The Ladies that carried themselues worthily in this daies seruice, were named *Malada*, *Nodea*, *Suata*, *Vorasta*, *Radgea*, *Zastana*, and *Tristana*, and to each of them was giuen (as a deserued guerdon of their valour) rich Chaines and Bracelets of Gold; and of the great booties won by them, they were all recompenced according to their merites. *Valasca* slew in this conflict seuen of the very chiefest enemies, beside many other of meaner quality, and euery one supposed her to be a Goddesse.

The Mount of Virgins.

War purposed against the women.

A happy and fauorable day for the women, prouailing valiantly against the men.

After this ouerthrow of the *Bohemians*, they had not the boldnesse to molest the women any way. For they held on in their valiant resolution, making daily sallies out vpon the borders, spoiling and burning in such manner, as they were dreaded ech day more then other. And being become Mistresses (well neere) of all *Bohemia*, they were enforced to haue Commerce, Trafficke and communication with men, or else their estate would grow to nothing. Whereupon; they were contented to marry, notwithstanding a law made among thē to the contrary. Adding to this law, that their Daughters should be maintained and enstructed among themselues: but the sons should be kept by their fathers; hauing first their right eies put out, and those fingers cut off, which wee call Thumbes; because if they liued to bee men, they should not be able to shoote in a Bow, or manage any other Armes against their Mothers. In the end, *Valasca* hauing vexed *Bohemia* the space of 7. yeares, and brought it (almost) wholly tributary to her: was beguiled by *Primislaus*. For he wrote Letters vnto her, wherein he signified, that those Lordes and Gentlemen which had moued war against her; did it without his consent, and to his great disliking, which made him the better pleased, with such seuere punishment as they had iustly receiued. Moreouer, that he held her as his deare daughter, not enuying her gouernment of *Bohemia*: because she had bin Secretary to his Wife; and had (with such wisedome and courage) maintained her rule fully seauen yeares. That he felt himselfe now aged, and was become vnable to sway his people; and his Son not being of conuenient age, for gouernment of so weighty a charge: hee entreated her to come to *Vissagrada*, and he would surrender the Forte into her power, by meanes whereof she should wholy subdue *Bohemia*. Prouided, that she would (afterward) allow such a part or portion to his Sonne, as her selfe should thinke fit of, and as hee himselfe (at first) had allowed, by *Libussa* her Princesse & Mistris, which he referred to her owne trust only. As for himselfe, he was well pleased to return to his first

The *Bohemians* durst not offend the women.

A law made by the women of *Bohemia*.

Treachery deuised against *Valasca* by *Primislaus*.

condition, to dwell againe in the Village, from whence hee came much against his mind. For he accounted it very reasonable, and an act of duty: that as hee had receiued his Scepter from a Woman; so he should render it againe to a woman.

Valasca was deceiued by the false Letter from *Primislaus*.

This Letter beeing sealed and sent, was not a little pleasing to *Valasca*, for she beleeuing ouer-lightly (according to the Nature of her sexe) sent a Squadron of her armed Ladies, to take possession of those impregnable places: whereinto being entred, they were entertained with dances, feasts, and plaies. *Primislaus* inuited them to a Banquet in his Pallace, and in the meane while, as they sate at the Tables; a great troop of well armed Gallants (which hadde beene closely ambushed for the purpose) rushed into the Hall, where the vnfortunate Ladies were all slaine by them: which beeing done, the power of *Primislaus* (being a very potent Army) marched foorth-with to *Dieuize*.

All the Ladies slain by treason.

Valasca hauing notice of this strange mishap, stood as one confounded with amazement, and putting on her Armour presently; issued forth of her Castle, mounted on a Courser, that seemed to breath Fire, hee was so full of Spirit. Many of her worthiest Ladies followed her; but she was the first that encountred the Army: where discouering more valiancy then I am able to expresse, beeing ouerthrowne in the thickest crowd of enemies, shee there ended her daies. Her famous followers, hearing the death of their peereless Queene and Mistresse: fought stoutlie and couragiously, not in any hope of conquest, but rather to be reuenged on the false treason of men, so that the conflict was very furious and cruell. But loosing the day, they were put to flight, and the *Vissagradians* pursuing them: got into the Castle as soone as they, where closing fast the gates, they made a mercilesse slaughter of the Weomen.

Valasca slaine in the midst of her enemies, and all her Ladies quite vanquished.

Bohemia deliuered from womens gouernment.

Thus was *Bohemia* deliuered from the Dominion of Weomen, and *Valasca* (worthy to be ranked among the most illustrous Weomen) was allowed no buriall, but left as foode to the beastes and Fowles of the Ayre.

CHAP. XVIII.

Who were the first Inuenters and deuisers of Hospitals; At what time, and vpon what occasion.

IT is not found recorded in any Histories, either *Iewish*, *Ægyptian*, *Grecian*, *Romaine*, or of other Nation, that at any time they founded or builded any Hospitals, for entertainment and releefe of poor needy people, sicke, lame, impotent, past labour, and for the nourishing of children, exposed and forsaken of Father and Mother: but since the Christian Faith was receiued among men. For, in former times, such as were lame and maimed; slew themselues, despairing to find any charity among men. Such as were weake and sickly, hauing no meanes to helpe themselues: did make a publike sale of their liues, to share in some part of the price, and being recouered; both they and their posterity were made Slaues. As for Orphane Children, they (by Ciuill Lawes) were slaues to such as paid for their education: And these were Pagans Hospitals in ancient daies. The world was then flint-harted, beholding what men suffered, without any pitty or compassion.

Pagans without Charitie, and no Hospitals of releef, but since Christianity began.

Paganes Hospitals.

No man would then know the diuersity of torments, wherwith poor Christians were continually afflicted. And because some imagined, that death was such a punnishment, as gaue end to all the calamities of this world: to preuent such pittie, they would plucke forth an eie, or break a bone in the thigh, of such as were Christians. And, though the bone tooke no hold againe, but easilie might be heard by crackling: yet must they be sent into the Mines to dig in the earth, and performe other labours that were insupportable. These persecutions ceased, when *Constantine* the great had attained to the *Romaine* Empire (by his valour and magnanimity) who was a Christian, and he reuoked all Edictes against

Cruell Edicts made against Christians.

Constantine the Great.

By what meanes Christians were discouered.

against the Christians, and then Charity began to be publikely exercised. For in former times, Christians were noted by their good liues (and Charity which they extended to the poore) whereof there was then great store: in regard of the confiscation of their goods, and the forenamed mutilations, that Countries were (in a manner) couered with people, and Almes would not stretch to help so many.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 10.

Heere you must consider, that scarsly the sixt part of the people (at the most) were then Christians: for the Paganes (that hated them) would giue them nothing, and there were none else but Christians to releeue them; the distribution of whose meanes became so shortned, as they had labour enough to prouide for themselues. And that which most augmented the poore in number, was the preseruation of Christians frō persecution, who durst make shew of themselues, after the Coronation of Great *Constantine*, and had expressed their Charity, by buying the liberty of slaues, that were become Christians, and being expulsed by their Maisters, had no releefe, but what they got by begging.

Toto titul. de Episc. & Cler.

Hereupon, the Christians (to continue their charitable disposition) at the instance of their Bishops, entreated the Emperor, that care and respect might be had of the poore, and Hospitals to be builded, wherein the aged, poore, maimed, Orphanes, Weomen, Widdowes, and people eyther past, or vnable to labor, might be relieued. Whereto he condiscended, himselfe first beginning to build many, & gaue command, that the like should be done thoroughout his Empire: which yet was not performed, but in those places where the Christians most abounded. Thirty yeares after, his Nephew *Iulian* cōming to the Empire, albeit he was no Christian, but an *Apostata*: yet notwithstanding, he continued on the building and erection of Hospitals. As may be found in his Epistles, which he wrote to Byshops and Proconsuls, and to the Cities of *Asia*, saying. They might be ashamed, in not following the example of Christians, who founded Temples and Hospitals for them of their Religion; but in them was found no Charity, but all Couetousnesse. After the death of this *Iulian*, who raigned but two years; Idolatry began to shrinke by little and little, so that there was hardly any place in our Hemisphere, but it became well stored with Christians, by which means (the Christians being no more persecuted) they had opportunity to found many Hospitals, according to their Countries and dwellings. Bishops and Popes builded some in *Rome*, and prouided great reuennues for them. The Emperors in the East, in *Italy*, and an infinite number of other Princes in diuers Prouinces, as at this day is to be seene.

Emperours & Bishops, charitable in building hospitals

In the end, by course of time, those Hospitals sufficed not, to entertaine so many as were brought thither, and the Children forsaken of their Parents. Which *Gratian* the Emperour perceiuing (who raigned the yeare of Christ, 380.) He made ordenances, whereby was appointed, that euery Orphane-Childe, should remaine as a Slaue to his Fosterer, and Nourisher. Within a while after, the Emperor *Valens* gaue generall authoritie, to take vp all begging Vagabonds, that were not sicke or impotent; and to make them serue as Slaues. Prohibiting also, that none should goe into Woods or Forrestes, to liue there as Hermits: for he caused a great number to suffer death, that were retired thither, and he would haue no one liue idly, but all to take paines. In imitation (then) of this good Emperour *Valens*, such as haue the charge of Hospitals, and admitting poore people into them, for their releefe and gouernment: ought to be carefull, that if they be sick and vnable to labour; then to entertaine them, or else to send them backe. For otherwise, they feede on goods giuen; against the will of the Founder; and contrary (indeede) to all equity: becausse they must allow of none, but the poore and needy, incapable of labour; and such are to be enquired after, whose modesty wronges their misery, and conceales them from open knowledge, while loytering wretches (by friendship) eate vp their right.

Orphane Children appointed to be Slaues.

Young and healthfull Beggers and Hermits made Slaues.

The Emperor *Constantine*, first began the building of Hospitals.

Iulian the Apostata ordained Hospitals

The care of Hospitallers.

Now, as there are many inhumanities and rude behauiours, acknowledged to be done among the Turkes, and others that pertake in the Mahometane Law; yet most true it is, that they are amners;

and willingly giue to the poore of their owne Sect, and haue founded, and yet doe builde many Hoſpitals of great Reuenewes: becauſe they are nothing ſo carefull, to leaue their Heires ſuch extremity of wealth, as we are in theſe parts of the world. For (well-neere) all of them, that eyther know how to manage Armes, or exerciſe any eſtate or condition, haue wages of the Prince. Such as are duputed to gouerne the goods of their Hoſpitals, are commonly Hermits, who ſtay not till any come to offer them themſelues: but goe to meete trauailers on the way, entreating them to come and accept a lodging, with promiſe of kinde entertainment, which accordingly is performed. And if they be lame, vnable, or ſick; they remaine there ſo long as they pleaſe. When they paſſe on farther, free leaue is granted them; & all the recompence required of them, is to pray to God for the founders ſoule. Their Hoſpitals are commonly builded on the chiefe and greateſt waies of Citties, and in places where Villages are moſt remote, and where water can hardly be found, preſuming vpon their larger merit. Beſide, many of the common people will feed dumb creatures, as wild Birds & beaſts; yea, Fiſhes in the Riuers, throwing in Bread or Corne, to ſuſtaine them for mans vſe.

The *Turks* are charitable, & not careful to leaue their heires rich.

Entertainmẽt in the *Turkiſh* Hoſpitals.

Of the *Turkiſh* Hoſpitals, there is one at the entrance of *Mare Maiore*, comming from *Boſphorus*, which a Daughter to the Emperour *Solyman*, the wife to *Ruſtane Baſcha* builded, and hath more then eight thouſand Ducates of annual rent. There is another, founded by a *Baſcha*, in the Iſle of *Phermena*, not far from *Delos* in *Greece*; which was in the time of *Mahomet* the ſecond, that conquered *Conſtantinople*. This Hoſpitall hath the reuennues of twelue thouſand ducates, and there are receiued all diſeaſed perſons, and others, without any exception of religion, poor or rich: They go to waſh themſelues in the hot Baths, which are ſulphurous, and neere adioyning to the Hoſpitall. But rarelie or ſildome in any other Hoſpitals within the *Turkes* Dominions, and founded by them; are any other entertained, then of their owne Religion. As concerning ſuch, as (in Antiquity) were

A verie rich Hoſpitall of the Turkes.

An Hoſpitall of free acceſſe of all, ſicke or ſound.

founded by Chriſtians, and are in theſe Lands ſubiected to the *Turkes*: all ſorts of people are there receiued and welcomed: and where any ſuch are, commonly a *Moſque* or Temple for *Turkes* is builded neere vnto it; as is to be ſeen on Mount *Sinai*, and elſe-where.

Hoſpitals erected by Chriſtians, in lands conquered by Turkes.

There is one in *Conſtantinople*, begun by *Mahomet* the ſecond, and finiſhed by *Baiazeth* his Sonne: which hath the reuennues of threeſcore thouſand Ducates. Another is in the ſame Cittie, of twelue thouſand Ducates annuall rent, founded by *Solyman*. *Orcanes*, the Son of *Othoman*, ſecond Emp. of the Turkes, builded another, in the yeare 1335. in a Towne named *Plagiary*, not farre from *Callipolis*, whoſe rentage is thirtie thouſand Ducates: Onely to this end, that poore people may there be entertained and lodged, and all other paſſengers; praying to God for his Fathers Soule, and ſixe of his Brethren, put to death by him, that hee might raigne alone in the more ſafe aſſurance.

The hoſpitals in *conſtantinople*.

Orcanes, the Murderer of his ſixe Brethren.

A *Perſian* King, about the yeare 1550. cauſed a *Moſquee* to be builded in *Armenia*, with an Hoſpitall, endowing it with forty thouſand Ducates rent, at the Mountaine, on the top whereof *Noahs* Arke ſtayed. All ſuch as come to this Hoſpitall, going for deuotion to the ſaid Mountaine, be they Chriſtians (for there they haue a Chappell) *Turkes*, *Moores*, *Arabes*, or *Scythians*, of what Nation or Religion ſoeuer they be, ſicke or ſound; there they are entertained after the *Armenian* manner, three dayes and three nights, without payment for any thing. In *Fez*, the Capitall Citty of the Kingdome (the people beeing great obſeruers of the *Mahometane* Law) there are fiue faire Hoſpitals, endued with great reuenues, not onely for releefe of the poore: but alſo to teach and nouriſh (freely) yong poore Children in good Letters, or in Diuinity.

A rich Hoſpitall in *Armenia*, of moſt free and liberall entertainment for all commers.

Fiue goodly Hoſpitals in the Citty of *Fez*.

Theuet writeth (as likewiſe I haue vnderſtood by others, that haue beene in *Quinſay*, a Citty whereof we haue formerly related) that there is an Hoſpital of more then an hundred thouſand Ducates Reuennues, truely yearely paid. There, all perſons, of what Nation, religion, or ſexe ſoeuer they be, are enter-

Theuet. in Lib. 12. Cap. 18.

entertained; prouided that they be diſeaſed, or impotent; and there they are releeued with all thinges neceſſary, vntill ſuch time as they ſhal be able to trauaile. I neuer read or heard, that Idolatrous people had any Hoſpitals except this: but there needeth little admiration thereat, becauſe they are a people ful of great humanity and courteſie. Let not the *Turkes* then, and others, make their vaunt, that they were the firſt which inuented and builded Hoſpitals: for the honour is only due to the Chriſtians of the Primitiue Church.

An Hoſpitall in an Idolaterous Country

CHAP. XIX.

Of an Embaſſage, which was ſent to Hippocrates *the Phyſitian, by the Cõmonwealth of the Abderites, to come and ſuccour their Law-maker & King* Democritus, *whom they imagined to be a Foole, and out of his wit.*

BEfore the *Romaines* hadde made *Greece* tributary there were great ſtore of Common-weals, Iſlands, Cities, & People, that liued according to their owne Lawes, without depending on any other, then ſuch as they elected to commaund ouer them: who (for the moſt part) were Phyloſophers; men of good life, renowned, & of great erudition. Theſe men were called Law-Makers or Kings, as *Lycurgus* who commanded ouer the *Lacedemonians*; *Demetrius Phalereus*, ouer the *Athenians*; *Epaminondas* ouer the *Thebanes*, and the like of many others. During this good pollicie among the *Græcians*, ther was a great and goodly Cittie and Commonwealth in *Thrace*, ſcituate on the Sea, called *Abdera*, the Prince and Ruler whereof, was deceaſed. Whilet they remained in ſuſpence, who ſhould bee elected into his place, that might be an honeſt man, not auaricious, carrying himſelfe with Princes, and neighbouring people louingly, and no affecter of warres: they did ſet downe their reſolution, that a Law-maker muſt bee endued with ſuch perfections, and ſuch a one would be moſt beneficiall to their Commonwealth. For, albeit *Cicero* ſaith, that the *Abderites* had not ouer-much vnderſtanding: yet it appeared, that in the election of this Law-maker, they ſhewed themſelues to haue more wit then the Romaines had. For among ſo many braue and valiaunt men, as aſpired to this high eſtate, they made choiſe of one, named *Democritus*, one of the moſt Learned men in his time, vertuous, little caring for worldly goods, and had far trauailed; yea, he ſurpaſſed *Plato*, who then liued, and bare him great enuy.

Cicer. in lib. de Natu Deorum.

The great freedome and libertie of *Greece*, vnder the gouernement of Phyloſophers

Abdera of *Thrace*.

Democritus his Nature & life

This *Democritus* was not choſen for his Wealth, becauſe he was poore; nor yet by fauour, as hauing any Kindred in this great Common-wealth: for hee was a *Myleſian*, Sonne to a verie famous and rich man, named *Anthenocritus*, who had ſuch ſubſtantiall meanes, that hee maintained a whole day the Army of *Xerxes*, when it came into *Greece*, and the number of men in the ſaide Armie, was tenne times ſeauenteene hundered thouſande men.

Anthenocritus, Father to *Democritus*.

This *Anthenocritus*, left many Children, the youngeſt whereof, was *Democritus*, who would haue nothing but money (& no other worldly poſſeſsions) but not to put to Vſurie, or ſpend fooliſhly, but to ſerue his trauailes in the Worlde; in Countries where he knew were Learned men, that taught good Sciences and Vertues, and he obtained this degree among the *Abderites*, onely by his good Fame, as formerly hath bin ſaid.

Diog. Lært. de Democrit.

He had trauailed thorow the very chiefeſt parts of the world; as into *Egypt*, *Caldea*, *Perſia*, and into the *Indiaes*, to heare the *Gymnoſophiſts*. And hauing Learned ſo much as hee could, hee returned home into his owne Country very poor; and hauing conſumed all his Patrimony; a Brother of his, named *Damaſus*, in charity receiued him, and maintained him for ſome ſmall time: but it was not long (after his returne) but his wiſedome and great Knowledge began to bee knowne: For, hee had Learned that there was a God; that there was a Creation, & ſhold be an ending of the World; and he wanted very little of the ſame beleefe, which the true Church of God hath. Hee publiſhed many Books, which diſcourſed of things Naturall and Morrall. In briefe, he wrote of all the Sciences, and ſo Learnedly, that his Fame flew into many places.

The trauailes of *Democritus*.

The great wiſedom and Learning of *Democritus*.

ces. So that the *Abderites* (with good aduiſe and counſell) ſent for him to their Cittie, to be commanded by him. He finding the Cittie wholly deuided, and embrouilled with factions, proceeded ſo dexterioufly, that he brought them al to vnity, and made them good friends. He found alſo the Common-wealth full of vices, and abounding in Luxury, which (by good Lawes) he reformed, and exerciſed Iuſtice as well on the rich as poore. He found the meanes likewiſe to accord certaine Neighboring Prouinces, which warred on the *Abderites*. He inſtituted Gouernors in all places on the frontiers; as alſo on the Seacoaſts, ſuch as were honeſt minded men, and not Ambitious; Which being done, hee liued with the Cittizens ſome yeares; and perceyuing them to be well reformed, and that they had no more need of his lawes, hee made his retirement to a ſollitarie place, to attend on his Phyloſophy, highly contemning all matters of the worlde, which are nothing but true vanities; well knowing, that they deſerued not to be ſorrowd for, becauſe *Heraclitus* did nothing elſe; and daily therfore he laughed them to ſcorn.

The cõming of *Democritus* to the *Abderites*.

The pollicie of *Democritus*.

The retreate of *Democritus* from the *Abderites*.

Without the City, and verie neere vnto the wals, there was a tree, which wee commonly call a Plane-tree, ſomewhat low, yet extending his branches very amply: vnder which, he ſat vpon a ſtone continually alone, hauing no other garment but a long gowne of courſe ſtuffe, barefooted, his viſage pale, with a long beard, & his body very meager. Somwhat neer vnto him, there ran a riuer diſcending out of a neighboring little hill, wheron ſtood a temple dedicated to the nimphs, round enuironed with wild Vines, hauing good ſtore of Bookes by him, and diuerſitie of creatures, whereof he diſſected ſome, ſetting inſtantly downe what his experience taught him. At other times, he wold ruminate and confer with his vnderſtãding, things that he had both ſeen and read: & when he was weary with Anatomizing, hee would walke abroad; and returning home again, quietly ſet him down. Now as this place, was not farre off from the chiefe Lady gate of the Cittie, & Hauen of the Sea: ſo could he both heare & ſee the weeping and wraſtling of the thicke leafed trees, being round planted about his field Cabinet, as alſo of people ſuffering Shipwrack, mourning for their Parents, Kindred, Merchandizes, or other loſſes. If contentions happened among any men, ſome being preſently ſlain in the place, greeuouſly wounded, or ſuch like dangerous accidents: others looſing goods, either by proceſſe in Law, or inconuenience of fire, or mortality of cattle, or ſome contagious diſeaſe hapning among men; at all theſe caſualties and accidents he made a mockery and laughter. He would do the like, when he ſaw a man heartily reioyce, that his Shippe (richly Laden) was ſafely arriued in the Hauen, and made a good aduenture. To be ſhort, all humain actions which came to his knowledge, whither they had good or euill ſucceſſe, he would laugh at them.

The place where he made his abiding.

How he ſpent his time daily

What ſights he dayly beheld.

Democritus laughed at all accidents whatſoeuer.

This hauing many times bin obſerued by the *Abderites*, and ſuppoſing him to be trobled in his vnderſtanding, they began (by little and little) to wax weary of him, and the whole Country to be offended at him. Whereupon, they entred into conſultation, to vnderſtand their beſt maner of proceeding in this caſe, and the more part of the beſt aduiſed, were deſirous of remedy, imagining that it was but ſome diſeaſe in the braine, which procured his extraordinary laughters. In which reſpect it was thought conuenient, to craue the iudgement of ſome skilful Phiſition, ſuch as was *Hippocrates* of *Coos*, who dwelt an 150. miles from thence, and had doone many verie famous cures. Among which (not long before) he recouered *Perdiccas* King of *Macedon*, who was falne into an extreame meagerneſſe of al his bodie; & (withall) was become ſo melancholy, that he would not ſee any body, but ſate penſiuely alone, void of all appetite for food or reſt, ſo that his diſeaſe was reputed incureable. Neuertheleſſe, *Hippocrates* (by his induſtry) found out the cauſe of his ſickneſſe, to wit; That hee was amorous of one of his Fathers Concubines formerly deceaſed, named *Phylas*, and in regard of naturall ſhame or baſhfulneſſe; he would not diſcouer it to any one. Yet it being at length perceiued by ſom neer about him; by the learned skill of *Hippocrates*, he was quickly cured. Moreouer, he had deliuered the whole Countrey of *Sclauonia* frõ a peſtilence, after he vnderſtood by the Ambaſſadors, which the K. of that Land ſent vnto him, what windes blew there with greateſt power. Manie other excellẽt cures (almoſt diuine) are further

Democritus was ſuppoſed by the *Abderits* to be mad

Perdiccas, K. of *Maccdon*, extreamlie diſeaſed.

The Peſtilence cured by *Hippocrates*

Ambassadors from the *Abderites* conferring with *Hippocrates*.

ther alledged to bee performed by him: which caused the *Abderites*, without procrastinating any longer time to send their Ambassadors to him, entreating him to come and helpe their Law-Maker *Democritus*.

Amelesseagoras being the chief in this Legation, a woorthy Orator, and most intirely affecting his Countrey: spake in few words to *Hippocrates*, according as followeth, to wit; the Common-wealth of the *Abderites* wished him all prosperitie, and humbly entreated him to take so much paine, as to come to their Cittie to visit *Democritus* their Law-maker, whom they immagined to be sicke in spirit; and that except some present remedie might be had, they expected nothing more thē their generall ruine. But especially, they stood in feare of loosing him, because he made no account of any thing in the world, nor of himselfe; watching both night and day, laughing and mocking at all things whatsoeuer, not any thing appearing to be acceptable to him. If men were addicted to Merchandize, or were maried, or preached, or taught in schoole; If any commanded, or obeyed, or deliuered any message, or were constituted in dignities, or deposed from them; If anie were sicke, whole, wounded, cured, dead, or any such like accidents, still he made a scorn of them, and laughed at them. The like would he doo, when he saw men reioice at any good occasiō, or sit in peace, or sight, or lament. Hee would talke of Hell, and what was done there, setting the same downe in writing. Hee taught also, that the aire was full of Attomies, which he tearmed to be such bodies, as the Sunne doth represent by his beames, passing thorough any Glasse windowes: and that there were many worlds all corruptible. He was verie attentiue in listening to the songs of Birds, rising very often in the night time, singing songes in a bigge and Bace voice. He said also, that wisedome did sometime flie to many hie and lostie matters, and that there were infinite *Democrites*, who held the same opinion with him.

All things alike to *Democritus*.

What Attomies are, according to *Democritus*, and some other of his opinion.

Now, in consideration of all these thinges, and by this his daily manner of behauiour, wasting and consuming both his body and spirit, the *Abderites* conceiued, that hee was transported from his right senses, and that by his recouerie, he should acquire great fame and reputation, accompanied also with as ample a recompence, as himselfe should deeme to bee conuenient, because they made more esteeme of *Democritus* his health, then if all the Houses and Walles of their Citie were couered with pure Gold. And the more to prouoke him to this iourney, he added, that hee should not come thither as a Physitian, but as a New-founder of so great a Cittie and Common-wealth, & that he should not heale one priuat man only, but a whole Cittie. And withall, he should bee receiued as their Law-maker, conseruer and Iudge, all things being reputed and ordered, as effected by his Art and singuler experience. Neither was it a Cittie onely, that made this humble request vnto him, but all *Greece*, the Princesse of Prouinces, of all Vertues, and of all Sciences in the wide Vniuerse, to cure and recouer him, in whom Wisedome her selfe consisted.

How highly the *Abderites* accounted of *Democritus*.

Great perswasions in *Amelesseagoras*

Proceeding further in perswasions, he told him, that he was neere allied to the said *Democritus*; because, that they both tooke Originall from the race of the Goddes. For *Democritus* was descended of *Hercules*, and *Hippocrates* of *Æsculapius*, sonne to *Apollo*. Moreouer, that *Philopoemenes*, a famous Cittizen and Captaine of the *Abderites*, had already prepared a lodging for his entertainement, though not equall to his high deserning, yet with heart and good will: and they stood charged to present him ten talents, which valewed then (according to the supputation of *Budæus*) sixe thousand *Escues Couronnez*, at thirty sixe Sols to the Crowne, which only was to defray the charges of his iourney.

Democritus & *Hippocrates* discended in race from the Gods.

Ten Talents prepared for *Hippocrates*.

Hippocrates hauing attentiuely heard all that *Amelesseagoras* had said, was very pensiue, not knowing what to do. For on the one side, hee had (but fewe dayes before) married a faire and sweete young Ladie, whom he was loath to leaue, as fearing least she should do him some displeasure for parting from her so soone, & in the Nonage of their marriage. Another reason withheld him, which was the performing of certaine Sacrifices, which were vowed (from time to time of al Antiquitie) by them of the Ile of *Coos*, to the Goddes of their Countrey, wherein he had promised his assistance, as beeing a man that held the place of most emi-

Hippocrates Iealous of his wife but lately married.

in

nence in the Isle, and was verie especially beloued.

Pre-meditations of *Hippocrates*.

Besides, daily and continually arriued in this Island, great store of people, of all qualities and sexes; some for recouery of their health, being sent thither by others, that had formerly found good successe; & others, as Deputies from diuers great Kings and Monarches, to fetch him to their Courts: as (not long before) hee was to *Artaxerxes*, King of all the East, and many more. In briefe, hee referred it till the next morning, to aunswere the request of the *Abderites*: for now it waxed somewhat late, and towards Sun-setting, wherefore the Ambassadors went to their rest.

The Resolution of *Hippocrates*.

Hippocrates considered a great part of the Night, what best became him to do in this case. For, he held it fit and reasonable; yea, and appertaining to his Honor, to go and see *Democritus*, a man of so great authority in *Greece*: whom if his skill could recouer, hee should win as a friend, and no meane reputation beside. As for his faire wife by him so lately maried, he referred her to the trust of a faith full and intimate friend, named *Dionisius*. Then, taking order for all his Domestick affaires, and assisting in the Sacrifices, for his safer sayling to the *Abderites*, and not knowing how long he should stay in this Voyage, he resolued to accept their earnest request. So on the morrow, hee sent for *Amelesseagoras*, and the other Ambassadors, to whom he said: He did not a little meruaile, that so great a commonweale as that of the *Abderites*, was so much troubled about the sickenesse of one onely man, as if a man were their whole Cittie. Neuertheless, hee did truly account them to be most happie, who knew and vnderstood, that men of Vertue were sound Ramparts, Bulwarks, and Defences. His opinion also was, that Arts and Sciences were perticuler guifts of the Goddes, and men were but the Workemanship of Nature, neyther was it the Cittie of the *Abderites*, that called him to this iourney, but Nature, to help her worke, which now was falne into very great daunger, to the end, that shee should not perrish by so greeuous a disease.

Hippocrates his answer to the Ambassadors.

Nature calleth for the Physitions helpe, & not men.

As for the ten Talents, which should be presented to him, he desired the Legates to bestow them elsewhere: because he would do as much without Money, as with it, being neuer subiect to such a pernitious sickenesse, as Auarice is. For, (quoth he) the Art of Physicke sets not it selfe to sale for money; and such men as do receiue salarie, do make Slaues of the Sciences, which (of themselues) are free and liberall.

Hippocrates no way couetous

Moreouer, hee gaue them to vnderstand (to shew how little he esteemed riches) that it was not long since, when he made refusall to the mighty King *Xerxes*, for visiting his Court, Country, & great Armies, which were afflicted with certaine popular and deadly Diseases: for which, there could not any remedie bee found; notwithstanding, the Kinges abounding in wealth and pomp, & whereof no meane offers were made, whereby both he and his might haue been rich for euer, if hee had pleased to make acceptance of them. Cities, Townes, and Prouinces, wherein are heaped & hoorded more riches then can bee imagined, they are to me (quoth he) trifles, and of no Value: for I euer preferred Vertue before vice, to wit; the loue of my countrey, and all *Greece*. Hereupon, he promised, that within verie few dayes hee would set to Sea, and visite *Democritus*; but he could not now depart with the ambassadours, instantly to vndergo so great a voyage, as was 150. miles by Sea, till he had don his duty in the Sacrifices, which were to be performed to their Countrey Gods; the solemnity and Feast whereof, would be ended in few daies.

King Xerxes refused by *Hippocrates*.

Hippocrates his promise tothe Ambassadors.

In like manner, he would take Order for the publicke affaires, and some priuate occasions of his owne. So the Ambassadors tooke their leaue, returning backe with great contentment, and leauing the ten Talents with *Hippocrates*, notwithstanding his many and often refusals.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

How Hippocrates founde Democritus continually laughing: and of the Conference they had together.

HIppocrates beeing willing to keep his promise, tooke order for al his owne businesse; but aboue all, for the care and gouernement of his new married Wife, whome he left with his friend *Dionisius*, and in whom he reposed great confidence. For this opinion was crept into his brain, that no Woman in the world could be chast: which was found expressely set downe in one of his Letters that he somtime wrote to the same friend *Dionisius*. He wrote also to his friend *Damagetus*, a *Rhodian*, entreating him to lend him a Shippe, that safely might bring him to the *Abderites*, aduising him (but by way of mockery) to tel the *Rhodians*, that they should heedefully keepe themselues from laughing indifferently either at good or euill, least they should be imagined mad and foolish, as *Democritus* was. Also, that they should not be sad or weepe, without very great occasion: for (in common opinion) they would thereby fall into the disease, called Melancholy, which procureth alienation of iudgment, with a certain kind of feare. Therefore, they should obserue a Mediocritie, aswell in laughing as in weeping, as hee himselfe both had done, and would do.

Damagetus sent him a Ship, wherein he sailed so prosperously, that (without any hinderance) hee arriued in the Port of *Abdera*, in few dayes sayling; where hee was expected with earnest affection, and entertained with as great honor and reuerence, as if he had beene a God. Afterward, he was conducted to the place, where *Democritus* made his abode out of the Cittie, and found him in the same estate, as *Anaxagoras* hadde formerly told him. He would not suddenly intrude into his presence, but through the boughes and branches of Trees, that rounde inuironed his Cabinet, obserued his actions with good iudgement, considering duly what he did. One while, he saw him writing, another while reading, & afterward walking: when, entering into his lodging, *Hippocrates* (so reuerently as might be) saluted him. So soone as *Democritus* perceiued him, he sayde; God saue you mine Hoste. *Hippocrates* answered, And you Sir also, being a most wise and worthy man, which he performed with very humble reuerence. *Democritus* was somewhat ashamed, that hee could not tearme him by his name; and therefore entreated that he would tell it him. *Hippocrates* replied, that hee was called a Physition. Then *Democritus* doubted that he was *Hippocrates*, although he had neuer till then seene him, and saide: Hee was the Flower of the *Æsculapians*, and his great renowne had reached vnto his poore abiding.

Growing on to further questionings, he enquired, what occasion had brought him thither? Shewing him his seat to sit downe by him, and all his roome, which was couered with greene braunches of Trees, affirming, that he esteemed it better then a Royal Pallace, subiect vnto the instability of Fortune.

When they had sitten a while togither, he desired him to tell him in trueth: if he were come to him about any perticuler businesse, or for some publicke cause? Wishing him to conceale nothing from him, for he would assist him to his vttermost. *Hippocrates* answered, that (in trueth) he had no other errand to that place but only to see and conferre with a most Wiseman, according as his country had giuen him in charge. Then *Democritus* offered to prepare him a lodging, to entertaine and Feast him as his good guest. But *Hippocrates* told him, that he had alreadie taken vp his lodging with *Philopoemenes*, and demaunded if he knew him? *Democritus* replied, that he knew him verie well, and that he was the sonne of *Damon*, and his dwelling was neere vnto the Fountaine *Hermanda*; he hauing beene a friend to his predecessours, as also hee continued so still to himselfe. All this while *Hippocrates* heedfully noted, whither his spirit did any way wander, or no; and to know assuredly the state of his vnderstanding, he desired him to tell him what the Argument was, which hee had written

Id est, In deede, or will.

A mockage giuen by *Hippocrates*.

Hippocrates saileth to *Abdera*, and there arriueth.

Hippocrates obserued the behauiour of *Democritus*.

The salutations betweene the two Phylosophers.

Their further interlocutions.

Philopoemenes, the Sonne of *Damon*.

written in a Booke lying open before him? *Democritus* hauing paused a little space, answered; That it was of Follie. Is it then against the City, replied *Hippocrates*? Against what Cittie answered *Democritus*? By which words, *Hippocrates* wel perceiued, that he had waded too farre in speech, and offended the whole Common-wealth of the *Abderites*, and had also discouered the cause wherefore hee was come to see him. Wherefore, concealing what he thought, he sayde to *Democritus*, that he would be loath to offend him; but prayed to resolue him what he could write concerning Follie? *Democritus* answered; that hee had written what Folly is, and what hee conceyued, concerning the engendering thereof in the spirits of men, and how it was to be auoyded. Then shewing him diuers creatures by him, which he had dissected in forme of Anatomies, hee tolde him; That he had not so done, as to correct or contemne the workes of God, but onely to finde out the seate, and the Nature of anger or choller. For he was not ignorant, that when this humour redounded (neuer so little) in the bodie, it caused furious actions, and that al creatures had it; but in some lesse, and in others more: and when it attained to superabundance, it begot diseases in the spirit.

Then *Hippocrates* lifting vp his eyes to Heauen, was much better confirmed then before, only by the Wisedome of *Democritus*, admyring his happinesse, and telling him that hee might boast of the chiefest felicity among men, rendering him a reason for his words. Because (quoth he) that we cannot compasse the meanes, to obtain the like leysure as you haue. And why (quoth *Democritus*) cannot you haue the like leysure? Because (replied *Hippocrates*) domesticall affaires care for worldly goods, which are necessarie to be had and kept, for our Children, expences, diseases, frailties, and mortalities which happen, with multitude of seruants, women, and other such like matters, do depriue vs of those leisurable times, to pursue occasions of benefit and profit.

So soone as *Democritus* had heard these words, he fell into an extraordinary Laughter, leauing al other actions whatsoeuer. And *Hippocrates* demanded of him, the reason of his laughter, and whither he had spoken wel or ill, which made him Laugh much more vehemently; and many of the chiefest Cittizens, both hearing and seeing it, greeuing that so great a man should in this manner be scorned, they verily beleeued, that *Democritus* was mad, and no further doubt was now to be made thereof. And therefore, in affliction of mind, some rent their haire, others wept, and some smote themselues vpon their faces.

Hippocrates pursuing still his purpose, desired *Democritus* once more to yeelde him a reason for his ouer-abounding Laughter, and whether any thing done by him, might occasion the same? to the end (quoth he) that I may correct my selfe, from giuing you any such offence hereafter. *Democritus* replied, swearing by *Hercules*, that if he would take occasion to make him forbeare, or to reproue him for laughing, he protested, that hee should performe the best cure that euer he had done.

Why (quoth *Hippocrates*) are you not to be reprehended, when you Laugh at the death of a man? Or when you see him sicke, or acting folly, or in choller, rauing, murthering, and such like most miserable accidents committed by him? The like also you do, in his very best fortunes, or what felicities of the Worlde soeuer befall him: so that (in you) there appeareth no difference betweene good and euill.

You haue sayde verie true, answered *Democritus*, and yet you seeme to be ignorant in the true cause of my laughing. But if you knew, or could discern it, you would finde, that the cure thereof extendeth not onely to them of your Countrey, but euen to your owne selfe; and you would gaine much more profite thereby, then you can do by your sending for hither. And when I giue you to vnderstand, that my laughing proceedeth from those vanities, wherein men spend all their life time, yea, more then ridiculous: methinkes (in recompence thereof) you should enstruct mee in the Art of Physicke.

And let mee now tell yee (Learned *Hippocrates*) that I Laugh and mocke; when I see a man filled with Follies, and emptie of all Vertuous actions, carrying himselfe foolishly in all his courses, seeking for Golde and Siluer in all quarters of

A Discourse of folly, written by *Democritus*.

How Folly is begotten in the bodie of man.

Hippocrates confirmed in knowledg by *Democritus*.

Sollicitude for worldlie goods, is a Phylosophers hinderance.

Hippocrates would know the cause of *Democritus* his laughter.

The laughing of *Democritus* not to be cured.

The true cause of *Democritus* his laughing.

A Discourse concerning search after gold & siluer.

of the World, hauing no end in his Ambition, but is molested with daylie Trauailes, to the end, that hee may be esteemed more in reputation, and fauoured of fortune.

Hee delueth into the earth, making deep Trenches and waies vnder ground, beeing daily in great perrill and daunger of the earthes falling vppon him, continuing in this drudging exercise all his life time, euen like a Laborious Iourny-man, searching and following the veines of the Mettalles, which manie times hee cannot finde: or, if hee finde them, they are oftentimes verie short, or so difficult to followe, that the cost is tenne times more, then the profite ensuing thereby.

More cost then profit.

And dooth not this deserue Laughter? For, when they dare so much hurt the earth (which they call their common Mother) and vse her as a despightfull Enemie, whom they should hold in great admiration and reuerence, for suffering them to walke vp and downe vppon her bosome, I thinke it a matter well beseeming Laughter, to affect what is closelie hidden in her intrailes, and yet to do her such manifest iniury.

The Earth, the common Mother of all men.

Some do loue Dogges, others Horses: Some desire to command and be obeyed in manie Prouinces; and yet themselues will knowe no Obedience: Some marrie Wiues, hauing long time before verie dearely loued them: & yet (in a short while after) forsake and hate them; begetting Children, with much care and cost for their education; yet when they grow great, and past Correction, they despise them, wil not see them, but leaue them Naked vnto the Worlds mercie. Doo not these behauiours expresse their intollerable follies? When men liue in peace, then they couet war; detesting all quietnesse; Deposing their Kinges, and aduancing others in their sted; murdering some men, to begette Children of their Wiues, seeking in the ground for Gold and Siluer, and hauing found them, buy them of the earth; and with the fruites thereof, striue to make mony againe. How many strange varieties of humors are men in? When they are poore and needie, then they seeke for riches; and when they haue them, they hide them vnder ground, to burie them in the place from whence they first cam;

Variable contrarieties in the affections of men.

No estate or condition liuing contentedly.

or else wastfully spend them. O wise *Hippocrates*! I Laugh at these things, beeing done to such ill purpose: but much more when no good euent succeedeth of thē. Ther is no truth or Iustice found among them, for they plead daily one against another: the Son against the Father and Mother, Brother against Brother, Kindred and Friendes of the same quallitie. And al these things they do, to compasse Riches, whereof (after death) they can be no possessors. And yet notwithstanding, they will kill one another dailie for wealth, commit all vnlawfull Actions; contemning both the poor, their frends, and Countrey.

The malice of men one against another.

They make great account of manie senseless things, esteeming them to bee part of their treasure; as Statues, Picturs, painted Tables, and other moueables of like matter, which they buy at deer rates, being so dexteriously wrought, as nothing but speech wanteth in them; & yet they hate liuing persons that do speake to them. Others, do affect laborious and difficult things: for such as dwel on firme Land, desire to remoue thence to Watry Iflands, and hauing remained there but a while; then they must needs returne to their first abiding, being no way constant or stable in their desires. They commend courage and strength in warlicke actions, yet are daily conquered themselues by Auarice and wickednesse; at euerie change hapning in their bodies, or sickenesse of minde. In briefe, they are as deformed in their liues, as *Therſites* the *Greeke* was in his body. And for conclusion (worthy *Hippocrates*) me thinkes you should not reprehend my laughing; perceiuing so many vanities in men; for no man will mocke his owne follie, but at that which hee discerneth in another, and so they do iustly mock one another. The Drunkard calles him a Glutton; whom he knowes to be sober: Many men loue the Sea; others Husbandry: briefely they cannot agree in their Trades and professions, much lesse in their liues and actions.

Senceleſſe things, esteemed aboue liuing men.

The deformitie of mans life.

Hippocrates hauing heard *Democritus* to speake in this manner, without anie pre-meditation: but readily deliuered from his Mouth: and as no man could better vtter his minde, to declare the Vanitie of humaine condition, full of so manie ridiculous contrarieties, made

anſwere: That the neceſsitie of thinges, compelled men to many of theſe actions and variant willes in one another: the principall cauſe enſuing from the diuine permiſsion, to the end, that men might not bee ydle, becauſe there is not anie thing more odious to the Goddes, then ſloath and neglect. And as in Nature there is not any thing ſtable or firme; euen ſo, the vnderſtanding of man (which is round circkled and ſhut vp with naturall thinges) is not ſo certaine and immoueable, as daily to fore-ſee future inconueniences. What would a man do, ioyning in Marriage where he dearly affecteth, if hee foreſaw death to bee the cauſe of their ſeparation? Or the Father and Mother, Nurſing their Children tenderly, knewe the houre of their Mortalitie and ſubiection to death? Would a Husbandman beſtow his ſeed in the ground, if he could fore-tell that it woulde yeelde him no encreaſe? Or a Merchant vndertake Nauigation, if hee ſaw his owne Shippe-wracke before his eyes? Woulde a King accept of Regall Authority, if he were ſure of depoſing, and caſting out from his dignitie? Or a Magiſtrate ſeated in honor afterward reiected, and toſſed vp and downe (like a Tennis Ball) at the peoples pleaſure? Alas, woorthy *Democritus*, each man thinketh, that whatſoeuer hee enterprizeth, ſhall ſucceede to happie and fortunate ſucceſſe. Neither is there any need of ſuch apprehenſion, or any ſtrong immagination, that pernicious accidents muſt needs waite on mens enterprizes: For, then no man would aduenture on anie thing, but euery one would ſtand ſtupid, confounded with fearefulneſſe. Why do ye not now (quoth he to *Democritus*) mocke and laugh at theſe words of mine, as you did before, and ſtill doo at all things?

Democritus hauing heard Diuine *Hippocrates*, excuſed himſelfe thus; That his vnderſtanding was but groſſe and rough hammered, and could not well comprehend what hee had formerlie declared, concerning the perturbations & tranquilitie of the minde. Inſomuch, that if men would gouerne their actions by diſcretion and prouidence; they wold not declare themſelues to be fooles, neither ſhoulde hee haue any further cauſe of laughter. But (quoth he) they ſwell proudly, and ſo glorie in their doings, as if (in this life) they were immortall, onlie through defect of vnderſtanding, beeing harde to bee enſtructed in ſuch difficult points. It were ſufficient to make them wiſe and well-gouerned, if they woulde but ſet before their own eyes, the change or viciſsitude of all worldly thinges, finding nothing firme and ſtable, the whole world dooing nothing elſe, but gire and wheele about: ſo that he which is alofte to day, on the morrow following is remoued lower: and hee that ſate on one ſide, is hurled to another. And not conſidering this ſlippery buſineſſe, they fall eaſily into verie great inconueniences & troubles: coueting things of no profite, and by greedie thirſting after them, tumble headlong into manie miſerable Calamities.

So that, if no man would attempt more, then what his ſtrength could ablie ſtand vnder, and he beare awaie without perrill, he would lead a much better contented life; and men hauing learned to know themſelues, would limit a mediocrity, not an infinitie to their ambition. Then they woulde conſider, that nature hath ſufficient to adminiſter what is neceſſarie for this life, without ſeeking ouer-painfully, after ſuperfluities and vnprofitable thinges, which bring nothing with them, but great greeſe and molleſtation.

Like as a bodie that is growne groſſe, fat, and well fed, is ſooneſt ſuſpected to fall into ſome grieuous diſeaſe: euen ſo, fareth it with great riches, which are ſubiect to ſtore of trauerſes and mutations. There are many, who take no heede of that which happeneth to others, only by bad conuerſation; and therefore, do ouerthrow themſelues in the ſame maner, thorough their owne fault, not fore-ſeeing daungers manifeſt, and not hidden; dreaming otherwiſe on length of life by them. Theſe are the thinges (O men more then mad, quoth he) that yeilds me matter of laughter, by ſueffring the pains of your Impieties; as of your Auarices, inſatiable deſires, enmities, conſpiracies, deceits, enuies, and other Vices; which (in regard of their multiplicitie) are impoſsible to be declared; beſides your diſſimulations and fallacies, in conuerſing together, bearing deadly hatred one to another, yet ſhaddowing it with lies, flying

S'oth & careleſneſſe hatefull to the Gods.

Excellent reaſons alleadged by *Hippocrates*.

The euent of things cannot be auoyded.

The anſwere of *Democritus* to *Hippocrates*.

The infinite ambition in men, the cauſe of all euils.

The benefite of knowing our ſelues.

A familiar comparison betweene the body & riches

Vices ordinary and common among men.

ing out into all voluptuous turpitude of life, and transgressing all Lawes, both of nature and ciuility.

Many things are pleasing to them, and when they are forborne but a while, they returne againe afresh vnto them. As oftentimes they doe, who shun and despise Nauigation, yet afterwardes doo vndertake it againe, leauing off Husbandrie, which at the first was their only exercise. When they are young, they thinke it long till they attaine vnto age; and when they are arriued to it, then they lament, and finde many irkesom discommodities in it.

No man truly satisfied with his own condition.

Princes commend a priuate life, and a priuate man hath an itching humor after Royaltie. The Magistrate praiseth the Handi-crafts mans condition: and the other would gladly be in his Office, to be reuerenced and obeyed as the Magistrat is. And what is the reason of all these disturbances, but that no man will take knowledge of himselfe, as hee ought to doo? Some take delight in destroying Townes and Cities, to erect other in contrary places, spoiling one country vnreasonably, to inrich themselues in another immeasurably. In all these things, they differ very little from Children; in whom there is neither counsell or iudgement, and resemble brutish creatures, only this excepted, that they can containe themselues within the Lawes of nature, which men either cannot, or wil not do.

A delight deseruing little cõmendation

When shal we see a Lyon hiding gold in the ground? Or a Bull contending for a fatter pasture? When the wilde Boare is thirsty, hee will drinke no more then sufficeth nature. When the woolfe hath fild his belly, to get him a stomack again, hee walketh about from place to place; but man eateth and drinketh both night and day, neuer satisfied with too much repletion. These creatures couet no carnall coniunction, but at certain times and seasons in the yeare: but man at all times and all houres, giuing license to his owne voluptuous fleshlinesse, ruinating thereby the health of his body. And is it not a matter deseruing laughter, to see an Amorous foole writh his arms, weep, houl, and torment himselfe, for a mishapen slut, foule, hard fauoured, and vnsightly, forsaking bright beauty in her sweetest delicacy? And yet for al these grosse imperfections, I thinke Physicke affordeth not any remedie.

Brute beastes do behaue themselues better then men.

You cannot note such mallice in me, as daily you may discerne in others; for they kil one another, and I do but dissect and Anatomize poore Beastes, to seeke the cause of these distempers, Vanities, and worldly follies: yet such proofe were better made on mens bodies, if my kind Nature could endure it; and but that I am a louer of man, and of his good. You may easily obserue, how the world it selfe is hatefull to men, compacting so manie calamities in him, as with them he is continually vexed. For man, from the houre of his birth is weake and sickly. When he suckes for his nourishment, hee is vnprofitable, and vnable to gouerne himselfe. Growing greater, he practiseth vnhappinesse, and then, hath neede of a Ruler. Comming to manly yeares, hee waxeth bolde and sturdy; and descending into Old age, he declareth his owne miserie, remembering his labours and calamities passed, all which, hee brought with him from the wombe of his Mother. Heere their Conference was interrupted, by the comming in of one, that broght certaine Bookes; but a signe being giuen him to lay downe the Bookes, and depart; they fell againe to their former discoursing. But *Democritus* fearing, lest he had already wearied *Hippocrates*, with so long and diuers causes of his Laughter, entreated his fauourable patience yet a little longer, and then he should iudge if he were mad, acording as many others imagined.

The wretched and miserable estate of men.

Democritus proceedeth in his discourse.

To approue my former speeches (qd. he) let vs cast our eies into diuers Courts and priuat houses, where dangerous actions are committed, that are not brought to open euidence. In many Courts, Iudges giue sentence according to their own pleasure, offering too much wrong to innocents, & poor despised souls. Notaries and Scriueners on the other side, they alter the Iudges sentences, or (for money) lose their deeds. Som make false monies; others forge counterfet waights & measures. Some abuse their parents, yea, corrupt their owne Sisters; & others, frame lying Pasquils and rimes, disgracing men & women of vertuous life, & extolling such as are lewd and vicious: Some rob in the night time, breaking Doores and Windowes: And Magistrates ordaine Lawes against stealing, yet are the greatest Theeues themselues. Some hang

Concerning Iudges.

Notaries and Scriueners.

Coynes and Waights.

False Libels.

Robbing and Thieuing.

Affection, is a blinded Folly.

themselues, or otherwise woorke their owne deathes, for not obtaining what they would haue, or else in meer despair. Among men, there are many that affect Dauncing, Singing, Laughing, and frequenting of Feasts and Bankets, while others sit Sighing, Mourning, & lamenting, hauing neither meate or drinke to fill their hungry bellies.

Desperatien

Great inconstancy in the actions of mē

There are some, that haue no other delight, but to bee cloathed in rich and sumptuous Garments, neuer caring to couer and adorne their minds, but only with wicked and execrable vices. Some run, trot about, seeke and call into their houses, Knights of the Post (aswe terme them, with false witnesse to ouer-throwe an honest meaning man: and albeit the Iudges knowe it well enough, yet (for bribes) they winke at it, and suffer false contracts, to preuaile against right and equity.

Proud nakedneſſe.

False witnes.

The most part of Weomen, if they bee desirous of walking abroad, manie houres are too few, in decking and adorning themselues, only to appeare beautifull in the eyes of other men: but while they abide within doores, they care not how vnhandsome and sluttish they bee, where rather they should be in their best brauery, only to be liking and acceptable in the eyes of their Husbands.

Pride in women, to see & be seene.

Seeing then (quoth hee) that the Spirits of men are so variable, and full of intemperance, why shoulde not I Laugh? Surely, I am of the minde, that Physicke is offensiue to them, and in regarde of their ill Temper, euery thing is irkesom, and folly seemeth to be Wisedome vnto them.

Of Physick & Physitians.

There are many parts in your Art of Physicke, which suffer blame openly, either thorough ignorance, enuie, or ingratitude. Some sicke men, recouering their health, most commonly do attribute their cure to those Goddes vnto whom they haue deuoted themselues; or to fortune, or to their owne naturall disposition: neuer minding the Physition, who tooke great paines in purging Humors of dangerous quality, and bringing them to a more milde constitution. But you know these things much better then I do, because you haue made iudicious experience of them.

Ignoraunce, Enuie, and Ingraitude.

Many other speeches passed betweene them, to approue that his Laughter was to good purpose: but because the Reader may gesse them by former relation, I spare further proceeding in them. In pronouncing his words, hee seemed rather a God then a man, and his desire was to be heard, without molestation. It waxed now somewhat late, and it appeared, that time had tutord either to allow of seperation. Wherefore, *Hippocrates* most humbly thanking *Democritus*, for instructing him in the causes of his Laughter, and what else he had learned by his wittie discourse, wished, that he were as free as he, without charge of a wife and family, on condition hee might liue like another *Democritus*.

The end of the Conference, between *Democritus & Hippocrates*.

Hippocrates with drawing into the Citie, to his kinde Hoste *Philopoemenes*, was no sooner there arriued, but the greater part of the Honourablest persons came to visit him, to vnderstand the estate and health of their Law maker. In few Wordes he told them, that in the body of *Democritus* he could find no infirmity, albeit he made too slight account of his own person, either in order of diet, garments, and other necessaries. Much lesse defect was to be found in his minde: for he was verily perswaded, that the whole worlde contained not a man more wise, learned, and honest, then hee. And the Commonwealth was badly informed, to immagine him mad, or out of his senses, because he laughed (ordinarily) as well at good as euill: for his Laughter proceeded from iust occasion, to witte; The vanity and presumption of men, promising themselues (for the most part) eternity in this world. Howbeit, the life of man (as euery one well knoweth) is but a dreame, soone passing away. Hee recited also to them, his sententious sayings, in such rare method, and excellent Order, as all the hearers confessed their great errour, in holding the wisest man in the world for a foole.

The Noblemen resorted to *Hippocrates*.

The report of *Hippocrates*, concerning his iudgment of *Democritus*.

On the morrow, Sacrifices were offered to the Goddesse *Pallas*, in thankefull manner, because shee had pleased to preserue the helth of *Democritus*; presenting (beside) great & rich gifts to *Hippocrates*, for the great paines and trauel he had taken. After many refusalles, he said vnto them, that he remained verie highlie obliged vnto them, for causing him to conferre with the Wisest man in the worlde: for he had many infirmities in his spirit, where-

Sacrifices to the Goddesse *Pallas*.

whereof he was vtterly ignorant, till hee talked with him; and they might haue caused verie manie pernitious accidents, but that his graue Counsell had giuen them remedy; and therefore, hee rather ought to reward *Democritus*, as a gracious Benefector. So, being brought aboord his Shippe by the *Abderites*, he set saile, and returned home vnto the Isle of *Coos*.

The departure of *Hippocrates* from the *Abderites*.

This *Hippocrates* liued afterward like a Woorthie man, and in great reputation, hauing written threescore and seauen Bookes of the Art of Physick, which yet to this day are helde in great estimation, as beeing most learnedly composed; yea, such hath beene their Authoritie, that all cases pleaded before Iudges, if they were determined by *Hippocrates*, al Lawyers allowd them as a denifitiue sentence, without informing themselues by any other naturall reason.

The authority of *Hippocrates* his workes and writings.

The whole Art of Physicke is grounded vpon that which hee hath written; and is the onely reason, why that Science was reduced into an Art. Not onely was he in great credite and estimation during his life time in *Greece*, but likewise in many remote Nations where that credite liueth still: For his Workes are read not onely in *Asia* and *Europe*, but likewise in *Affrica*, amongest the *Moores*, *Iewes*, *Arabes*, and *Indians*, where Commentaries are daily made on his Bookes.

The life and vertues of *Hippocrates*.

Hee was neuer seene to be in Choller, neither more sadde or ioyfull at one time then another. Hee was very charitable to the poore, Benigne, Affable, Liberall, and Laborious. Hee was so beloued in many Prouinces, that (on a time) the *Athenians* being prouoked by vniust Ambition, denounced Warre against the Isle of *Coos*: but (for his sake only) the *Thessalians* and other people, sent their Ambassadours to succor them with men, and all meanes else. And also in respect of him, the *Athenians* would not come to Handie-blowes: but calling to minde, that hee had once deliuered their Cittie from the Pestilence, graunted them peace, and accepted him amongst the number of their Cittizens; to enioy the same priuiledges, allowing him besides, a great pension yearely, out of the publicke Treasury. Hee died in the hundred and eleauenth yeare of his age, leauing two Sonnes behinde him, verie famous Physitions, to wit, *Thessalus* and *Draco*.

The death & children of *Hippocrates*.

He had a great number of Schollers, whom he wold neuer license to practise, or graunt them his Letters, till they had first taken their Oaths in the Temple, before the Altar of *Apollo*, to abbreuiate diseases to their vttermost power; to giue no counsell, neither to suffer any to poyson any bodie, or cause women to be deliuered of abortiue children. To be secret in infirmities, as wel concerning women as men, without lusting after women, or young Maids, being vnder their cure: nor to report any thing spoken by them, or done in their houses, after their entrance. Also, that they should teach their Arte freely, and without reward to others, according as he had taught it them; and aboue all things else, that they shold feare God. It is not aboue fortie years since, that his Sepulchre was found in the Isle of *Coos*, his Natiue Countrey, which the Emperour *Theodosius* had builded in his honor, betweene two Hilles, in a verie deepe Quagmyre, which was 860. yeares after his decease. Whereby wee may well perceiue, that *Soranus* is a lyer, who would haue his Tombe to be in *Macedonia*. He is alwaies pictured with his head couered, as a signe of his Nobility.

The Oath giuen by *Hippocrates* to his Scholler's.

The Sepulcher of *Hippocrates*.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the two most excellent Painters in those times, Apelles *and* Protogenes.

The Authors excuse for this chapter.

HAuing formerly spoken of the woorthy Art of Painting, it may seeme absurd; that two Chapters should bee inserted, concerning one and the same subiect. But in mine owne excuse, I must alledge the mens dignitie of whom I am nowe to speake, deseruing well a Chapter by themselues, for better impression in the Readers minds: *Apelles*, who was tearmed the chiefe or Prince in the Art of Painting, learned this Science vnder a Woorthie man, named *Pamphilius*, whose cunning

Pamphilius the Maister of *Apelles*.

was ſo abſolute, as hee would accept of no Scholler, at leſſe rate then an *Antique* Talent by the yeare, which valewed ſixe hundred Crownes of our Money nowe. In the time of this *Apelles*, there was another moſt famous Painter, named *Protogenes*, ſo prompt and skilful in this Art, as ſupremacy in excellency could not be diſcerned in either. In regard whereof, and *Apelles* hauing credible intelligence of his great renowne, he reſolued to goe ſee him, & ſayled thence to *Rhodes*, wher *Protogenes* made his abiding. Being there arriued (with purpoſe not to be knowne, no not to *Protogenes* himſelfe) he cam to the doore of his dwelling, at ſuch time as *Protogenes* was gone abroad Entring into his Worke-houſe, he demanded of an aged woman where he was, ſaying, hee would haue ſpoken with him. Who ſhal I ſay (quoth the old woman) inquired for him? Then *Apelles* tooke a Penſil, which he found lying by an vnwrought Table, and ſaid to the old woman. Thou mayſt tell *Protogenes* when hee commeth, that he which did this in this Table, came hither to ſee him And as he ſpake the wordes, he drew a ſtrait line ſo curious and elaborate, as the like could not haue been done by the hand of any other Workeman, and ſo departed.

Protogenes being returned home vnto his houſe, and told by the Olde woman as ſhe was commaunded; hee looked on the Table, and perceiuing the rare perfection of the Line, he preſently ſaid, *Apelles* hath done this, for no other mā could do it. Then tooke he another Penſill, and vpon the Line which *Apelles* made, he drew one of another colour, ſo delicate ſmall, thinne, and ſlender, and with ſuch true proportion, as none but himſelfe could performe the like, commaunding the Old woman, that when *Apelles* returned thither, ſhe ſhould ſhew it him and tell him, that this was his workmanſhip whom he came to ſee. Soone after, *Apelles* came againe to the ſhop, *Protogenes* being abſent; and the Olde-woman ſhewed him the Table as her Maiſter had giuen him in charge. *Apelles* being much ashamed to ſee ſuch an aduantage aboue him, tooke a Penſill, and on the chiefe ſubtilty of the line, which *Protogenes* had made vppon his (although it ſeemed inuiſible to the eie, it was ſo ouercurioufly drawne) yet notwithſtanding, by the dexterious skill of his hand, in a third colour, he formed another Line, ſo ſubtle and ingenious, that it deuided the two formoſt thorow the midſt; and was alſo ſet downe with ſuch exceeding perfection, as no ſpace was left to draw another. *Protogenes* comming home againe, and beholding what was done, confeſſed himſelfe conquered, and ran ſuddenly to the Port to finde *Apelles*, to honour and giue him entertainment. Afterward, this Table, with the three lines onely, was reputed as a myracle, and long time kept in Rome, being (for the admirable Art expreſſed therein) brought thither, and it remained there in *Cæſars* time, when by caſualty of fire it was burned.

Apelles had this cuſtome, when he had finiſhed any rare piece of Worke, to ſet it in open ſight at his doore, for al by-paſſengers to behold it: then would he hide himſelfe aptly behinde it, to hear if (with reaſon) any one could reproue it, ſo to vnderſtand the peoples iudgement. Once it happened, that his cunning was controlled by a Shoo maker, becauſe the Latchet of a ſhoo was not well painted. Alwayes he wrote vnder his Tables, theſe eſpeciall words; *Appelles did this, and yet did it not*, giuing thereby to vnderſtande, that he held not his work for perfect and compleate.

This excellent man, liued in the time of *Alexander*, the greateſt King that euer was, by whom he was ſo commended, & held in ſuch high honor, that he prohibited by publicke Edict, no Painter ſhould draw his picture but *Apelles* onely. Nor did he hold it any diſgrace to his maieſty, oftentimes to go and ſit by him, as hee was painting in his Shop, which is a notable Argument, that this Arte was in great reputation in thoſe times, and that *Apelles* was moſt excellent, & not meanly eſteemed and loued by *Alexander*. For *Apelles* hauing (by his commaund) drawne to the life, and naked; one of his fauorits, a choiſe Lady, named *Campaſpe*, found her to be ſo faire, and of ſuch perfection, that he grew extraordinarily inamored of hir. Which comming vnto the knowledge of *Alexander*, thogh he loued the Lady dearly, & aboue the reſt of his Concubins, yet he concluded to take hir from himſelfe, & giue hir in marriage to *Apelles*. Nor is this act vnworthie to be ranked in the number of his greateſt victories;

Protogenes another famous Painter.

Apelles cam to ſee *Protogenes*.

Protogenes knew *Apelles* by his line.

Apelles his ſecond viſitatiō of *Protogenes*.

The curicus Table vnfortunately burned.

A cuſtom obſerued by *Apelles*.

Apelles reproued by a ſhoo-maker.

Apelles liued in *Alexanders* time.

The loue of *Alexander* to *Apelles*.

tories: considering, that, conquering his owne affections (which euermore is the worthyest triumph) he could rob himselfe of a faire friend, to bestow her vpon another. Some say, that by this *Campaspe*, *Apelles* painted the Picture of *Venus*.

Ptolomy King of Egypt, an enemy to *Apelles*.

He was so skilfull in naturall portraiture, that *Ptolomie*, King of *Ægypt*, and one of the Successours to *Alexander*, enuying the fame and vertues of *Apelles*; made a sumptuous Feast, whereto, treacherously, and in the Kings name, *Apelles* was inuited, and came. *Ptolomy* being highly offended, angerly demaunded of him; Who had beene the cause of his presence there? Which when *Apelles* heard; suddenly he tooke a coale out of the fire, and, without returning any other answere: presently drew the figure of a face, which euery one (there present) knew to resemble a follower of the Kinges, named *Planus*. Many other meruailous thinges in Painting, were performed by him, which would aske ouer-long time to recount. For Histories doe relate, that he painted such things, as were not to be painted: as the beames of the Sun, Lightning, Thunder, and such like impossibilities. His workes were so rare and singuler, that a Table, wherin *Venus* was figured, rising out of the Sea, and which was placed in *Iulius Cæsars* Temple by *Octauius*, happening afterward to be defaced in some perticuler part; no man durst attempt to amend what was mard, knowing no meanes to conforme it to the first perfection.

Admirable things painted by *Apelles*.

About the ending of his daies, he began to draw another peece of *Venus*, so faire and curiously proportioned: that dying before he had finished it, no man could be found, that would enterprise to perfect it, according to the beginning. At another time, he had painted a Horse, so neere to the life; that other Painters (hauing drawne the like Figures, and desirous to make experience of the most perfect) would take liuing Horses out of the Stable, and set them before their owne handye worke, for comparison. But when they brought them before that done by *Apelles*: they would beginne to stirre, whinnow and snuffle, as if the other had been a liuing Horse indeede, whereby *Apelles* carried

Works of *Apelles* lefte imperfect, no man could finish them.

the excellence from all the other Painters. Nor was his worthinesse of spirit discerned by his Painting onely; but also in his good discoursing. For *Protogenes*, praising and extolling him beyond all other Painters; *Apelles* answered. *You are as skilfull a Master in the Art as I am; but you haue one fault, that ye will tire your selfe with Painting.* Declaring heereby, that ouer great diligence and continuall labour (exceeding duty) is hurtfull: because it wasteth, oppresseth, and confoundeth the Spirit, when a man shall so assiduately continue at his worke, and giue the minde no breathing time, in some other pleasing exercises. A Painter shewed him one of his pieces, & vaunted, that he had done it in such a short named time; whereto *Apelles* answered: *I saw that by thy workmanship, though thou hadst not told me.*

Apelles apt & ready in discourse.

Ouer much labour duleth the Spirit.

We may speake somewhat of *Protogenes*, and of his cunning skil in Painting, albeit it were matter enough to his glory, to declare no more then that which *Demetrius* did, at his siedge before *Rhodes*. For he might very easilie haue entred the Citty, if he would haue fiered it in a certaine place: but hee would by no meanes yeild thereto, or that any fire should be put in that place; because he well knew, that in the very same part of the Citty, was a Table wrought by the hand of *Protogenes*. And he rather chose, to faile in surprisall of the Citty; then to burne that Table, such was his great esteeme and loue to it. The day before the Citty was besiedged, *Protogenes* beeing in a Garden (at his worke) without the Wals, was taken by the Souldiers of *Demetrius*: for though hee knew the Armies comming, yet would hee not giue ouer his businesse begun. Being brought before *Demetrius*, the King demanded of him; with what assurance he durst so securely trust himselfe without the Cittie? *I am certaine* (quoth *Protogenes*) *that thy Warre is against the Rhodians, and not against the Arts.* Whereupon, *Demetrius* gaue him in guard to diuers of his trustiest Souldiours, that no man might wrong him in perfecting his worke; and oftentimes went himselfe to see him.

Concerning the worthy skil of *Protogenes*.

Rhodes besieged by *Demetrius*.

There haue beene in this Art, many choise and singuler Work men, exceeding

The names of many verie rare and singuler Painters.

ding possibility to name them all, and therefore we will but glaunce at some: As *Aristides*, of *Thebes*; *Asclepiadorus*, of *Alexandria*, very skilfull also in the Mathematiques; *Nichomachus*, of *Athens*, Sonne to *Aristodemus*; *Paneus*, Brother to *Phidias*, and many other, of whom *Pliny* speaketh in his fiue & thirtith Booke. And because that men only shall not boast of their figularity in this Art; we can alledge some women likewise, very famous therein, and that haue exceeded extraordinarily: as *Thimaretta*, Daughter to *Mycon* of *Athens*; shee painted the Figure of *Dyana* in a Table, which was long time preserued in *Ephesus*. We may not forget *Irene*, *Calypso*, and a Virgine named *Lala Cyzicena*, as also *Olympia*, and others. True it is, that in our time there are very excellent men: but I must be silent therein, least in speaking of some one or two; I should doe iniury to the rest.

Women very skilfull in Painting.

CHAP. XXII.

Of what forme a Man ought to bee, to appeare thereby in his best shape and proportion.

SEeing we haue spoken in diuers kinds, of Painters excelling in their Art: me-thinkes it cannot varry farre from our purpose, to speak of the great and chiefest Painter, euen the former and Creator of all things, who obserued a rule and true proportion of Art, in the composition of Man. Among other meruailes, which we are to consider in mans composing; we must first know that he is framed of so perfect a measure, and each part so well compassed (as we shal instantly declare) that our ancient Architects and Builders, had especiall regard, to the proportion obserued by God, in the creation of Man, whereby they shaped their order and composition, for building Houses, Churches, Castles, Towers, Shippes, and Instruments for Warre, and from thence deriued their first proportions. And in contemplating, and well considering the measures of Mans stature, each member after other: they found out such a compasse, as they could thereby direct their labour, and forme the order of wonderfull buildings. Which I must confesse, as well in our Moderne, as in our Ancients, discoursing hereof, and deliuered by their owne writings: especially *Vitruuius*, albeit experience doth herein best teach vs.

The true rule & proportion in composition of man, obserued as a method for al other matters.

Now, part of this proportion by them found and considered, was, that in the stature of man there is no certain measure or arrest, because some are greater then other. Neuertheless, our elders iudged, that to forme a man of apt and perfect greatnesse; it required but sixe foote in length, or else not to exceede seauen: because such as haue surpassed this rule, went contrary to the naturall course.

No certaine measure in the stature of man.

In like manner, *Vegetius*, speaking of what stature men should be elected for War-seruice, saith: That the Consull *Marius* would chuse his *Tyrons*, (which were new or Fresh-water Souldiours, as we tearme them) of six foot in height, or (at the least) fiue foot and ten inches, which are the ten partes of twelue portions in a foot. And for conformitie in these thinges, *Vitruuius* further saith; That the foote of a man maketh the sixt part of his length. Neuertheless, this rule taken by the common foot, is vncertain: for I haue seen Men & womē more great, then seuen times the length of their feet would reach to. To agree then with *Vitruuius* and *Vegetius* together; we must know, that *Vitruuius* meant Geometricall feet, which contained foure hand-breadths, or handfuls, each handfull to haue foure fingers breadth, and each finger foure Barley graines in length. For all Authours, both Auncient and Moderne, writing on this Argument, doe assure vs, that the measuring foote, consisteth of the greatnesse of twelue points, which we tearme inches. Of these feete then a man ought to haue sixe, to be of good height, and he that reacheth to seauen, is very taule, and whosoeuer exceedeth seauen foote, should be called a Gyant, and monstrous: according to the rule of the most wise *Marcus Varro*, recited by *Aulus Gellius*. Whereunto

The Consull *Marius* in election of his Souldiers.

The agreement of *Vetruuius* and *Vegetius*.

The allowed height of a Man.

to *Suetonius* conſenteth in the life of *Octauius*, ſpeaking of his forme, where he ſaith, that he was of little ſtature: yet notwithſtanding, it could not be perceiued, in regard of equall proportion in his members; but when he was neer another of tauler ſtature thē he. Yet he ſaith, that his meaſure was fiue foote and nine inches, and by reaſon of this want in the ſixt foote, he was called little.

The proportion of the mēbers in their due length.

Let vs come now to the proportion of the members, and how much (one with another) ought to haue in their length. In the firſt place, the auncient Philoſophers found out, that the round & circular figure (as being the moſt abſolute of all other) is perfectly in man. For a man lying on the ground, his face towards Heauen, his armes and handes extended ſo wide as can bee, and likewiſe his legges and feete: open then a compaſſe of ſixe foote in breadth, and ſet one of the points directly on his nauell, as in a Center, and turne the compaſſe round about by his furtheſt reach; and it will make a round and perfect circle, taking iuſt meaſure by the endes of the feete and hands. This is a rule certaine, and common in all men, by a good and well commenſured proportion. *Vitruuius* ſpeaketh it in the place before alleadged, and the like doe many other Authours beſide. *Pliny* writeth, that the figure or forme of a man, is angulare and quadrangulare, becauſe in opening his armes, and extending his fingers, the largeneſſe is found, according to the meſure of the mā in length. Hence enſueth it, that holding his feete together, and his Armes abroad extended; he is a quadrangle of foure equall lines. For one paſſeth in him by the Crowne of the head; a ſecond, by the Soles of his feete; a third, by one of his hands; and the fourth, by the other.

The round & circulare figure perfect in man.

Plin. in Lib. 22 Cap 9.

The figure of a man Angulare and Quadrangulare.

But comming to the members proportion ioyntly together, and likewiſe of all the body with them; there is found ſome difference, betweene our Authours Ancient and Moderne. *Vitruuius* ſaith, that the face of a Man, meaſuring it from the neather part of the Chin, to the firſt root of Haire towardes the fore-head; ſhould containe the length of a tenth part of the whole bodie. And that the length of the hand, from the Wriſt to the top of the middle Finger; is likewiſe the tenth part of a Man. And from the top of the fore-head, to the beginning of the Breaſt; containeth a ſixt part. Alſo from the Crowne of the head, to the ſame vpper part of the breaſt; is a fourth part. They deuided alſo the face, into three equall portions; one to begin at the tip of the Chin, and mounting vp ſo farre as the Noſthrils; then from thence, vp to the eye-browes the ſecond; the third and laſt, is from the Eye-browes, vp to the roote of the haire. The foote (as we haue ſaid) is reputed to be the ſixt part of the whole body. The Cubite (which reacheth from the Elbow, to the top of the middle Finger) is the fourth part; And likewiſe the Breaſt another fourth part. Behold what auncient Writers haue held as a rule, which they deriued from *Vitruuius*, according to his Countrey.

The face of man deuided into three equall proportions.

Now, this rule ought to be in a man, to haue good proportion and diſpoſition in all his members. I ſpeake this, becauſe there is not any other rule, bee it neuer ſo great, but it hath ſome exception. Wherefore, this here named, is not found alike in all men, but yet in the greater part of them; ſo that, he which ſhall be found moſt conformable to this rule, hath euer the beſt ſhape and diſpoſition. There are many other proportions among the members of man, and from one to another, all which would be too tedious to declare. Neuertheleſſe (according to my wonted order) I will ſpeake of ſome of them briefelie. Among theſe, obſerue this, that the very greateſt ioynt of the biggeſt Finger or Thomb, termed an inch; is the meaſure of the mouthes height, when it is fully open, I meane in ſuch as can eaſily, and without any grieuance, open their mouths. Againe, the ſame ioynt, is the perfect meaſure from the tippe of the Chin, iuſt to the Iawes or Chaps, when the mouth is ſhut. The other leſſer ioynt of this inch or Thomb, that is to ſay; where the naile is, is the diſtance betweene the vpper Lippe, and the tip of the Noſe. The great ioynt of the other next Finger, which the *Latines* called *Index*, the pointing Finger, or fore-finger; containeth the length of the fore-head or front, taking meaſure from

The beſt allowance for good proportion in a man.

Many proportions among the members of man, by ample diſcription.

The members meaſured with the whole body together.

Of the meaſures in the fingers.

frō the height of the eye-browes, to the first root of haire. That which remaineth of this *Index*, or fore-finger, to the tippe of the Naile, where are two other ioyntes; is the iust length of the Nose, from the end to the eye-browes. The great ioynt of the bigge or middle finger, which is that in the midst of the hand; is the distance from the tippe of the Chin, to the beginning of the nose. And the whole intire hand, is equall to the greatnesse of the face. All the lesser ioynts in the Fingers, holdlike measure to the greatnesse of the Naile, which is the moity of all those lesser ioynts: Wherefore, it is a wonderfull thing, to behold, and obserue the proportions which are in man, and the reasons of them. Moreouer, the height of the fore-head, the length of the nose, as also of the lippes, are euermore equall: And the distance which is between the heele and the Instup; is also equall to that betweene the Instup, and the top of the toes.

The true length of the Nose.

The greatnes of the face.

The for-head, nose, and lips.

The heele & Instup.

We haue already said, that the face ought to be the tenth part of the body, so that the whole stature be deuided into tenne partes, or faces, becausе our auncients made this obseruation. For, from the height or crowne of the head, so farre as the Nosthrils; is one tenth part. From the toppe of the Nose, to the height of the Breast; is a second. From thence, to the mouth of the stomacke; is a third. From the stomacke, to the Nauell; is a fourth. From the Nauell, to the secrets; is a fist; and there is the halfe moity of a Mans true stature. From which place also, to the sole of the foote, are fiue other partes. One beginneth in the middest of the Thighes chiefest greatnesse; the second, descendeth thence to the top of the knee: and the rest going downeward, deuide themselues into three other parts. The grossenesse of a man at his wast or girdle; should be the halfe of his height or length. Notwithstanding, as we haue formerly said, although this proportion bee not found alike in all men: yet it is infallible, that he who is equall to this iust measure in all parts, shall be the comliest and most compleat man. For in former times, those auncient Sculptures, Image-makers, Caruers, and others skilfull in the like Artes, duely weighing and considering these rules: made Statues of many pieces, & of diuers proportions, which when they were ioyned together: they appeared as conforme and agreeable, as if they had bin made all in one piece. The Moderne men of our times, haue taken another rule in this diuision of man: for they haue deuided him into nine parts or faces, and the third part of a face. The principall among them, is *Phillip de Bourgongne*, a singuler Caruer, who maketh his diuision thus. From the top or Crowne of the head, so farre as the Front; he maketh a third part of the face. A second third part, is from the beginning of the Front, so farre as the tip of the Chinne. From thence, to the height of the Breast, is a third part. From the Breast, to the Stomacke; is a fourth. From the Stomacke, to the Nauell; is a fist. From the Nauell, to the secret parts, is a sixt. From thence, the length of the Thigh to the knee, containeth two other third partes, which make seauen and eight. From the ioynt of the knee downeward, to the sole of the foote, are reputed two other third parts: which make (in all) nine faces, and one other third part. This may be seene and well considered, according to truth, to satisfie some for their further contentment: and this is the rule, obserued and helde by our Moderne men. It is further to be noted and considered, that in the composition and quantity of the members; a very seemely and conuenable proportion is obserued, euen as in a most wonderfull Hermony.

The rules of ancient *Artists*.

Modern men differing from our ancients.

Phillip of *Burgundy*, his diuision of man.

The measure of the body into ten parts equally obserued.

The fiue parts vpward.

Let indifferēt iudgement make triall of both.

Pliny saith, that till the yeares of one and twentie, a man commonly encreaseth in height, and thence-forward groweth in grossenesse, but not in height. Further he saith, that when a Child is three yeares old, he hath receiued the perfect increasing, in halfe of that which he can further increase. Likewise hee saith, that the humours of a sound and healthfull bodie, beeing answerable in proportion; should containe such weight and poise as followeth. Blood should containe eight equall partes in weight: Fleame should weigh foure partes: Chollour two: And Melanchollie one, but no more. And so it seemeth, that one doubleth it

Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 7.

Of growing in height and grossenesse.

The weight of the humors in man.

The fiue parts downeward.

The girdle or wast of a man

The Authors Conclusion.

it selfe vpon the other, euen from the meaneſt to the greateſt. To conclude, this admirable piece of workemanſhip, contemplating and duely conſidering it ſelfe, ought to mooue a man, to loue and praiſe the Worke-man which is God himſelfe. And ſeeing wee haue ſo faire a preparation in our bodily Fabricke or ſtructure: reaſon iuſtly requireth, that we ſhold order our manners, according to the perfection of our Soule, to make her appeare the more faire, beeing lodged in a perfect, compleate, and well porportioned body.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of three Princes in our time, and not long ſince, who ended their daies very miſerably, for diſobeying, and euill entreating their Fathers.

THere needeth no doubt to be made, but many diſorderly perſons doe liue in this World, that dare exalt thẽſelues againſt their Parents, and others Superiours, to whom they owe obedience. Which queſtionleſſe enſueth not, but by the ſollicitation of the Deuill, couetous to make many of his faction, and to weare his Liuery, willingly yeelding themſelues to partake in his torments. I ſpeake this, becauſe I purpoſe to handle in this Chapter, the Hiſtories of three wicked Children; the one of thẽ being a Chriſtian, and the other two of *Mahomets* Religion, that carried themſelues towardes their Fathers and other Kinred, ſo inhumainly, and without cauſe, as can ſcarcely (with modeſty) bee expreſſed, procuring thereby, their owne miſerable ending, which happened not about a thouſand or twelue hundred yeares ſince; but euen in our time: To ſhew the Reader, that this Age of ours is as full of wickedneſſe and ingratitude, (deedes onely proceeding from the Deuill) as any in former times was euer heard of; wherefore I will begin with the Chriſtian.

The Deuill is the Authour and Father of *Parricides*.

This Age as wicked as any of the former.

The firſt Hiſtory.

Such as haue read the Hiſtories of *Phillip de Commines*, who wrote the actions of King *Lewes* the eleauenth, and of his Capitall Enemy, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*: do finde, that a Duke of *Gueldres*, a man of vertue, entreating his Subiects benignely, and enriched with the feare of God; had a Sonne named *Adolphe*, who was newly married to the Duke of *Bourbons* Daughter. He behaued himſelfe fiercely to her, albeit ſhee was of the blood Royall of *France*, and allied to the moſt potent Duke of *Bourgongne*. Moreouer, grieuing that his Father liued ſo long, his ambition ſtretched ſo farre, as to be Duke of *Gueldres* in ſtead of his Father. And that hee might the ſooner attaine thereto, this deteſtable Sonne, one night when his Father would haue gone to his reſt; ſurprized him, and cauſed him to be led fiue miles thence, bare-foote and bare-legde, locking him vp in the Tower of a Caſtle, which was buildee in a Marſhy place, round engirt with Waters, and ſubiect to little or no light at all. Sixe months he kept him there in this eſtate, very baſely lodged, and not ſeeing any fire in all that weary time.

Adolphe, Son to the Duke of *Gueldres*.

Adolphe ſurpriſed his father, and made him priſoner.

The Duke of *Cleues* ſeeketh to reſtore the wronged priſoner.

The Duke of *Cleues* hauing heard of this monſtrous dealing; in amity would aduenture for the Priſoners deliuerance: in regard, that the Duke of *Gueldres* (in his ſecond Nuptials) had married the Siſter to the ſaid Duke of *Cleues*. *Adolphe* would heare no friendly perſwaſions; whereuppon, theſe two Lords entred into cruell Warres, but all in vaine. The Duke of *Bourgongne* alſo imployed his paines, to make an agreement betweene the Sonne and Father: but he could ſpeede no better then the other: When the Duke of *Bourgongne* perceiued the young foole to be ſo head-ſtrong, accepting of no remonſtrances, which both the Pope and he had ſent vnto him: he made preparation of warre againſt him. *Adolphe* well knowing, that hee was to deale with one more terrible and powerfull then himſelfe: withdrew his Father frõ Priſon, and led him to the ſaide Duke; who yet againe endeuoured to accord them. The grieuances beeing heard on either ſide; the Father, as hauing loſt al iudgement, by the inſolencies of his Sonne: prouoked, and dared the proud youth to ſingle Combate, vntill ſilence was impoſed on him.

The Duke of *Bourgongne* prepareth warre.

The Father called the firſt to ſingle combate.

In

An agreement betweene the Father and Sonne.

In the end, the Duke of *Bourgongne* appointed (fauouring the Sonne, as his neere Kinſman) that the Dutchy of *Gueldres* ſhould remaine ſoly to him: a ſmall Citty excepted, named *Graue*, ioyning to the Countrey of *Brabrant*, which valued the Reuennue of three thouſand Florins. Other three thouſand ſhould bee leuied on the Dutchy, making (in all) ſixe thouſand Florins, which the Father ſhould haue paid him yearely, and the Sonne to enioy al the reſt: with this condition, that he ſhold be inſtituted Gouernor of *Bourgongne*, with the accuſtomed gages. *Phillip de Commines*, who hath written this Hiſtory, was deputed (with the other Lords) to make knowne to *Adolphe* the Sonne, what was determined by the Duke of *Bourgongne*. But the Sonne, liſning to euill counſell, ſaid: That hee would no way accept of theſe conditions, but had rather throw his Father into a Well, with his head forward, and then to caſt in himſelfe after. Moreouer, (quoth he) my Father hath beene Duke foure and twenty yeares, and it is now high time that I ſhould be Duke. Willinglie I will giue him three thouſand Florins yearely, vpon condition, that neyther he nor his Wife, ſhall at any time hereafter enter into the ſaide Dutchy: but liue in ſome place ſo ſecured, as neuer to budge thence, or to be made impoſſible for their euer leauing it.

Strange and vile ſpeeches of a Sonne.

While theſe matters were thus in mannaging, the people of *Amiens*, and other Townes ſeated on the Riuer of *Somme*, reuolted from obedience to the Duke of *Bourgongne*: for the morgaged Mony which he had on the ſaid places, had beene conſigned by King *Lewes* the eleauenth, who would not take, but laboured daily to keepe thoſe Townes, as beſt beſeemed both him and them. The Duke of *Bourgongne*, aduertiſed of thoſe Citties reuolt, being then at *Dorlans*; with-drew to *Hedin*, and commanded a Guard to lay hold on *Adolphe*, and Men were immediatly appointed for the purpoſe. Afterward, the Duke of *Bourgongne* being buſied about theſe affaires; forgot the agreement. But ſo did not the young *Gueldrois*, for he left his *Allemaigne* habite, & took one after the French faſhion, wherein he fled away ſecretly, to get into his own country. But as he was to paſſe a Port neere to *Namures*, hee payed a Florin for his paſſage, and a Prieſt eſpying him; was ſuſpitious of him, and demaunding of a Martiner, came more neer him. When knowing him, he was carried Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Namures*: where he remained till the Duke of *Bourgongnes* death, ſuffering many ſhamefull ignominies. His Father dyed a yeare after his taking Priſoner, and inſtituted the Duke of *Bourgongne* his heire, quite diſinheriting his owne Sonne.

Adolphe eſcapeth by flight

Adolphe taken Priſoner againe.

The men of *Gaunte*, touched with the ſame vice, reuolted (after the ſaid Duke of *Bourgongnes* death) againſt their Lady and Inheritrixe *Marie*: taking the young ingrateſull Lord out of Priſon, and allowing him to bee their Chiefe. But iuſt vengeance made no long delay, for within a while after, beeing bad accompanied, hee was ſlaine before the Towne of *Tornay*. Wherein God accompliſhed his owne words, ſaying: *The diſobedient to their Parents, ſhall neuer finiſh halfe their years*. Behold, the end of this wicked youth, who liued in litle eaſe, after the perſecution of his father, and finiſhed his daies vnfortunately; not leauing any heire to his great Wealth, but the man that was his Capitall Enemy. For afterward, they of the houſe of *Bourgongne*, did continually enioy the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, and other Seigneuries, euen as they do to this preſent day.

Adolphe ſlaine before *Tornay*.

The ſecond Hiſtory.

This manner of miſvſing Fathers, was as cuſtommarie (and more) among the *Mahumatiſts*, as among Chriſtians, and they no more exempted from Diuine puniſhment, then Chriſtians. For they haue knowledge of the old Teſtament, as well as Chriſtians; where they ſee the Commaundements which God made, concerning the obedience due to Parents, and what threatnings doe depend vpon the contrary. Wherfore, thirty two yeares after our firſt Hiſtory, *Baiazeth* raigned in *Turky*, who, after he had won the victory againſt the *Polonians* and *Venetians*, raigned then thirty yeares. Being then old and decrepite, hauing made peace with all his Neighbours, and enioying countleſſe Riches: he was poyſoned, by the procurement of his Sonne, named *Selim*, in the Citty of *Dumatecha*, ſeituate in the

Adolphe the Sonne taken Priſoner.

Baiazeth poyſoned by the meanes of his Sonne *Selim*.

the Countrey of *Thrace*, whether hee had retyred himselfe, there to finish the remainder of his daies. This detestable deede, was committed by a Iew, his Phisition, named *Hamon*, whom *Baiazeth* most confidently trusted for his health.

His Father being dead, and he possessed of his Treasures: he gaue Money in great aboundance to his men of war, that had enstaulled him in the Throne Royall: for his elder Brother *Zizim*, beeing voyd of any meanes to make head against him, was then fledde to *Rhodes*. He causèd two other of his Brethren to be cruelly massacred, and fiue of his Nephewes. Moreouer, *Mustapha*, a Man of great authoritie, who wrought all that he could doe to his vttermost, for exalting him to the Empire, he made no spare of him also. In briefe, his cruelties were so great and horrible, that all men waxing generally fearefull of him: for a long space together, few or none durst appeare in his presence. At length, this wicked Parricide, hauing raigned nine yeares, ended his dayes at *Ciurle*, (which is a Village in *Thrace*) by a Pestilentiall Vlcer that bred in his reines: as a manifest vengeance, which plagued him with vnspeakable torments, for the space of a whole yeare together. Where-with beeing enraged, and put out of his senses, he dyed, cursing both God and Mahomet: to the no little ioy of all the East parts, which he had resolued wholly to ruinate. He dyed in the same place, where (some few yeares before) hee came with bold resistance against his Father: as well worthy (doubtlesse) to end his dayes there, where hee entred into disobedience against his Father.

Fiue and twenty yeares after this our second Historie, another, named *Muleasses*, King of *Thunis* in *Affrica*, an especially obseruer of *Mahomets* Law, and a great Philosopher, following the Religion of *Auerroes*, fearing least *Barbarossa* (Admiral to *Sultan Soliman*, Emperour of the *Turkes*) that couered the Sea with a mightie Nauall Army, would come and deiect him from his kingdome (as once before he had done, and was re-seated therein againe, by the Emperour *Charles* the fift, great Grand-Father to the King of *Spaine*, now raigning) sailed thence into *Sicilie*, to meete the saide Emperour *Charles* at *Gennes*, and to craue succour of him. To guard his Kingdome, while hee was imployed in this vrgent businesse; hee left the most faithfull men he could then thinke on; to wit, one named *Mahomet*, as Gouernour of the Cittie, and another, called *Corsegua*, otherwise *Phares*, whom he constituted Captaine of the Castle, and appointed his Sonne *Amydas*, as chiefe Commaunder of all his forces, to defend *Thunis* against the *Turkes* and *Numidians*. Being on the Sea, to craue ayde of the Imperiall Maiesty; hee was repulsed by contrarie Windes, and driuen into *Naples*; where the Vice-Roy feasted him very honourably. There, was *Muleasses* not a little wondred at, in regard of his curious diet, fashion of Apparrell, with such strange and exquisite perfumes, as wee haue already else-where related.

While he was thus at *Naples*, where the Emperour had commaunded his soiourning, after that *Barbarossa* had (in vaine) besiedged the Castle of *Nice*; he receiued certaine newes out of *Affrica*, that his Sonne *Amydas* had cut the throates of his Friendes and fauorites, and possessed himselfe of the Cittie. This matter so hammered in his head, that he bethought himselfe of leuying an Army of Men, and (in short time) he got together som eighteen hundred, which he causèd to be embarqued, and to prepare for the *Goulette*. For hee was perswaded, that (as yet) he might ouer-maister his Sonne, because hee could not yet enable all his Forces; moreouer, this forwardnesse was well liked by the Vice-Roy, *Don Pedro de Toledo*.

The reason why his Sonne *Amydas* thus possessed himselfe of the Kingdome, was thorough a false report, (which some enemies to *Muleasses* had spread abroad) that he was so sicke at *Naples*; as death ensued thereon, and that before he dyed, hee was become a Christian, and had receiued Baptisme. And this was the cause, that *Amydas* beeing presented to them of *Thunis*; was receiued as their King, and at his entrance, he causèd some to bee slain and massacred, for opposing them-

The massacre which *Selim* made of his Brethren and Kinred.

The miserable death of *Selim*, as a iust iudgement of God.

The third Historie.

Muleasses king of *Thunis*, a man very learned.

The care of *Muleasses* for his kingdome in his absence

The strange curiosity of *Muleasses*.

Amydas proueth false to his Father.

False reports are very dangerous.

The entrance of the King in blood.

ſelues againſt him, by vncertaintie of theſe tydings of his Fathers death. But *Muleaſſes* made what haſt he could on the Sea, with his fore-named ſlender troupe of men, and paſſed by the *Goulette*: where he was aduiſed by the Emperours Lieutenant, named *Thoarre*, not (too raſhlie) to put himſelfe into the handes of the *Affricanes* and *Numidians*, till firſt he was aſſured of their good will towards him.

Neuertheleſſe, he ſuffered himſelfe to bee led by ſome Traytours about him, who perſwaded him; that euerie one would embrace him, ſo ſoone as they ſaw him, and very ioyfullie bid him welcome, and that *Amydas* his Sonne (confounded with ſhame) would take himſelfe to flight. Hereupon, he went directly to *Thunis*, where ſome number of the people met him, with Kniues about their neckes, hanging ready at their throats (as it is a cuſtome among thoſe *Affricanes*, euen to this day) declaring by their humiliation, and proffered ſeruice, that they deſired pardon.

Muleaſſes leaueth good counſell, and followeth bad

Thus, by deſpiſing the counſell of *Thoarre*, and others that had an honeſt care of him, to miſtruſt Ambuſcadoes that might be laid for him, and (doubtleſſe) were already prepared: he went on to the Cittie, where he was no ſooner arriued; but the *Affricanes* ſet vpon him, ſlew aboue fifteene hundred of his Men, putting the reſt to flight, and *Muleaſſes* among them. But by the extreame ſweete ſmell of his vnguents and Perfumes, he was diſcouered; and beeing taken, was brought to his Sonne *Amydas*, who cauſed his eyes to be put out with an hot burning Iron, and kept him blinde in Priſon moſt miſerably.

An vnkinde welcome to *Muleaſſes*.

Amydas cauſed his fathers eyes to be cruelly put out, and kept him priſoner.

The like did he to his two Brethren, *Nahahell* and *Abdelas*, who were taken with *Muleaſſes*. In ſome ſhort while after, there hapned a ſedition in *Thunis*, during which troubles, *Muleaſſes* chanced to eſcape thence, by the meanes of a Woman, who had kept him certaine daies in a Ditch, couered with Straw. From thence hee got ſafely into *Sicilie*, where he liued blinde long time, at the charges of the *Sicilians*, by commandement of the Emperor: All theſe things happened in the yeare 1547.

Muleaſſes eſcaped out of Priſon.

As concerning *Amydas*, he liued but 4. years after he had committed this deteſtable Act: in all which time, hee was continually moleſted with warres, by the *Vice-Roy* of *Argier*, aſſiſted with the Turkiſh forces; and enforced to yeilde himſelfe tributary, paying well-neere as much as his Kingdome valued. From the day that hee cauſed his Fathers eyes to bee put out, he felt himſelfe continually afflicted, with an extreame head-ake, and Impoſtumations in his eyes: whereby he loſt all ioy, and became blind of one of his eyes, whereof he dyed. All which thinges ſucceeded to him by Diuine permiſſion, in iuſt vengeance of theſe cruelties, which he had exerciſed on his owne Father. Thus was the ending of theſe three Parricides.

The wretched and miſerable end of *Amydas*

CHAP. XXIIII.

From whence it enſueth, that ſome dreams are ſad and ſorrowfull; And others ioyfull and pleaſing.

A Dream, is that which appeareth to vs as we are ſleeping, not by the function of the eyes; but by imagination. Some of thoſe Dreames doe make vs contented and ioyfull, leauing the body iocond, and well diſpoſed at waking. Contrariwiſe, there are others ſad, and offenſiue; that for diuers daies (after ſuch dreams) procureth a melanchollie languiſhment, both in the Soule and Body, making men vncapable of receiuing any delight.

The definitiõ of Dreames.

Many haue preſaged by theſe dreams, both of good lucke or bad, which ſoone after ſhould happen vnto them. Some ignorant people haue not ſpared to ſay, that they are the Soules of deceaſed perſons; or Angelles, which doe aduertiſe Men, of ſuch thinges as ſhall enſue vnto them. My purpoſe is not to diſcuſſe, if the Soules of the deceaſed haue (at any time)

The opinion of ignorance, concerning Dreames.

time) returned againe into this world; for I leaue that to bee discided by learned Diuines: though some would approoue by Text of holie Scripture, that some Soules haue returned into their Bodies, and appeared to others. But because these are extraordinarie matters, and must needes ensue miraculouslie; I forbeare to speake of them; and will not trouble my selfe any longer, but to discourse of the causes naturall, both concerning pleasing Dreames, and such as are turbulent and offensiue.

Diuers meats that are the cause of melancholie dreames.

Dioscorides, *Plinie*, and *Galen* doe say, that there are diuers kindes of Meates, which doe engender and cause sorrowfull Dreames: As Beanes; Long-Peason, Lentilles, Colewortes, Garlike, Onions, Leekes, Chest-nuts, and all opening Rootes; as Raddish, Carrets, Skirrets and Parsnips. The Flesh of a Hart, Boare, old Hare, and Beefe; also, of a Crane, Goose, Drake, Ducke, Bustard, and diuers other Water-Fowles, as well wilde as tame; and all troubled Wines. Nor is there any doubt to bee made, but that commonly, according to such meates as we vse in our feeding (raising fumes answerable to their seuerall qualities) that Dreames are begotten of the same Nature.

The causes of sad Dreames, or those of other nature.

All these meates before mentioned, with many other which I haue omitted; doe engender euill humours, and are Chollericke, Melancholicke, and Phlegmaticke. It is necessarie then, that the Bodie of that man, who hath long time vsed these Viandes; should be of the temper of the saide humours, and that the manners and actions of the Soule, should follow the temperature of the bodie.

Galen is of this opinion, and hath written a Booke thereof expressly. Likewise, such men, as haue sustained some notable losse, eyther in their Honour, Body, Goods, Parents, Kinred, or Friendes: and oftentimes (in their Dreames) they haue verie fearefull and mournefull Apparitions. For many times it comes to passe, that men dreame in the night time, seeming to speake, see, vnderstand, negotiate in the precedent dayes affaires: or else on some thing whereto they bear great affection, or which they desire for to shunne.

Diuersity of Dreames in the night time.

By feeding on good meates, good dreams are occasioned.

Now, wee are to vnderstand the contrary, in such as vse good and wholsome sustentation, for by those sound & sweete vapours, which doe ascend vp into the braine, proceeding from meates of facile and subtile digestion; ioyfull and pleasing Dreames are engendred. As we may note in such as are drunke with drinking good Wine, how pleasant and facetious they are. Whereas on the contrarie, they that are in like case by drinking bad Wine; doe displeasing actions, and hatefull to be seene. In like manner, they that are troubled with no cares, but are addicted to delights, without apprehension of harmes, and enioying all things that they can wish for: they haue no dreams at all, or if they chance to dreame; it is of ioyfull and pleasing thinges, as all merrie disposed persons vse to doe, that are in good health.

Obseruations concerning Anny-seede, Saffron, &c.

They that eate Anny-seede after supper, or when they are going to bed; or haue fed on Saffron, or drinke with Baulme, Bourage or Buglose in their drinke: not onely will haue a sharpe and subtile Spirit, but also will dreame on very acceptable thinges. There is a certaine vnguent, found commonly readie prepared by Apothecaries, which is called *Populeon*, or *Pampillion*, in regard of the Iuyce of Poplar leaues or buddes mingled therein; if the temples be rubbed there-with and chafed, the Liuer-veines, the branches of the great Artery, and the soles of the feet: it is not only the prouocation of sound sleepe, but it causeth facetious and delightfull Dreames also. As the like doe all meates of greene colour, and Hearbes, except Cole-worts: As Morell, or Night-shade, commonly called *Solanum*; the Thorne-Apple, called *Seramonia*. Some say, that the teeth of a Horse, vnguelded, hung about a mans Necke, or his right Arme; is a present remedie, if he bee vsed to dreame euill dreames.

An Oyntment called *Pepu'eon*, or *Pampillion*.

Cardanus saith, that himselfe made an Oyntment, compounded in this maner. The fat of young Infants, taken out of their Graue; the Iuyce of Parsely; of *Reagall* or *Aconitum*; of Cinckfoyle, called *Pentaphyllon*: wherewith if

A strange Oyntment made by *Cardanus*.

some Weomen and weake persons had chast the Braine-pan; it is almost incredible to speake, what, and how many thinges they did perswade themselues to see. One while, matters of delight, as Theaters, Gardens, Fish-pondes, Garments, Ornaments, Daunces, goodly young Children, and lying with him or her, of whom they were most desirous. Other-whiles, they seemed to see Kinges and Magistrates, with their Guardes and Attendants; yea, all the glory and pompe of mankind, with many other excellent things, such as we see in Paintings, farre greater then euer Nature made them. Contrariwise, at other times they did see verie heauie sighes; as Rauens, Scritch-owles, Prisons, Deserts, and Torments. In all which is no wonder, although the vnguent bee poysonous; for the like may bee done by naturall thinges. I am well assured, that in a disease (knowen to bee too frequent) when the parties haue beene persecuted with knots and bunches; yet being annointed with the Fat or Grease of man, they haue found their nightly affliction to be greatly qualified, and by reason of pleasing Dreames, haue awaked with ioy and contentment.

Strange sights and apparitions.

Morbus Gallicus.

Hauing spoken concerning the qualitie of Dreames, occasioned and proceeding from sustentation, as also some other thinges exteriourly applied: I will now speake of such, as doe predestinate sickenesse and diseases, and that by naturall causes. *Hippocrates* himselfe giueth admonishment to a Phisition, to be heerein very carefull. For, if a Man doe Dreame, that hee seeth Fire: it denoteth the Dreamer to be abounding in Choller, or of a chollerick humour and disposition; whereby hee is very apt to fall into hot and burning diseases. He that dreameth hee seeth Smoake, Mists, or profound darkenesse; is much disposed to Melancholly sicknesses. To dreame of Raine, and moysture; betokeneth the abounding of cold humours. To dreame of Snow, Haile, and Ices; signifieth the redundance of Phlegme to be most cold. How beit (many times) when men do dream of such things; the season is apt and disposed thereto. For the constitution of the ayre, hath such power ouer our humaine bodies: that it impresseth both in the body and soule, the present qualities and dispositions thereof.

Of Dreames that doe presage and foretell diseases.

Of Fire.

Of Smoake, Mists, and Darkenesse.

Of Raine.

Of Snow, Haile & Ices.

The Ayre is the cause of Dreames sometimes.

Galen, in his Booke of Dreames, declareth diuers Histories, and (among others) one of a Man; who dreamed, that his left thigh was transformed into a Marble-stone: and within short while after (by a dead Palsie) he lost vtterly the vse of that member. An *Athlete* or wrastler, dreaming that he was a in vessell full of Blood, and so deepe therein, that scarcely the top of his head could be seene: *Galen* gathered by this dream, that he had great neede of taking some blood from him; by meanes whereof, he was cured of a great and deadly disease. Others dreamed, that they were bathing themselues in Baths of hot water: the Phisition Prognosticated vpon this Dreame, that the patient must bee freed from this disease, by indicatorie Sweatings, which thereon followed, and whereby he won great reputation. In like manner, it happeneth to such as are very thirsty, who dreame that they drink insatiably: and hungry men, that they eate, but neuer be satisfied. It appeareth by these thinges, that during this time of sleep, the Soule should and doth enter into the deepest parts of the body, and hauing neglected the externall sense; it tasteth the Coporall sicknesse, and attributes to it selfe full possession therof, by imagination of those thinges which are instantly desired. Wherefore, whosoeuer dreameth that hee is pressed and charged with a great burden: there is no doubt, but that his animall faculties are oppressed, by a great multitude of humours. Contrariwise, such as dreame they fly in the Ayre, Runne, Leape, and Dance disposedly: denoteth a light body, exempt from the superaboundaunce of vicious humours. Such as dreame that they see, and are in Dunghilles, Sinckes, and such like filthy places: they must needs bee possessed with putride, foule, and noysome humours. But they, to whom it appeares, that they are conuersant in Pleasaunt, Sweete, and delightfull places: good humours doe abounde in them, and it is a signe of health.

Of Dreames that haue happened in successe.

Of Bloud.

Of Bathes.

Of Thirst.

Of Hunger.

Of the soules sickenesse.

Of great weight.

Dreames that declare good or euill health

Beside these forenamed dreames, I will not heere inferre, that there are none

Dreames grounded on naturall causes,

none but such as are grounded on some naturall causes; but on the Grace of GOD especially, who graunteth aduise to some Men, to expresse such thinges for the benefit and good of others. As happened to *Galen* the Phisition, who had a Man in cure, that had an Artery in his ankle-bone halfe cut in sunder, whereby hee lost all his blood, before any remedy could bee applyed to him. He writeth, that he was aduertised in his sleepe (by some God or Angell) that he should cut the Arterie quite in sunder, and the ends would retire to each side, and so locke together againe. When he awaked, he executed what his dream had represented to him, and by that meanes cured the man. Hauing spoken sufficiently on Dreames, founded on naturall reasons; in the ensuing Chapter I will alleadge some, which haue hapned to diuers Princes, by the speciall Grace of God, and altogether against the order of Nature.

A Dreame that *Galen* had

CHAP. XXV.

¶ *Histories of the Dreames of some Princes, which Dreames afterward came to purpose.*

PRinces, great Lords, Prelats, and others, which had charges by Grace especiall and diuine; haue often been admonished in matters that they should doe. As we read of an Angell, or Dæmon, that appeared (in the forme of the Goddesse *Pallas*) to *Antonius*, Phisition to *Augustus*, admonishing him; that although *Augustus* was sicke, yet he should not faile to be present in the battell, which was on the morrow to be giuen by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and that he should there abide in his Tent. Which he would haue done, but by the Phisitions deepe perswasions to the contrary. For it came to passe, that the Enemies Souldies won the Tents, where (question-lesse) they had slaine *Augustus*, if he had beene present there. So by this dreame hee preuented his death, won the day, and remained Sole-Monarch of the *Romaine* Empire: and, vnder his raigne, was borne the Redeemer of the world.

The dreame of *Antonius*, Phisition to *Augustus Cæsar*

Quintus Curtius declareth in the life of *Alexander*, that when he maintained his siedge before the Citty of *Tyre*, he being entred for succour of the *Carthagenians*, who saide they were descended of the *Tyrians*: concluded to raise his siedge, as despairing of euer surprizing it. But in a Dreame, a Satyre appeared to him, after whom hee followed, as he fled before him into a Chamber. His Interpreters tolde him; that this was a certaine fore-warning, to continue his siedge for longer dayes before the Citty, and that hee should surely take it. Which fell out to bee true; and this successe had long time beene foretold by an holy Prophet; who said, that a Greeke should gouerne in that Countrey.

The Dreame of *Alexander*.

The holy Scriptures are full of Dreames, whereby diuers Princes haue beene admonished, both for their own and their peoples Welfare. As *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, who was possessed of *Abrahams* Wife, supposing she had beene his Sister onely? But he was fore-warned sleeping, that he shold attempt nothing against her modestie, least hee incurred the indignation of God, and he obeyed. Another *Ægyptian* King, by Dreames which *Ioseph* interpreted to him, while he was kept as a Slaue and Prisoner in his land: found neuertheless the assistance of God, to shunne his owne ruine, and death of his people, by a barrennesse in his kingdome, which should continue for seauen yeares, after as many yeares of plenty. By meanes whereof, he made such prouision of Graine: as hee had sufficient to feede his people, during those fore-told seauen yeares, whereas else he had wanted prouision for his people.

The Dreame of *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*.

The dreames of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*.

Katherine de Medicis, Queene of *Fraunce*, and Wife to King *Henrie* the second, dreamed (the day before the said King was wounded to death) that shee saw him very sickely, holding downe his head, as hee walked a-long the streetes of *Paris*, beeing followed by infinite number of his people, that lamented for him. Hereupon, most earnestly shee entreated him, and (as

The Dreame of *Katherine de Medicis* Q. of *France*.

is ſaid) with wringing handes, vppon her knees; not to aduenture in the rank of Tilters on that day. But he, giuing no credit to her wordes, the laſt day of the Feaſting, for the marriage of Madame *Margaret* his Siſter, to *Emanuell Phillibert*, Duke of *Sauoy*; entred into the Liſtes for her Honour. And running to breake a Launce againſt a bold and worthy Knight, to wit; the Count of *Montgomerie*: happened to bee wounded; for in the Launces breaking on both ſides, a ſhiuer or ſplinter entred by the ſight of his Helmet, and ſtrucke very farre into his head. The King dyed ſoone after of this wound, aged about fortie yeares, leauing his Kingdome wofullie mourning for him.

We may note the Dreame of this great Princeſſe, and how it happened; whereof (doubtleſſe) God gaue premonition by his good Angell, both for her good, and the whole Realme of *France*. But the King beeing opinitiue, would rather follow the vanities of the World, then the good aduertiſements of his Wife; and by his deceaſe, the people of *France* ſuffered many calamities.

The Dreame of *Henry* the third, King of *France*.

His Sonne, King *Henrie* the third, three dayes before he was murdered at Saint *Clou*; beheld (in a Dreame) all his Royall Ornaments, to wit; his Linnen Veſture, Sandales, *Dalmatian* roab, Mantle of Azure Sattin, the great and leſſer Crownes, Scepter and Hand of Iuſtice, Sword and guilt Spurres; all bloody, and made foule with the feete of religious Men, and other people, and that hee himſelfe was very angry with the Sexton, of the Abbey of Saint *Denis*. And albeit good aduiſe was giuen him (according to the daunger of his Dreame) to ſtand ſecurelie vpon his Guard; yet ſo it fell out, as a thing permitted by Heauen, that hee could not auoide the fatall chance, but was ſlaine, whatſoeuer ſtrong Guard was then about him.

Calphurnia her Dreame, concerning *Cæſars* death.

Calphurnia, Wife to the adopted Father of *Cæſar*, hauing dreamed, that ſhe beheld *Cæſar* ſlaine and maſſacred; gaue him notice thereof. But he, in ſtead of conuerting it to his benefit, deſpiſed the dreame; and went iocondly to the Senate the day following, where the Dreame ſorted to wofull effect. To conclude, good or euill Dreames, doe oftenеſt proceede by our vſe of good or bad meates, and ſuch affection as we imprint in our vnderſtanding, as alſo euill humours that poſſeſſe our bodies; and we neede not enquire (ouer curiouſly) what they may ſeeme to ſignifie: except it be of Phiſitions, who thereby doe gather ſome coniecture of the parties health. As for the Dreames of Kinges, Princes, Monarches, Magiſtrates, and ſuch like perſons, that hold ſome degree ouer the people, and in the Church, on whom (often-times) dependeth the good or euill, that any Realme or Prouince is to ſuffer: they are not alwayes to bee contemned; but with great diſcretion and iudgement to bee conſidered. For I am of opinion, with learned *Volatteranus*, who hath left the ſame written, that (many times) any perſon going to his reſt, not cloyed with bad affections, nor ſuperfluitie of foode, but beeing vertuouſly minded, and healthfully diſpoſed: his Soule (in ſleeping) many fore-ſee many thinges to come. For the Soule, which (of it ſelfe) is Diuine and Celeſtiall, beeing not offended with any wicked cogitations, or ouer bad meates: is at free liberty, and beſt of all performeth her actions when the body ſleepeth, and not being buſied with any other matters.

The Authors Concluſion and opinion of Dreames.

CHAP. XXVI.

Strange Hiſtories, of three ſeuerall perſons, that by one diſeaſe, called Melanchollie, fell into admirable imaginations.

IN this Chapter, I muſt preſent a Melanchollie ſickneſſe to ye, hapning to two men; the one being deſcribed by *Ætius*, a Greeke Phiſition, and the other of an Aduocate of *Paris*, whoſe name I muſt conceale, as *Houllier* hath done. The one, ſo farre loſt his iudgement, as hee verily beleeued and affirmed, that he had no head. The other imagi-

Aetius and *Houllier* both Phiſitions.

imagined himselfe to be dead; and therefore would not eat any thing. How they were both healed, not by Medicaments, but contrarie perswasions, is the charge that I haue vndertaken; and therefore, I will begin with him, that was perswaded he had no head.

A man that supposed him selfe to haue no head.

I am not ignorant, that many wil hardly credit such accidents to happen, to wit, that a man (by length of time) shoulde suppose himselfe to haue no head; albeit by the very Organs of the head, he saw, heard, spake, dranke, and fed euen then as all other men do. But we doo not see daily, how this trabilious, or Melancholy matter worketh in som men; y a, with more pernitious and false imaginations, then these two. As he who not long since thoght he had a Sance-bel in his head or braine. Another, who verily beleeued, that he was King of the *Gaules*. And a *Bourguignon* Scholler, remaining at *Paris* neere to the Church of Saint *Iulian*, who desired the Physitions, not to hinder his soule, from flying out of Purgatorie into heauen, because he said he was dead. And another, who said, to preuent beeing a Cuckold, he must needes kill himselfe; and thereupon, hangde himselfe about two yeares since, beside diuers other examples of the like Nature.

Aetius Serm 1. Tetrab. 2. cap. 9

Now concerning this man, who was of this headlesse opinion, to thinke that he had no head on his bodie, he was seene and visited by great store of verie famous Physitions, who could find out no remedie for him. Notwithstanding, one among the rest, named *Photinus*, deuised this helpe, to make him weare a Cask or Head-piece, of Lead, which was of great waight, yet fit for his head. This deuise was accordingly performed; and when they did put it on his head, it was done by two men, without any other Cap or lining; yet warily preseruing the Leade from doing any harme, and fastned verie strongly vnder his chinne. Hereupon, he would say many times that his Heade did ake: and so long they continued this waight on his head, that he became to be perswaded he had a head. For, they vsed to say vnto him, that seeing hee sayd his head did ake, it must needes follow, that hee had a Head. Thus the inuention of *Photinus*, had happie successe.

A head-piece of Lead, to helpe a Melancholy man

In the yeare, 1550. the month of August, a man of good quality & means, by profession an Aduocate, fell into such a Melancholly alienation of his vnderstanding, that he saide and beleeued himselfe to be dead. In regard whereof, he woulde neither speake, eate, laugh, nor walke any whether, but still kept his bed. His wife requested many Physitions to his cure: but no one could perswade him to receiue any thing, no, not to eate or drinke any sustentation, wherby to maintaine life, hee yeelding no other reason, but that he was dead, and dead Folkes vsed not to eate any thing.

An Aduocate that perswaded himselfe to be dead.

At length, he grew to be so faint and weake, as each houre after other, his expiration was expected. But as manie times it commeth to passe, that God sendeth succour, when (to men) there appeares no meanes of remedie or hope; euen so now it fortuned, that a Nephewe to the sicke mans Wife, suddenly there arriued, that newly came from *Bourges*, where he studied the Lawes, in hope to haue some money of his Aunt (which he greatly wanted) but hee found her much perplexed, and his Vnckle in weak estate of his vnderstanding. But ye must first consider, that hauing beene at *Paris* with his Father, who was a worthy Atturney at the *Chastelet*, hee droue him out of doores, and would not entertaine him; because (by much straining himselfe) he had not aboue three weekes before) sent him his quarterly exhibition, which hee had wasted and consumed. His retirement was now to his Vnckle by the Mothers side, whom he found in such estate, as hath formerly bin declared.

A yong Lawyer of *Bourges*.

After he had labored to perswade his Vnckle (by Learned, witty, & eloquent Orations) to fall to feeding, and coulde not preuaile, hee concluded to vse some cunning, whereby he might help him to his health. And being well skild in naturall causes, he thought it more fitting to ease this immaginary Malady by familiar perswasion, then any other course beside. And as merry-minded Schollers haue alwayes a readinesse in wit, ioyfull without care, and a louiall humour: so hee goes and hides himselfe in a Chamber neere to his sicke Vnckle, where putting on a Winding sheet, after the manner of dead men, readye for interment, (only his face discouered) he was broght forth, and laid vpon a Table in his vncles Chamber, so as the sicke man might very con-

The young Lawier taketh in hande to cure his Melancholy Vnkle.

The young schollers witty deuice.

conueniently see him. Foure Tapers of wax were set lighted about him; and all the Children and Seruants of the house stood weeping by him, where both Father and Maister might easily beholde them. In briefe, euerie thing was so Artificially acted, as not any bodie which beheld this deceit, could hardly contain himselfe from Laughing, no not the wife of the sicke man, albeit shee was so extreamly afflicted; or the Scholler himselfe, inuenter of the stratagem, perceyuing euery one about him, to make such strange and counterfet faces.

Approbation of the Scholler to be dead

The pacient or sicke person, wondring what this matter might meane, demaunded of his Wife, who it was that lay vpon the Table? Whereto she answered, that it was her deceased Nephewe, who comming (ouer-hastily) from his studies to see him; and grieuing at his dangerous disease, was dead with griefe; and partly a Plurisie, which tooke him by the way; therefore, she had thus prepared his bodie, and stayed but for the Bearers to fetch him to Church for buriall. But Wife (quoth the sicke-man) how can he be dead, considering I see him nowe to laugh, and his eyes are wide open? Husband (quoth she) dead men vse to laugh, euen as you see my poore Nephew doth. The sicke man would beleeue nothing, till he had wrought experience on himselfe. Wherefore, calling for a Glasse to beholde his owne face, hee therewith forced himselfe to Laugh, and Laughing, both acknowledged, and was fullie perswaded, that dead men did Laugh: and this was the first steppe to his recouerie.

The Scholler taught the sicke man how to eate.

This first Scene thus acted by our Comedian Scholler, hee felt his stomacke to waxe hungry, and verie desirous hee was both of meate and drinke, for he had lien three houres in this manner extended on the Table, and called for some good thing to eate. And indeede, he had good reason for it, for hee came fasting from *Bourges*, without any Foode, not hauing either purse or pennie, for his whole quarterage was spent and gone. There was not any thing readie in the house, because euerie one was in greefe and mourning; but sending forth to the Cookes, a roasted Capon was presently brought him, which hee quickly deuoured with a pint of Wine, sitting vp (for the time) as men vse to do. This beeing well noted by the sicke man, that a dead man shut vp in a Winding sheet, should feed with so good a stomacke, hee asked his wife whither dead men did eat or no? Yes Husband (quoth she) with excellent appetite, and they do also see verie plainly. Which made him forthwith to call for victuals, to try if he being dead, could eate as his fellow dead men did. One ran quickly to the Cookes againe, and bringing good meat, it was cut readily for him and put into his mouth, so that feeding gently, drinking, and doing all other actions of a mā with good iudgment, thence forward he made no more refusall of his meate, whereby this Melancholy Cogitation, by little and little, left him. But most certaine is it, that had not this Inuention of the Scholler preuayled, want of food, and supposition of death, would haue brought immagination, to too true a conclusion.

The sicke man eating by imitation found recouery of health.

The Scholler (by his Vnckle Aduocate) was reconciled to his offended Father, and obtained License for his pleading: so that comming to the bar, in the Court of *Le petit Chastelet* (a Court of very ancient Record) he prooued one of the best, and most esteemed of his profession. This History being reduced into a quaint Comedie, was acted one Night (by Gentlemen) before King *Charles* the ninth, my selfe being then there present.

The third History of a yong Gentleman of *Lymosine* and his hunting of a wilde Boare.

A young Gentleman, of good & noble discent, in the higher parts of *Lymosine*, hadde tydinges brought him, that a Wilde Boare haunted neere to his abyding, which made him suddenly steppe forth, with diuers of his fathers seruants, himselfe carrying an halfe Pike in his hand; and the rest, such Weapons as they could soonest lay holde on, in hope to kill the sauage Boare. Hauing got good knowledge where hee lurked, he & his followers prepared thither, and the Boare perceiuing his immediate danger, made directly toward the young Gentleman, that scarsely knewe how to defend himselfe with his halfe Pike; & (by great chance) ran betweene his legges, and ouerthrew him, offering afterward for to wound him with his tusks. But one of his fathers men, a Baker by profession, & indued with good corage, hauing a Lance in his hand, ranne therewith so directlie into

into the Boares throat, that he ſtirred no further, but lay there quite dead. The young Gentleman, in his fall giuen him by the Boar, had conceiued a very ſtrãge and vnheard of apprehenſion, to wit; that the Boare had deuoured one of his legs, albeit, he ſuſtained no harme but his fall: and this conceite continued in him for the ſpace of two yeares. In all his other actions, he was of very good iudgement, this onely excepted for naturally he was addicted to deuotion, not ſuffering a day to paſſe him, without hearing Maſſe, faſting all the ordinary daies appointed by the Church; highly affecting Religious Men, eſpecially, thoſe of the *Franciſcan* Order. And verie deſirous hee was, to make himſelf one in their profeſsion: but hee had heard, that they would receiue none borne with any deformity of body, as Crooke backt, Cripple, Lame, or that wanted any member. This perſwaſion ouer-ruled him, ran entering into that Order; becauſe he ſuppoſed himſelfe to haue but one Legge, although he walked vp and downe as well as other men; yet ſtill this falſe immagination preuayled in him, that the Boare had eaten vp one of his legges.

A ſtrange immegination in the young Gentleman.

It happened afterwards verie luckily, that two Friers of the *Franciſcane* Order, trauailing thorow the Country, vpon a day, when the Sunne was neere ſetting, came vnto his Fathers gate, where they deſired both Almes and lodging for that Night: which was graunted them; and they ſupped with the young Gentleman, as one who was verie gladde to ſee them.

How the yong Gentleman was eured of his melancholy conceit

After Supper, each man betook himſelfe to his Chamber, both the religious Friers remaining ſtill in the roome, by a good fire; and thether came the young Gentleman againe ſecretly, not willing to be eſpied by any of the houſe. He fell into Communication with the Fryers, of his long continued Deuotion, and intent to be one of their Order: but he was depriued of all meanes, becauſe hee had but one legge; and the other was deuoured by the Boare. The holy men, looking earneſtly on him, demanded, if either of his Legges was Artificiall, which ſuſtained his bodie, and deſired him to ſhew them which was it. Then perceyuing immediatly the error of his immaginati-on, they perſwaded him to beleeue no ſuch falſhood; for this was but an illuſi-on of Sathan; to hinder him in the way to ſaluation. So, with many other goodly remonſtrances, which they had with him for the ſpace of two houres, and the delight he receiued therein, without the leaſt omiſsion, he began to fall from his melancholy opinion; ſo that on the morrow, he told euery one that now he had two Legges. At length, notwithſtanding the Counſell and perſwaſion, both of his Father, Kindred, and Friendes, to the contrary, he entred into Religion, & within the yeare of his approbation, died in the Conuent: for I am perſwaded, that his ſoft Nature could not endure the ſtrict Rules of that Order, which are too ſeuere.

The Authour both ſaw, and perfectly knew the gentleman, and this Hiſtorie to be true.

There is nothing more certaine, then that for theſe melancholy diſeaſes, wherein immagination and reaſon are any way wounded, all remedies Phyſicall do profit nothing, but onely contrary perſwaſions, oppoſite to the conceite falſely imagined, as may bee gathered by the three Hiſtories fore-mentioned. Nor need we heere alledge, that if irkeſome remedies had beene applied to the young Gentlemans Legge, they might (perhaps) haue made him to finde his follie, as I haue knowne ſome in like caſe, which proued in vaine: but I am of the minde, that the Religious men tooke the beſt courſe In like manner, when the common people are moued by ſedition (which is a beaſt with manie heades) and touched with a melancholy furie: nothing can ſooner reduce them to good ſence and vnderſtanding, then the Vertuous power of perſwaſions and Orations. By which meanes alſo, the alienation of iudgment is quickliеſt cured: and *Cicero* is of the ſame opinion.

Concerning the nature of theſe melancholy diſeaſes

To appeaſe a diſcontented multitude.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of a strange manner of Banishment, vsed by the Athenians, *by vertue whereof, manie of the verie cheefest men among them, were likewise sometimes banished, although they had committed no offence.*

THE Common-wealth and Gouernment of *Athens* (according as we haue already described) was one of the most potent and famous in the World. For after, they wold accept of no more Kings, but reduced all to Libertie: they yeelded a great number of men, excellent both in Learning and Armes, where-with all Histories are plentifully stored.

Kinges suppressed amóg the *Athenians*.

Amongst all other commendable Lawes and Customes, which they kept for their owne conseruation, and maintenance of their rule and libertie, there was one very strange, which yet appeared to them proper and necessary, to reproue and chastise the ambition & ouergreat boldnesse, in some of their chiefest Commanders, who made themselues so great, that meaner men might not withstand them, or attaine vnto the like Authority.

The people might banish whomsoeuer they pleased for the space of ten yeares.

At a certaine time, the people (vnder whom, all estates and conditions of the Cittie were comprized) had power and facultie to banish (although it were without cause) for the space of ten yeares, any one of their principall heads, euen such as they pleased, or stoode most in doubt of, that he would possesse himself of their Dominion, or becom a Tyrant vnto the Common-weale; or if a common Hatred were conceiued against him, which they performed in this manner.

The order & manner obserued in their banishment.

The Magistrats, to whom this Negotiation was deliuered by Commission; making a conuocation of the people, gaue to euerie one of them a little stone, or small Tile-slate; and his name whome they would haue to bee banished, each man must write vpon the Tile, and then deliuer it backe to the Magistrates. These little stones or Tiles (but some tearme them shelles) were by the *Greeks* termed *Ostraci*; and thereon, this kinde of exile or banishment, was called *Ostracismus*. When all these stones were laid togither with the peoples Inscriptions on them, they made an account of them: and if it chanced, that they amounted not to the number of sixe thousand (for in such assemblies, no man stood bound to deliuer in his bulletine, except himselfe pleased) for that yeare there was no banishment graunted. But if they rose to sixe thousand and more, then they counted aside, the names of them that were written on the Tiles; and hee that had the most voyces (although he were the verie honestest man, or of greatest Wealth and Honor in the Cittie) he was immediately banished for ten years space, without any remission. Neuertheless, no man might do him any wrong in his goodes or possessions: but his Seruants might gouern and order all things, according to his direction.

Ostracismus, the *Athenians* banishment.

No repect of persons in this order of exile.

Now, albeit this Law was induced, to correct and punish not only the vicious, but to appease popular enuy against the mightiest, and to take away all ambition: yet it might so come to passe, that the people enioying this priuiledge and Authority, should banish such, from whom most profit and honor had come to their Common-weale whereby they shoulde fall into the sinne of ingratitude. And indeed it prooued true, for (by the same means *Themistocles* was banished, a most excellent Captaine, by whose Counsell and dilligence, *Xerxes* was vanquished, expelled out of *Greece*, and his nauall armie quite defeated: not only *Athens* being set at libertie by him, but all Greece likewise. With the same Wages also was *Simon* the *Athenian* rewarded, liuing at the same time, who so many times had fought for the freedome of his countrey. Especially, he did such an acte of honour and vertue, as no man (before him) had done the like. For, hee won the battaile by Sea against the *Persians*; wherein hee tooke two hundred Gallies. Afterward, and the same day, hee had no sooner atchieued this victorie: but bringing his Armie on Land, and Marshalling them in good order, he fought against the rest of the *Persians*, that had landed before in great

The reason of this Lawes first institution.

Themistocles banished by this Law.

Simon the *Athenian* so banished.

Simons victories both by Sea & Land, and his admirable Liberality.

great number, and foyling them likewise, was conquered both by Sea and Lande. Beside these deeds of Vertue, he was verie liberall of his goods, wherewith Fortune had greatly enriched him. For hee laid open his great Farmes and Gardens, that euery man might pertake of such blessing as were there: giuing also (but verie secretly) great Almes to poor people of the Citty. Hee gaue an expresse charge to all his seruants, that if they met (on the way) any people more aged then themselues, and not well Cloathed, to despoile themselues of their better Garments, and to chaunge for their woorse. Moreouer, each Feast day (allowed by Order) he feasted all the poore Beggers of the Cittie: and in this maner, he spent all the wealth left him by his Father *Miltiades*. Neuertheless, all these Liberalities and worthy deeds, could not defend and saue him from this exile, and ingratitude of his Countrey, as is testified by *Cratinus* the Commicall Poet, and *Georgias Leontinus*.

His noble Charity.

Cratinus, and *Georgias Leontinus*.

In like manner, *Aristides*, the Sonne of *Lysimachus*, was most vniustly banished; which *Aristides*, for his Vertues and sanctitie of life, was called *Iustus*: yet could not hee liue without the peoples feare and suspition. But in this case there happened a very notable and worthy accident; for, at the time when the people gaue their opinion for his banishment, according vnto their wonted Custome: one of the Cittizens, that neither could write, or knew *Aristides*, but only by his fame, came to *Aristides* himselfe, to entreat him to write the name of *Aristides* on the stone, because he would giue his voice for his banishment. *Aristides* wondering at this matter (for he dreampt not on any such vnkindnesse towardes him) saide vnto him; *Tell mee good man, hath Aristides done thee any displeasure? No*, (quoth the Cittizen) *but only it offendeth me, that I heare him euerie where tearmed* [*Aristides the Iust.*] Thus doth *Plutarch* set it downe; but *Paulus Æmilius* sayeth; that the Cittizen answered him; *I know not* Aristides; *and yet methinkes I cannot endure him, because (with such dilligence) he hath got the honor, to be called Iust.* All which notwithstanding, *Aristides* made him no answere, but wrote his own name vppon the stone; and though the people were thus leagued against him; hee was not a iot offended at his Countrey, but willingly went forth in banishment, saying; *I desire of the Goddes, that the Athenians may neuer know any such necessitie, as (at any time) to stand in needs of Aristides.* But the *Athenians* well declared their owne errour, in exiling such a woorthie man: for before the ten yeares were expired, yea, within six yeares, by will and consent of the people, hee was reuoked from exile. After which repeale, he did many admirable deeds of Armes, being present at the battell on the Sea, neer *Salamina*, where *Xerxes* was foyled; and likewise at that place, where hee conquered *Mardonius*. Thus this exile (as I haue formerly saide) happened euermore to the best and most eminent men. Neuertheless, albeit the harme was great; yet it carried with it a certaine kinde of honor and dignity, in regard of the fear and enuie generally conceyued, least they should become Tyraunts, as *Pisistratus* was.

The words of *Aristides* at his banishing.

Aristides repealed from banishment.

Mardonius a Captaine belonging to Xerxes.

A notable accident concerning *Aristides*, sur-named *Iustus*, by an ignoraunt Cittizen.

Difference between *Plutarch*, and *Paulus Emilius*.

Plutarch reporteth, that while *Athens* flourished in power, wealth, and military exercise, there were two great men; the one, named *Nicias*, and the other *Alcibiades*, who were in all things curious and ambitious after glory, enuying greatlie one another. When the fore-mentioned time of *Ostraciſme* drewe neere, and the people prepared for their woonted custome, each of these great men grewe fearefull of himselfe, and laboured with their vtmost dilligent endeuour, to hinder their fal into such an inconuenience. At the same time liued in *Athens*, one named *Hyperbolus*, a man of base condition yet very proud, but much more seditious. He perceiuing the humors of *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, essayed by all means possible, to sow discord and contentions between them, hoping thereby to winne himselfe reputation; and pre-supposing also, that (by reason of their enmity) one of them should be banished by the *Ostraciſme*, & he (in meane time) attaine to the place of his greatnesse, to haue eminency & command in the Citty.

Plutarch concerning *Nicias* & *Alcibiades*.

Hyperbolus, a man of meane quality.

But this intent comming to the others knowledge, and each of them accounting it shame, that a man of such base quality should equall himselfe with them, pacified their spleenes secretly, and became louing friends; choosing rather to bridle their owne rancor, then to suffer such

Nicias and *Alcibiades* make themselues Friends.

such a scandall vnto the state in generall. They further contriued, to woorke with the people in such manner, that *Hyperbolus* should be banished by the *Ostracism*, and followed their intent so dilligentlie, that they preuailed therin, requiting him with the same measure, which he meated to others.

Hyperbolus banished from Athens.

The people were not a litle well pleased heerewith, to see so vile a person excluded, after so many worthy and excellent men. But at length, these pleasures turned to anger and discontentment, & that in such sort, as the Law of *Ostracism* for euer after, found imbarment.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of many worthy and famous men, that by the ingratitude of their Countries, endured Banishment.

Histories are well filled with ingratitudes, which ancient and memorable Cities haue returned to such mē, as haue done them notable Seruices, and holpen them in their greatest necessities. Wherefore, we wil shew some examples, to the studious affecters of Histories, how frequent a thing this hath bin in former times.

Ingratitude of famous Cities

The great Father of the *Latin* toong, and Soueraigne Orator therein, that deliuered *Rome* from the perillous coniuration of *Cataline*, was yet notwithstanding banished, at the instance & procurement of *Clodius* his sworne enemie: whose exile was so much bemoaned in *Rome*, that there were aboue twenty thousande persons, which chaunged their habites into mourning Garments, and thereby, caused his restoring to his former Liberrie, to their great ioy, and his high Honour.

M. Tul. Cicero, banished by the means of his enemie *Clodius*.

Demosthenes likewise, the Prince of *Greek* eloquence, and Defender of his Country *Athens*, was banished by the *Athenians*, who albeit they had founde iust occasion so to do, yet it could pleade no sufficiency, to depriue themselues of so worthy a mans presence.

Demosthenes banished by the *Athenians*.

He was excessiuely grieued, to see himselfe banished from his Countrey, & that in such sort, as he departed in wonderfull Melancholy. And meeting some *Athenians* at his issuing forth, that were his capital enimies, he stood greatly in doubt of them: yet did they offer him no offence, but rather ayded and comforted him, with all such thinges as were needefull for him. Which when he had duelie considered, and saw himselfe reproued, because he had grieued so much for parting from his Countrey, hee saide vnto them: *Wou'd'ye not haue me lament, seeing my selfe banished from my Countrey, where a mans enemies are such, as he may account himself happy, when (forsaking his friends) he trusteth most to them.*

The words of *Demosthenes* to his Countrymen.

Metellus, sur-named *Numidicus*, in recompence of his victorie obtaind against *Jugurth*, King of the *Numidians*, was banished out of *Rome*, because he wold not accord vnto a Law, wherof a proffer was made him.

Metellus Numidicus banished from *Rome*.

Hannibal, after he had performed as much, as a good Citizen possibly could do for the good of his Country, & albeit he was the most excellent Captain of his time, yet could he not be permitted to liue securely in his Country, but being banished thence, was constraind to wander thorow the world.

Hannibal banished by his natiue Country *Carthage*.

Renowned *Camillus* was vniustly banished from the Citty of *Rome*, euen then when the *Gaules* surprized it, and had besieged the Capitoll. Wherefore, during his exile, hee was made Dictatour, and chiefest Captaine of his Country, whither being returned, hee deliuered them from imprisonment, that had banished him.

Camillus banished from *Rome*.

Seruillius Halla, after hee had preserued the Liberties of *Rome*, from the ambition of *Spurius Emilius*, Maister of the Knights that wold haue made him King, and whom he woorthily slew, was banished for his recompence, and sent into exile.

Seruilius Halla banished out of *Rome*.

I neuer knew anie Common-weale, more beholding vnto a man, then *Lacedemon* was to *Lycurgus*, for the good Lawes he gaue them, whereby to order their course of life. And albeit, he was a man of Holie life, and commendable manners, and of whom (according vnto *Valerius Maximus*) the Oracle of *Apollo*

Lycurgus most vnkindly vsed and banished by the Lacedemonians.

lo Pytheum, made aunswere; *That it was doubtfull, whether hee should bee ranked among Men, or the Goddes*: yet notwithstanding, hee was manie times pursued by the Cittizens, at the stones triall, and expulsed from their Cittie. Finallie, hauing one of his eyes pulled foorth, hee was afterward banished out of the countrey.

The selfesame courtesie did the *Athenians* extend to *Solon*, who had instituted so many good and Vertuous Lawes for them, and of whom, if they would haue continued due vse, their Empire (it might haue beene) had perpetually endured. Neuertheless, because he conquered & recouered for them the Cittie of *Salamina*, and likewise aduertised them of *Pisistratus* his attempts, seeking to make him selfe a King, and to Tyranize ouer them: euen in his old decrepit age, they rewarded him with banishment; and he could not preuaile so much with them, as to graunt him any poor place in their countrey, where he might conclude the small remnant of his dayes, but needes they would exile him into the Isle of *Cyprus*. *Scipio Nasica*, who was knowne to be the Woorthiest man in Rome, and deserued no lesse honour, for administration and gouernement in the Common-wealth, then the other *Scipioes* (with their armies) in the field: Neuertheless, after hee had freed Rome from the Tiranny and subiection of the Greekes (wel knowing the enuie of some Cittizens, and their hatred conceiued against his Vertues) dissembling an employment in an Embassie, he voluntarily retired himselfe to *Pergamum* in *Asia*, where (without seeking anie Reuenge on his Countries ingratitude) he ended the rest of his daies.

Publius Lentulus, in like manner, after hee had vertuously defended the Common-wealth, and represed the furious attempts of the Greekes, his best recompence was banishment from Rome. But before he went to his confination in *Scicily*, he desired of the Gods in all the peoples presence, that hee might neuer returne againe, vnto so ingratefull a Nation.

Boetius Seuerinus, a very famous and Vertuous man, was banished by *Theodoricke*, that vsurped in Rome: only vpon a conceiued suspition, that the sayde *Boetius* sought the freedom of his Countrey. For the same cause, the Tyrant *Dionisius* banished *Dion* the Syracusane, an excellent Captaine, who by the meanes of his banishment, became afterward so powerfull, that he restored his Countrey vnto her wonted libertie, and banished *Dyonistus* from his gouernment, & wholly depriued him. In like maner hapned it to *Thrasibulus* the *Athenian* Captaine, who being banished from *Athens* by the power of thirtie Tyrants, which held it in subiection, he mustred together other banished men; and with the helpe of *Lysander*, a Captaine of *Lacedemon*, returned to *Athens*, and deliuerd it from their slauish seruitude. *Publius Rutillius*, Consul of *Rome*, being banished by them that tooke part with *Silla*, albeit he was afterward repealed from exile, yet would hee not yeeld thereto, but saide: *I had rather do shame to my Countrey; that causeles banished mee, then to liue among them that consented to my exile*. *Turquin* the proud, though by no ingratitude, but rather for his wickednes, was banished out of *Rome*; and lost his kingdome, for the rape which his Sonne had committed on chaste *Lucresse*, a verie worthie *Romain* Lady. *Milo*, the *Romaine Patrician*, by reason of the death of *Clodius*, albeit he was descended of *Cicero*, was relegated to *Marseilles*.

I read, that *Clisthenes* was the first that deuised the Law of *Ostracisme* or banishment in *Athens*, and was himself the first man, that by the same law was banished. Also *Eustachius Pamphilius*, a Prelate of *Antioche*, was banished, because he contradicted the *Arrian* Heretickes, in the time of *Constantine* the great. *Paulus Diaconus*, a great Historiographer, and of especiall Authoritie, saith; that Pope *Bennet* the fift was banished out of *Rome* by the Emperor *Anthenius*: for this *Anthenius* hauing vanquished the Emperor *Berengarius*, and *Albert* his Sonne, sent them also into perpetuall exile.

Thus you see, that manie woorthy persons haue beene banished, and yet exile was accounted in Rome so great a punishment, as no one could there bee banished, till first hee had consulted thereon with all the people. For in trueth, the loue tha a man beareth vnto his nation is so great, as hee cannot bee excluded thence, but to his extreame greefe and affliction. For, the consolation of banished men, *Plutarch* wrote a singuler

Solon banished by the *Athenians*.

Scipio Nasica banished him self from his Countrey.

Publius Lentulus banished from Rome.

Boetius Seuerinus banished by *Theodorick*.

Dion banished by *Dionisius*.

Thrasibulus banished by 30. Tyrants.

Publius Rutillius banished from Rome.

Tarquinius Superbus banishe Rome.

Milo the Patrician banished Rome.

Phalaris in his Epistles.

Eustachius Pamphilius banished.

Pope *Benent* banished.

Berengarius & his son *Albert* sent into perpetuall exile

Treatise, and *Erasmus* a very learned Epistle. *Seneca* also, in his Book of Comfort, directed to *Paulinus*, writeth woorthily thereon.

Plutarch. Erasmus. Seneca in lib. de Consolat.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of two seuerall men, who being apprehended for Homicides, were neuertheless made Kings, and by those meanes which they supposed, wold be the losse of their liues.

THE meanes whereby God ordereth and woorketh all things, are so secret to the immagination of men, as when they suspect the losse of some perticuler matter by one way, euen then they sooneſt finde and recouer it. So that, in whatsoeuer high estate a man is, let him make no certaine assurance thereof, nor yet distrust or fall into despair, if his aduersity be neuer so mighty, as may appeare plainely by two notable examples.

The weakenesse of mans imaginations.

At what time *Ladislaus* raigned King in *Bohemia* and *Hungaria*, hee being the Sonne to King *Aubert*, young, and newly come to the Gouernment of the kingdom, he was constrained (in that regard) to rule by the opinion of some of his chiefest Barons, amongst whome, there happened contention and discords, especially, in the Sons to *John Huniades Vayuod* (Tutor to the King, who died a little before, and had held the most power or sway in the Realme) on the one side, and *Henrie* Count of *Celia*, neere Kinsman to the King, on the other. This enmity was so great, that on a day when the Count of *Celia* was in a Church, in one of the Cities of *Hungary*, hee was there slaine by the hands of those Sons, to the Lord *John Huniades Vayuode*, which is a name of great dignitie in that Kingdom. For the instant, the King made no shew of discontentment, because he knew him selfe not strong enough to chastice this presumption: but afterwardes, being returned to the Cittie of *Buda*, hee caused the Sonnes of *Vayuode* to bee apprehended; and the eldest of them being named *Ladislaus*, had his head smitten off. As for the other called *Matthias*, because he was verie young in yeares, hee spared to execute Iustice on him: Neuertheless, hee was committed vnto prison, vnder good and sure guard, in the Realm of *Bohemia*.

Ladislaus King of Hungaria and Bohemia.

The Count of Celia slaine in a Church.

Ladislaus, son to Vaiuode, beheaded.

The youth being thus detained prisoner, without any hope of life, or to see anie end of his imprisonment, it hapned, that in the same Cittie, where hee was prisoner, named *Prage* in *Bohemia*, the King *Ladislaus* dyed; by meanes whereof, the people of *Bohemia*, elected a King called *George Pogibrachio*. The *Hungarians* (on the other side) beeing aduertised of their Kings death, and much mooued with pittie to young *Matthias*, especially because of his Fathers former great Authoritie in the Kingdome, they proclaymed *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, although he was in the power of *George*, the newe King of *Bohemia*. When *George* had intelligence of their election, hee foorthwith deliuered him; and vsing many royall kindnesses towards him, gaue him also his daughter in Marriage. Thus the poore despairing young Lorde, became in an instant a most potent King; & questionlesse, if he had not falne into this aduersitie, he had neuer attained vnto such greatnesse of State. Because some other then he, might haue beene elected; or his Brother *Ladislaus* (beeing the Elder, and not put to death) had preceeded him; or else, the Count of *Celia* (hauing escaped his murther) had hindered him, being so neere in Kindered to the King; onely respect and pittie of his imprisonment, was the sole cause of his aduancement.

The death of King Ladislaus.

Matthias being in prison, was proclaimed King of Hungary.

Where Fortune fauoureth, no contrary meanes preuenteth.

Thus hourely expecting death, hee came to a Crown, and by the same meanes as such as haue it, do sooneſt loose it: prouing afterward, one of the worthiest Kinges in his time, obtaining manie famous victories, and performing admyrable actions in Armes, especially against the Turkes.

The like fortuned to *Iaques de Lusignam*, Vncle to *Peter*, King of *Cyprus*: For, during the Feasting and solemnitie made for the Kings Corronation, a controuersie happened betweene the *Geneways* and the *Venetians* there present, concerning their preferrance, because each

The second History of Iaques de Lusignum.

The Venetians and Geneuaies at contention

each of them contended about the chiefest place. And the matter was so obstinately debated on either side, that *Iaques de Lusignam* (who fauoured the *Venetians*) caused some of the *Geneweyes* to bee slaine. Whereof the rest being aduertised that were at *Gennes*, they were so offended; that to reuenge this wrong, they raised a great Army, vnder the charge of a Captaine, named *Pedro Fregoso*, an excellent Warrior on the Sea. Hee ordered the matter in such sort, that beeing come to the Island, he tooke the City by force of Armes, wherein was *Iaques de Lusignam*, who was also surprized & led to *Gennes*, where (by appointment of the Senat) he was shut vp in a strong Tower, with full purpose, that there hee shoulde finish his daies. In this state, he there continued for the space of nine years, not hoping of liberty, or any fauour else. But in the end, Fortune turning hir wheele, it chanced that K. *Peter* died without anie heire: by meanes whereof, they of the Island (sorrowing for the long detention of this *Iaques* in prison, & regarding that he was neere Kinsman to their deceased Lord) elected him for their King, althogh he was prisoner. Without which means of imprisonment, it may be, that hee had neuer come to such dignity, although he had got it by being at liberty, such are the wils and inclinations of men. After this election made by the *Cypriots*, they sent their Ambassadors to *Gennes*, to the end, that with al the best cõditions that might be, they should compasse the libertie of their King. Compositions being propounded, and his ransom paid, with great pompe and feasting hee was freed from captiuity; & being magnificently broght to his ships, they set sail for *Cyprus*, where he was welcommed as their king, crowned, obeyed, and raigned diuers yeares.

Iaques de Lusignam shut vp in prison.

Iaques de Lusignam elected King being then a prisoner at *Gennes*.

Iaques cenuaied from *Gennes* to *Cyprus*.

CHAP. XXX.

A Paradox in defence of Hurts & Wounds, maintaining that the wounded man is in more happy estate, then hee which is whole and sound.

I Cannot well conceiue any reason, that should incite vs to such tender and delicate care of our bodies, seeing wee pretend to haue courage more hard then Iron, and lesse sensible then stones. Nor do I see any iust cause, why we should be so fearefull of wounds and stabs, seeing they can but pierce the Corslet or false Coat of Defence, and no way hurt or offend the soule, which is the most Noble part of all, and can no way be iniuried or wounded, but by our selues only in wicked cogitations, which are the blowes (indeede) that brings the greatest greefe, and most of all tormenteth a quiet setled spirit.

The soule is the most Noble part in man.

I haue many times smiled to my selfe, in noting such men, as haue wondered and complained verie greeuously, when any of their friends and Kindered, were mortally wounded in diuers parts of their bodie: Neuer considering, that amongst all those wounds, but one only was fatall and deadly, for one bodie cannot indure many mortall wounds. So that if there be but one wound, that maketh the way open to death: it followeth of necessitie, that the other must be of lesse force, ordinarie harme; or (at the vttermost) void of any danger.

One mortall wound, is enough to expire life.

Iulius Cæsar, had three and twentie woundes; notwithstanding, hee had but one onely, that tooke his life from him. I could gladly wish, that as manie men, as haue their members weakened or disabled, by hurts and Wounds, their pride of minde might thereby bee abated, and their swelling glorie made more coole and humble. The Princely Prophet (in the Song of the blessed Virgin, and else-where of himselfe) singeth woonderfull sweetely: *Thou Lorde, hast Humiliated the Proude*, euen as wee see him humbled, that hath beene well beaten or wounded.

Iulius Cæsar had three & twenty woundes.

For my part, whensoeuer I see anie one, that hath his Nose cut off, his head broken, or his body otherwise wounded, I neuer consider the wounde, but especially regard the matter and occasion thereof. For, as wee behold the faces of Valiant Soldiers and Captains commended, when in wars (for their Countries cause) they are cut, slasht, and mangled; which hurts are to them, as so many rich Diamonds or Rubies to adorn them withall. So on the contrary, they that are wounded in any base or bad quarrel, or dissonest enterprise, those hurts are thē, as so many

Luke 1,52.

Woundes the honourable badges of soldiers.

filthy ſpots, or ſtaines of dirt vpon their faces.

Marcus Sergius maimed in Warre.

Marcus Sergius, fighting valiantly, and as became a man of worth; loſt one of his handes. And when hee had cauſed another to bee fordged of ſteele for him: hee was rather a more famous Champion then before, no way appearing defectiue by his handes loſſe. This hath beene euermore, and yet may bee obſerued, in men of greateſt dilligence and knowledge, that where Fortune granteth licence to hurt & wound; there Vertue her ſelfe is moſt pained and tormented. For we ſee it ordinarily happen to men, as it dooth to precious odours and the pureſt ſpices, which the more they are beaten and bruiſed; the ſweeter ſent and ſauour they ſende abroade, thereby expreſſing their more piercing and gracious power. And not to trouble yee with the Wal-nut, and other Trees; that by blowes and ſtrokes do become the more fruitfull, as in like manner our wearing Garments, by bruſhing and beating are the better preſerued. Euen ſo, when we ſee any man maimed, cut, or wounded, it giueth ample teſtimonie of his hearts greatneſſe, as alſo of his vndoubted proweſſe and Valiancy.

Vertue expreſſeth it ſelf beſt by opreſſion.

To bee hurt through our owne wickedneſſe, is the greateſt harm of all other.

Let vs confeſſe then, that it is not euill to bee hurt or mangled, in cauſes of Vertue & true honor: but let vs be heedfull of ſuch cuttes and wounds, as come thorow our owne follies, or thoſe badde ſtroakes, which proceed of wicked occaſions; for they are much more daungerous to the ſoule, then thoſe exteriour hurts that happen vnto the body, by courage of heart, and valour of the minde. Becauſe the inward wounds which enſue or are cauſed by our owne defectes, are truely ſuch, as the Emplayſters and Medicines of the beſt Phyſitians and Chirurgions in the world, being applied to them, can neuer helpe, or ſoundly recure.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Crocodile, with a refutation of ſundry Fables, which are found written, concerning the ſame Beaſt.

Many Fables credited of the Crocodile.

I Know very well, that many men among vs, haue ſeene the ſtuffed skins of Crocodiles, & of great hugeneſſe, though not liuing. Of which Beaſt, I find ſome ſtore of Fables to be written, which people (very peeuiſhly) haue beleeued: wherefore, to take away thoſe errors, I purpoſe in this chapter to confute them, according as I haue beene enſtructed by many woorthy perſons that haue made ſome long ſtay in thoſe parts, wher the Beaſt it ſelfe abideth, who all (with one conſent) haue confirmed what I finde faithfully Written of the Crocodile.

Amphibium what it ſignifieth.

This Beaſt is tearmed *Amphibium*, that implieth to liue partly in the Water, and partly on land. It is commonly credited, that *Nilus* onley, the Riuer of Egypt, is the perticuler breeding place of this great and dreadfull creature. But how far this is from all truth, hath well beene obſerued, ſince the Spaniards effected their long Nauigations. For the Riuer *Ganges* breedeth ſtore of them; & many of them haue beene found in diuers partes of *India*, eſpecially in thoſe Iſlands, which are about the Cittie of *Honorath*, & in great *Ethyopia*, in the Lake of *Zembera*, and in the riuer of *Darath*, in the dition of great *Negus* or *Necos*: in which Lake and Riuer, the Crocodiles are much more cruel then thoſe of Egypt; for if they can ouer-reach ſuch as com to bath themſelus there, they hale them forthw th into the bottom of the water, and there deuoure them. As hapned (not long ſince) to a Gentleman of *Portugal*, who had two of his ſeruants deuoured, as they were bathing themſelues in that Lake.

Crocodiles bred elſwhere then in *Nilus*.

Crocodiles more cruell then thoſe in Egypt.

Leirus Writeth, in his Hiſtorie of *America*, that hee hath ſeene ſome little Crocodiles, onely of the length of two or three foote, and about the bigneſſe of a mans Thighe, which are no way cruell

Of another kind of Crocodiles.

Lerius. in Hist. de Americ.

cruell or hurtfull; but so soon as the *Brasilians* haue taken them in the Riuer of *Genebra*, they giue them to their children to play withall, and they will do them no harme, albeit they haue Teeth, and can bite.

There are also of another kinde in the same Countrey, which keepe themselues in the Rockes, and will rush forth vppon Passengers, as well men as Beastes, and deuoure them: but if they stande vppon their owne defence, many times they flie away from them. He that hath written the generall Historie of the *Indians*, saith; That he hath seene some, neere or about *Panama*, containing an hundred foote in length.

The Crocodile is like to the Lizard.

The Crocodile doth euerie way resemble (as well in his exteriour, as inward parts) the Lizards liuing amongest vs. Many are found, to containe the length of sixe great strides of a man, and larger then three foote vpon the backe; beside others of lesser quantity.

The sight of a Crocodile very dreadfull.

It is an horrible and fearefull sight, to beholde this monstrous Creature; for the passage of his Throate is so wide, that the head of a man may easily enter it. Hee hath Teeth, great, sharpe, and cleare, both aboue and beneath in his Iawes; and hee is onely saide (amongst all other Beastes, as yet euer hearde of) to moue the vpper-chap or Iaw.

An errour in *Aristotle*.

Aristotle sayth, that he hath no tongue: but I my selfe haue seene both great and little Crocodiles, dead, and dried, in all which I found seuerally a tongue, but very short, flat, and large.

The Crocodiles skin of Harquebush proofe.

There are no scales vpon his skinne, but it is like to the barke of a Tree; rising as embossed in many places; and it is so hard, that the point of a Pike, or Iron head of an Arrowe, cannot enter it; nay, it is saide, to be Harquebush proofe. He is armed with verie sharpe and crooked Nails, his fore feete beeing very short; and yet runneth with great swiftnesse, when hee flyeth from such as stande not in feare of him.

The Crocodile is fearful.

It is not true, which some Authors haue Written, that this Beast keepeth himselfe in the day on the Land, & in the night in the water: For, it is quite contrary, and customarily he commeth forth of the Water, so soone as the Moone beginneth to shine, as is continuallie noted by them that dwell in those partes, as in Egypt, which is the neareste place of their being to vs.

Of the Crodiles keeping in the water.

Plinie, and *Munster*, the Germaine Cosmographer, following him, doo record another lest, to wit: That there is an Iland in *Nilus*, where men do mount on these Beasts, and ride them in like maner as on Horsse-backe. For, when the Beast openeth his mouth to bite, the man clappes a Clubbe of Woodde in it thwart-wise, and holdeth fast by eyther end of the saide Club, and so doth guide this furious Beast, whether himselfe pleaseth, euen as they ride a Horse for seruice in *Spaine*, with a Bridle: by which means, he is compelled to cast vppe such bodies as hee hath deuoured, to giue them better buriall: woulde any man wish for a more notable fable?

The error of *Plny & Munster*.

I cannot bee otherwise perswaded, but that if an hundered men stoode in a ranke, and were well armed in the Riuer of *Nile* vp to the belly, or in anie other Riuer elsse-where, and did beholde but two such Crocodiles comming towards them, as I haue seene deade and dried; they woulde verie gladly betake themselues to flight, so exceeding hiddeous and dreadfull, are they to be seene in the Water.

The Authors opinion of the Crocodile.

It is certaine, that there is an Iland, not farre off from *Meroe*, called (at this day) *Cleomeny* in *Ethyopia*, whereby *Nilus* passeth; and the people of this Isle, doo oppose themselues against the Crocodiles, with such wonderous boldnesse and courage, as they dare not (by anie meanes) tarrie their comming: but senting them by the smell (for this Beast hath that sense as subtle as a Dog) they flye speedily thereon, and will no longer abide.

People of whom Crocodiles stand in feare.

Aristotle sayeth, that this Beast may be made tame, like vnto anie other beast of prey; for the benefite of eating his flesh: but I take this to bee meant of such as are young. As it happened in a part of Egypt, where Sacrifices were offered neere vnto *Nile*, & whereinto the Priests vsed to cast manie Bones, and other peeces of Flesh (which serued for no vse at all in their Sacrifices) and the Crocodiles woulde come to feede on them; not fearing anie men, and so became tame.

Crocodiles made tame.

Strabo sayeth, that in the Cittie of *Arsinoe*, which is the Cittie of Crocodiles,

The Egyptians verie superstitious, taking Crocodiles to be Gods.

on *Nile*: there were some tame, and hallowed; to whome the Pilgrimes (which came in deuotion thither) would bring flesh, Bread, and Wine. One Priest, must open the Crocodiles mouth, and another put the foode into it; which being done, they afterward threw them into a Lake, which *Nile* had made neere to the Temple. The *Egyptians* (by perswasion of their Priests) beleeued these beastes to be Goddes, and diuers times suffered their Children to bee deuoured of them; not a little reioycing, that they did serue for food to their Gods.

A braue inuention of a Soldier, wher by to get mone of the Egyptians.

Vpon a time, *Demetrius* the *Macedonian*, returning from pursuite of the *Persians*, his Armie being much disabled and destitute of meanes and money, passing thorough *Egypt*, after he had a while refreshed his men; he bethought himselfe, that seeing he had no money, hee would procure some from the *Egyptians* by a sleight. For, he well knowing, howe superstitious they had continued till then, in honouring those monstrous Crocodiles; he began to reproue them for it, assuring them, that they did great wrong to *Iupiter* and his Court, in honouring such horrid things. Wherfore, he had made a Vow to *Iupiter*, to reuenge this high iniury doone vnto him; and commanded his Souldiors to war vpon those Crocodile Gods.

Heereuppon, the fond and foolish *Egyptians*, made a generall and humble requeste to him, not to offer any wrong to their Goddes; and they would giue him Garments and Money, wherewith to prouide his whole Armie. Whereto, he condiscended, & limited them a time for paiment of the Money. In the mean while his Army was well refreshed; and the promise being performed, he departed from them on his iourney. That they may be made tame, being young taken, is very credible; considring, that Serpents and Lizards are daily tamed, as may bee seene in many places.

Proofe for taming Crocodiles.

The craft and subtilty of the Crocodile for his prey.

The Crocodile is subtile and craftie in compassing his prey; for he rusheth on a man at vnawares, if he walk about *Nilus*, or any other place where hee swimmeth or haunteth. Some haue ouerthrowne Boats with their tailes (wherin they haue incredible strength) and so catching at men thus ouer turned in the Water, do there deuoure them. This they doo in the day time, & at night they com forth of the water, frequenting still those passages, wher they know any beasts to feed, be they wilde or domesticke; or men trauailing thorow the Countrey, seazing on their feet with his teeth, and not with his clawes, because his strength in them will scarsely hold any thing. Thus hath Nature prouided for the life of this Beast, permitting him to moue his vpper Iawe, and not the neather, as no beast els doth the like: not any Fish or Beast can escape him, if either his pawes or teeth doe take hold on him.

The Crocodile mooueth his vpper iaw as no Beast els doth.

There is not any Beast that I haue read of, which becommeth so great, of so smal a beginning, as the Crocodile: and al his actions are performed by the number of sixtie, for he hath sixtie teeth, and sixtie turning ioynts. At one time in the year, he continueth threescore dayes without feeding, and liueth no longer then sixtie yeares. The Female Crocodile layeth threescore Egges, in threescore dayes; and hatcheth them in other threescore dayes; by which time, they are hatched either on the banks of *Nile*, or any other Riuers where they resort, and her Egges are not greater then a Goose Egge. The *Egyptians* do affirme to this day, that a little before *Selim* (first of that name) besieged the great Cittie of *Cayre*, and tooke *Egypt*; for the space of eight daies together, a great number of these Crocodiles were seene, in all parts on the Bankes of *Nile*, and so thickely dispersed abroad in the fields, that whatsoeuer preyes they lighted on, they rent and tore with their long sharp teeth, as a presage of the mischiefe which befell to *Egypt*.

The number of sixtie remarkeable in the Crocodile

The Egyptians presage of the Crocodile

Ælianus, and some other Authors do write, that the Crocodile filleth his Belly with the water of *Nile*; & hauing kept it so for some time, he casteth it vp again on some broad High way, and then goeth to hide himselfe not far off, breathing foorth a lamentable voice or noise, as if it were the murthering of some man. But if any one (mooued with pittie and compassion) come to see and lend succour, passing ouer that lubricke and slippery place where he vomitted the water, he falleth downe; and the subtle beast issuing forth of his ambushment, easily deuoureth him thus falne vpon the ground. How far this is estranged from any truth, is quickly discerned, because the Crocodile

Elianus, and other Authors concerning the Crocodile

dile hath no voyce at all. As also they write, that a man, beeing but toucht with a Feather of *Ibis*, a Bird belonging perticularly to Egypt, he remaineth immoueable, which euen is as false as the other. Thus hauing refuted these Fables, spread abroad of this monstrous Beast: I will end this Chapter, least the length thereof should proue offensiue to the Reader; to write another, concerning mens endeuour, to rid the World of Crocodiles; as also to discourse of another Creature, vtter enemy to the Crocodile, and of his properties.

Aelianus and those Authors refuted.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of some meanes obserued by Men, both to take and kill Crocodiles. And of Ichneumon, or the Rat of India, called Pharaohs Rat, deadly enemy to the Crocodile; And of his properties.

GOD, our Almighty Creator and Preseruer, by his great and wonted prouidence fore-seeing, that this monstrous Beast laboured to vnfurnish the Riuers of Fishes, and the Land of Men and Cattle: gaue him an Enemy, to the end, that his multitude shall not so super-abound (beside the industry of men) but that great store of them might be destroied. For the *Ægiptians* goe in the day time, (well armed and defenced) along the bancks of *Nile*, and seeke for the Egges of the Female; which they breake in peeces. They take also many of the young ones, especially Females, which then are not aboue the length of two foote, or sometimes lesse; and flaying off their skins, doe eate them, because they are very delicate meate. As for the greater Crocodiles, which are of more terrour; they can take them also without much labour, after any invndation, or when the *Arabes* and *Ægiptians* perceiue the Water of *Nile* to decrease, as after an ouer-flow, and remaineth troubled, by reason of immundicities, and washing the Land, couered with vncleanesse. They then cast forth a long Cord, at the end whereof is fastned a hooke of Iron, large and strong, weighing about three poundes weight, and baited with a peece of Cammels flesh, or of any other Beast. When the Monster beholdeth the prey, immediatly he leapeth at it, and swalloweth it, and the Morsell (with the Hook) sticking fast in his throat: it would mooue much delight, to see what mountings he makes aboue Water. When the Beast is then taken, these barbarous people (by little and little) doe draw him to the Riuers side, and fastning the Cord about a Palme, or some other Tree; they hang him vp in the Ayre, as fearing least hee should yet deuour them. Then with a Wooden Leauer they giue him many blowes on the belly, because it is the most soft and tender place about the Beast. Which being done, they flay off his skinne, and make sale of his flesh: for it is excellent meat, and I my selfe haue eaten of it salted. As for the skinne, great sale of them is made to the Christian *Maronites*, *Greekes*, and *Iewes*, that dwell in *Ægipt*: And beeing wrought or curried, they re-sell them to the Christian-*Latines*, that come thither for them, and bring them among vs.

An enemy giuen by God to the Crocodile.

Crocodiles very good meat to eate.

The *Egyptians* cunning to take great Crocodiles.

Sale made of the flesh and skins of Crocodiles.

As for the Beast before named, which God hath sent as an enemy to the Crocodile, and is no longer then a Cat, and as low, tearmed by our Elders *Ichneumon*: now a-daies, that name is forgotten in *Ægypt*, and it is called *Pharaohs* Rat, feeding on Serpents and Rats, killing all Dogges and Cats that it can attaine vnto. The *Ægyptians* (by nourishing) haue made some of them tame, and it is one of the strongest and boldest beasts that is to be found, and sufficiently prouided of vnderstanding. When this Beast is in the fields, he ceaseth not to sente, runne, and seeke about, where he can find the Crocodiles Egges, to eate them. After his long quest, and finding them, hee eateth his fill of them, and breaketh all the rest in small pieces, that not any Crocodile may be hatched of them.

The description of *Pharaohs* Rat and how he seeketh for the Crocodiles Egges.

Sometimes hee lyes in waite, and watcheth so long, til he can espy a Crocodile lying along in the Sunne, with his belly vpward: for he obserueth his behauiour, as an vsuall custome, onely while

How *Pharaohs* rat surprizeth the Crocodile

while he sleepeth on the bankes of *Nile*, with his mouth wide open; to the end, that the Bird *Trochilus* (which is a very little Bird, and almost like to that which we call a Wren) may cleanse his teeth from the flesh sticking in them, or the knotted blood lying about thē. Which the *Trochilus* pecketh forth with his bill, hauing no other sustenance while hee liueth, and in this manner the Crocodile often sleepeth. This *Ichneumon* perceiuing, he steppeth vp on his belly, and byting and piercing it in three or 4. places; he enters in at those wounds, and so killeth him. This Beast hath such subtiltie in his doing it, and hideth himselfe so cunningly; that (albeit the Bird *Trochilus* hath a continuall watchfull eye, to giue warning to the Crocodile, least he should be hurt in his sleep, and therefore pecketh at the lids of his eyes to wake him:) yet notwithstanding this great care and loue, he is thus slaine before he can awake, and many of them are found dead in this manner vpon the shoares.

Herodotus writeth, that this Rat of *Pharaoh*, enters in at the throat into the Crocodiles body, at such time as hee sleepeth, as hath formerly beene saide; where byting his entrailes, and tearing the skinne of his belly, hee commeth foorth thereat. But these are meere dreames, for I haue conferred with credible persons, that haue remained a long while in Ægypt; and they condemne this to be vtterly false. Yet it is supposed by some, that because this little beast byteth the other by the belly, and will not let go his hold, vntill hee be dead: that he enters in at the mouth, and issueth forth at the place of his byting, as being the tenderest part of all his body; neuertheless, the better iudgements doe hold this for a Fable.

Pliny, *Appian*, and *Pausanias* write, that the Dolphine hath certaine little wings or Finnes on his backe, as keene cutting as any Razor; where-with hee cutteth the Crocodiles belly in swimming, being soft and tender, and so killeth him. But these Allegations are fabulous likewise; for the Winges or Finnes on the Dolphines backe, are no way offensiue, because I can assure ye, that I haue both seene and felt them. Beside, there are no Dolphines, or euer could any bee seene, where the Crocodile haunteth. And although this Beast be so cruell and horrible, not onely towards other earthly and watery Creatures, but also to man: yet notwithstanding, in diuers and sundry parts of his body, are found many good remedies for especiall diseases. For beside that his flesh is verie nutritiue, and engendreth good blood: they that ordinarily vse it, shall neuer be tormented with the Gout, or Sciatica in the Hippes; and if they haue them before they vse it, yet it forthwith helpeth them. His Gaule put into the eyes, without all doubt, taketh away any Webbe or Cataract growing in them. His Grease or Fat is an especiall and singuler remedy, against all Ioynt-Agues, or other paines in the ioynts. The teeth of his right Iaw, bound about the Arme, dooth greatly prouoke the Act of Venerie: which the *Ægyptians* (to this day) make vse of, because they are much addicted thereto, and therefore do sell them at a deare rate. When any member of the body, is (for some defect) to be cut off; if it be annointed with the Ashes of his skinne in vineger, it so deadeth the sense, that the Pacient shall not feele any paine. His Blood also greatly sharpneth the sight, and therefore the people of that Country, vnderstanding when any Crocodile is taken; doe speedily hast thither (I mean such as are bad sighted) to haue of it when he is newly kild, which they buy at a certaine appointed price; and bathing their eyes there with, doe finde marueilous ease. The Hart of the Crodile, wrapped in blacke Wooll pluckt from a blacke Sheepe, that was the first of his Dammes eaning, cureth all Quartane Feauers. *Ioell*, a most famous Iew-Phisition, hath left written al these recited properties of the Crocodile; his dwelling was at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the World beareth record of him, that he was a Man very deepely experienced in Phisicke, and performed many singuler cures.

CHAP.

Ichneumon killeth the Crocodile cunningly.

The kind loue of the Bird *Trochilus* to the crocodile.

The false imagination of *Herodotus*.

A meere fixion of the *Dolphines* killing the crocodile.

Many parts of the crocodile very soueraigne for diuers diseases.

For the Gout and Sciatica.

For sore eies.

For Ioynt-Agues.

For Venery.

For dissection of some member.

For the eye-sight.

For the Feuer Quartane.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of strange accidents, which happened to a Prisoner, and by what meanes he was set at liberty.

MAtters of admiration shold not be ouer-lightly reported, nor haue I set downe any, which hath not beene certified by some faithfull Authour: as this now whereof I am to speake, recorded by *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, a man well skilled in the Sciences (as I haue formerly approued) who writeth this History for a certainety. He saith, that a in well knowne place of *Italy* (which he spareth to name, a Gouernour ruled (whose name also he silenceth) that was a cruell Tyrant, and of fierce Nature. It fortuned, that one of his people, had (by mischance) slaine a Grey-hound, which he highly esteemed, for which vnwilling offence, the Tyrant was so enraged against him; as he committed him to a strong and vnsauoury Prison, lockt vp vnder many keies, and in very sure and safe custody. Some few daies after, he that had charge from the Gouernour, to bring him his appointed allowance of sustenance, as daily he vsed to do; found all the doors fast and firme, as before he had left the: but looking in the place where the Prisoner vsed to sit, hee found him not there, yet all the Chaines and Bolts where-with he was charged, were whole, sound, and not broken. This act being reputed a Miracle, was reported to the Gouernour of the Cittie, who commanded al possible dilligence, with priuy searches from house to house, and yet no tydings could bee heard of him. And the case was accounted so much the more strange, because his Irons were neyther filed nor broken: but remained intire in the Prison, euen as if the Prisoner had still worne them, the Prison and doores also not a iot impaired.

Three daies after, the doores remaining fast closed, euen as when the Prisoner was there, and the Keepers little thinking thereon: they heard one cry in the same place, where the Prisoner was wont to be kept, and running in all hast thither, to see who it was that cryed, they found it to bee the Prisoner, who called for foode, and was as fast in his Irons as he had beene before; his face appearing very dreadfull, discoloured and wrinkled, his eyes sunke into his head, staring and wandring, and wholly resembling rather a dead Man, then one aliue. The Iaylers being not a little amazed heereat, demaunded where he had been; but he would make them no answere, except he might immediatly be brought before the Gouernour: for he had much matter to say to him, and which concerned him very importantly. When the Gouernour was acquainted there-with, hee caused him to bee brought before him, in the presence of many others, before whom he would deliuer his charge. And recounting many wonderfull things, told thē, that being in the obscure Prison, he fell into such despaire, that he called to the Deuill to helpe him, onely to deliuer him thence out of his misery. The Deuill came to him, in an euill fauoured and dreadfull shape, with whom hee made a complot, to be deliuered out of Prison: and no sooner had hee condiscended thereto, but he found himselfe presently to be in the Ayre, not knowing how, or by what meanes hee came thither. Suddenly he descended thence, thorough certaine horrible, tempestuous, obscure and tenebrous places, where he saw millions of millions of people, that suffred grieuous torments, both by fire, and otherwise, beeing tormented by an infinite number of Deuils. There did he see all sorts of people, both Kings, Popes, Dukes, Prelats, and many Men which hee perfectly knew. Hee gaue the Tyrant also particularly to vnderstand, that in those frightfull Low-Countries, he saw a great Friend and companion of his, who demaunded tidings of him, concerning his life and manners, and whether he continued as cruell yet, as he was wont to bee. To whom the Prisoner said, he made answere, that the Gouernour had not left his old behauiour, but rather fell from bad to worse. Whereon this friend

Alexander of *Alexandria* Authour of this discourse

The speeches of the Prisoner to the gouernour.

The fearefull visions which the Prisoner beheld.

A Prisoner strangely freed out of Prison.

The Prisoner found againe in the prison.

The prisoners words concerning the Gouernor.

friend requested the Prisoner, that when he should see the Gouernour next: hee would admonish him, to amend his life, not oppressing and vexing his subiects any more, with tributes and taxations, because (quoth this friend) I know full well that his place is already prepared in Hell, where he must be very grieuously tormented, except he do quickly conuert to amendment. And because he may the better credit my words, tell him from mee, that by vertue of this watch-word, which oftentime (in war) passed between him and me (and which Watch-word hee deliuered to the Prisoner) I wish him to beleeue thee, and not to procrastinate his amendment.

A priuate watch-word sent to the Gouernor.

All these thinges beeing heard, the Gouernour fell into a suddaine terrour and astonishment: for he was well assured, that none but God, his Friend, and himselfe onely, did know that Watch-word. Then demaunded he of the Prisoner, in what forme and habite hee found the Gentleman in that place? The Prisoner made answer, that he was in the same Garments, which he vsed to weare in this World, of Crimosine Sattin, and albeit his habite appeared to be such; yet was it laced and guarded with a terrible burning fire, and as I thought (quoth he) to touch it with my hand, to try whether it were fire or no: it burned my hand, as heere ye may behold. He spake of many other very fearfull thinges, to the great amazement and terrour of the Gouernour; who gaue the Prisoner present libertie, and sent him home to his house, where his Wife hardly knew him, or his Kinred eyther, by reason he looked so pale and meager. He liued some short while after, much troubled in his sences, weak, bare and poore, spending the remainder of his daies, in care for his Soules saluation, and true contrition for his sinnes. But what good this admonition wrought on the Gouernor; *Alexander* declareth not: but onely affirmeth the History to be true.

The Gentlemans apparell.

The Prisoner set at liberty by the Gouernour.

(*_*)

CHAP. XXXIIII.

That the Blood of a Bull, is death to such as drinke thereof; And who it was, that first tamed the Bull.

SEeing that the Bull is such a Domestick Creature, as his Flesh is fed on, and the Beeues engendred by him, doe sustaine and nourish more then any other meates: me-thinkes it is quite contrary to nature, that his blood, separated from the flesh, and drunke when it is hot, should haue the power to procure a mans death. To approoue this true, *Dioscorides* and *Pliny* doe both say; that the fresh blood of a Bull is venomous, and killeth him that drinketh it. *Plutarch* writing of *Mydas* (euen hee of whom so many Histories and Fables doe make mention) saith; that beeing sicke of some fearefull imaginations, and waxing daily worse and worse, without finding any amendment: he determined to drink the blood of a chafed Bull, wherof he dyed. It is written, that *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, a worthy Captaine, who defended *Greece* frō the inuasions of *Xerxes*; being banished from his Countrey, went to the Court of King *Artaxerxes*, to whom (in anger and indignation conceiued against his Countrey) hee made promise, to enstruct him in the meanes of conquering all *Greece*. But when he was summoned by the King to keep his word: he chose rather to die, and in feigning a Sacrifice to the Goddesse *Dyana*; hee dranke the blood of a Bull, wherof he dyed instantlie, as is credibly affirmed by *Plutarch*.

Dioscor. in lib. 6 Plin. in lib. 28. Plutar in lib. de Superstit.

Plutar. in vit. de Themist.

The naturall reason which can be giuen, why the hot Blood of a Bull causeth the death of him that drinkes it; is deliuered by *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and *Dioscorides*, who say: That death ensueth thereby, because the blood of a Bull doth curdle, coagulate, and waxe hard immediatly; yea, much more sooner then the blood of any other Beast. So that attaining to some quantitie in the stomacke, it there congealeth, and procureth

Arist. in lib. de Animal. Plin in lib. 11. Dioscor. in lib. 6

cureth swoundings and suffocations, stopping the passages aspiratiue and sensitiue, by reason whereof sudden death ensueth. *Pliny* further saith, that Colewortes sodden in the blood of a Bull; doe preuent all opilations or obstructions. Thus we may perceiue, that the blood of a Bull, is venomous of it selfe: but beeing in composition with some other thing, it is very medicinable.

Plin. in lib. 22.

Man, to whom God hath subiected all thinges, deriueth great benefit and seruice from the Bull, and Cattle of his kinde: which is the cause, that *Collumella* preferreth him before al other beasts. Beside, in former times it was great offence to kill a Bull; and *Pliny* reporteth, that a man was banished, because hee had kild one. The first Man that tooke in hand to tame a Bull, and make him doe seruice in the yoake; according to *Diodorus*, was named *Denus*, or *Dionisius*, the Sonne of *Iupiter* and *Proserpina*: but according to *Pliny*, in his seuenth book, hee was named *Briges*, and a Natiue of *Athens*. Others doe maintaine, that it was *Triptolemus*, of whom it appeareth that *Virgile* spake, saying: *The Infant Maister and inuenter of the curbed flesh.* *Seruius* saith, that this to be vnderstood of *Triptolemus*, or of *Osiris*. I am of opinion, that *Virgile* couered the name of the inuenter of a labour so good and profitable: because (to speake vprightly) it could not be the inuention of one man onely; but contrariwise, the spirit of humaine necessity found it out, so that some men inuented one part thereof, and others the rest.

Columella in his *Agriculture*

Plin. in lib. 22.

The first man that tamed the Bull.

Diodor. Sic. in lib. 4, &c.

Plin in lib. 7.

Vir. in Georgi.

The first Inuenter of husbandry.

In like manner, *Trogus Pompeius* saith, that *Auidis*, King of *Spaine*, was the first that tamed Bulles, and brought them to labour: but whosoeuer was the inuenter and actor, it was done very wel & profitably, for the life of Man. This Beast feedeth on the Grasse, contrary to all other, for hee continually draweth his food backward as he feedeth, and the other forward. *Aristotle* speaketh of certaine Bulles in *Phrigia*, whose Hornes doe not containe any strength of bone, neither grow but in the skinne onely, and are as easily moued by them, as they doe their eares; *Æ'lianus* maintaineth as much. The first that ranne with Buls in *Rome*, and kild them; was *Iulius Cæsar*, whereof *Pliny* giueth testimony. This Beast hath another naturall qualitie: for he knoweth and Prognosticateth when it will raine, by smelling and bellowing vp in the Ayre, and hyding himselfe more couertly then is accustomed.

Auidis King of *Spaine*.

Arist. in Lib. 3. de Animali.

Plin. in Lib. 9.

The Bull a wizzard for weather.

CHAP. XXXV.

Who was the first that estab'ished Religion in Rome, and ordained chiefe Byshoppes, Priests, and Vestall Virgines. In what manner they were put to death, when they were taken in Adulterie. Also, of their Vestiments, Vessels, and other Instruments, made for vse of the Sacrifices.

IN a former Chapter of old *Rome*, part of this Argument hath beene alreadie handled, according to the description of *M. Francesco Sansouino*; what now further is to be said in this case, proceedeth from *Anthony du Verdier*, the Lord of *Vaupriuaz*, not disallowing or finding fault with any thing before alledged: but rather as a supplement of some things wanting, and found more at large recorded in other Authours. For all Histories are filled with the reuerence, which the ancient *Romaines* gaue to their prophane Gods, to whom they erected very sumptuous Temples, with institution of chiefe Byshops, and diuers Sacrifices. *Numa Pompilius*, second King of the *Romaines*, was the first that established Religion in *Rome*; with adoration of the Gods, and ordained many and sundrie Ceremonies for the honour of them. Himselfe would needs be the first high Byshop, which dignity was afterward referred to foure other persons; then to eyght, and at last to fifteene, which number was called the Colledge of Byshops. Ouer whom, as in place of greatest eminence, was appointed one of more notable race and authoritie then the rest, who was styled the great and chiefe Byshop, to whom all the other, and the King himselfe in the sacrifices,

The reason for this chapters addition.

Read *Titus Liuius* in his first Booke, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Numa Pompilius*.

A chiefe Byshop appointed ouer the rest in *Rome*, and what his Office was.

fices, the *Augures*, *Flamines*, and *Vestall* Virgines, gaue obedience. He had super-intendencie ouer the Sacrifices and Ceremonies, and his Office was, to make new sollemne Prayers; to declare the daies of Feastes, and to what God ech day was dedicated: to keep registred in writing, the Annals or Histories of all notable thinges, which happened yearely; to iudge of matters concerning Religion; to punish the *Vestall* Virgines for any notorious delict; to repaire the Bridge, cald *Sublicius*, when it was broken, which Bridge was made of Wood, without any Iron or other Mettall, and accounted sacred; and this last charge gaue way to the name of *Pontifex*, as composed of these two Latine words, *Pons & Facio*.

This Temple is at this day to be seene in *Rome*, neere vnto that of *Ianus* heard by *Tyber*.

Forty yeares after the building of *Rome*, *Numa Pompilius* erected a Temple to the Goddesse *Vesta*, forming it round, & men were forbidden entrance thereinto: onely, choise was made of a number of Virgines, for seruice of the Goddesse *Vesta*. This word *Vesta* came from the *Greekes*, and was taken for fire, as *Ouid* saith in his sixt Booke *ad Fast.* and because the fire was called Virgin, these Virgines were appointed to the seruice of *Vesta*. And in regard also, that Fire engendreth nothing of it selfe: but no Image or Statue of her was placed in the Temple; because our Ancients tooke *Vesta* to be nothing else, but a Spirit and Diuine Fire, which could not be seene, but onely was to be conceiued in the vnderstanding. In this Temple was kept a perpetuall Fire, as they did the like at *Athens*, in the * *Prytaneum*. And if thorow want of care, or negligence in any of the Virgines, the fire happened to be extinct; the cheefe Bishop caused the Virgine to be whipped with Rods: as did *P. Licinius Crassus*, being chiefe Byshop, according as *Valerius Maximus* writeth. And the fire being quenched, it was accounted prodigious, causing feare and terrour in the whole Senate and people of *Rome*: so that before they durst attempt any matter of consequence, they must needes expiate and appease their Goddesse, and to re-kindle the fire, it was done in this manner. The *Vestall* Nunne or Sister, tooke a Vessel of Copper, hauing three corners, and clearely shining, which she did set directly against the Sun beames, vntill the reuerberation of his mightie heat, should kindle the dry matter which was in the Vessell: and this beeing done, then she must carry the sacred fire, to the verie inner-most place of the Temple, and in this manner they vsed to kindle the Fire againe (beeing quenched) each yeare on the first day of March, in which Moneth they alwaies began the yeare among the *Romanes*.

Ouid in lib. 6. ad Fast. Dionys. Halicar. in Lib. 2. Diodor. in Antiquit.

*The councel house at Athens.

Valerius Maximus. Strabo in Geograph.

How the Virgines re-kindled the *Vestall* fire when it was quenched.

Some are of opinion, that these sacred matters of *Vesta*, was transported from *Troy* into the Land of the *Latines*, and from thence to *Rome* by *Romulus*. For which reason, some Authors do cal *Vesta Iliaca*: but yet *Numa Pompilius* builded the Temple, in her honor, as I haue already saide. It was appointed, that these Virgines must be the Daughters of Free-men, not Slaues, Seruants, or of vile condition, perfect in all members of their bodies, and without any defect, light braind, or giddy headed. They were receiued into this Religion, from the age of sixe yeares, to ten, and aboue (as *Labeo Antisthius* and *Aulus Gellius* writeth) and after that they were become *Vestalles*; they must continue thirty yeares in virginity. In the ten latter yeares, they instructed young Sister-Nouices in the Sacrifices and Ceremonies. Neuertheless, after they had remained thirty years in the Temple: it was lawfull for them to depart thence, and marrie. But because it was perceiued, that much misfortune ensued to such as married: the most part of them remained in the Religion, to the ending of their daies. They were maintained by the publique Treasurie, and were chosen by the chiefe Byshop, onelie for their modesty, vertue, and exemption from any imperfection of body: by which chiefe Bishoppe they were admitted into the Religion, although it were without consent of their Fathers, if they themselues onelie consented: except they were the daughters of a high Byshop, of an *Augure*, of a *Flamine*, *Dialis*, or *Quindecimuir*; or a sounder on the Flutes to the Sacrifices; or one of the seauen *Epulones*, who were exempted, if they made refusall. As also no Maid could be compelled, whose Father had not three children, or more, or

The opinion of some Authors concerning *Troy*.

Labeo Antisthius. Aulus Gellius. lib. 1 cap. 1

When the *Vestals* might marry.

Aulus Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 12

or she whose Sister had formerlie been a *Vestall*. These *Vestals* could not succeed or inherit any goods, of him that dyed intestate, or had not made his Testament. In like maner, if they themselues deceased intestate, no man might plead to be their heire, but their goods went to publike vse.

Amata the first Vestal virgin.

The first Virgine that was admitted into this Mystery, was named *Amata*; which gaue occasion, that all the rest succeeding after her in that profession, were so called. For *Aulus Gellius* saith, when the chiefe Byshoppe receiued the Vestall Virgine from her Fathers hand: he would call her *Amata*, because the first Vestall Nunne had that name. She that was chiefe and principall among them, was tearmed *Great Mistresse*, and these Virgines were in great honour and reputation among the *Romaines*.

Aulus Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 12

The wordes which the Bishop vsed, at the entertainement of any Vestall, are written in the first Booke of *Fabius Pictor*. To approoue this, *Albinus*, a *Plebeian* (as *Titus Liuius* recordeth) meeting some of these Virgines, which had walked foorth of *Rome* on foote: descended both himselfe, his Wife, and Children from his Coach, to mount the Vestall Virgines therein, because they kept the perpetuall Fire in the Temple, the *Palladium*, and other holie thinges. The *Palladium*, was the Image of *Minerua*, which *Æneas* saued at the sacke of *Troy*, carrying it to *Ilion*, the chiefest Fortresse in *Troy*: from whence hee brought it, with the great Goddes *Penates*, into *Italie*, and after the destruction of *Alba* the long, King *Hostillius* placed it in the Temple of *Vesta*.

Titus Liuius, in lib. 10.

Of the *Palladium* Read *Dionisius, Halicarnassius, Plutarch*, and *Ouid.*

When any of these Vestalles behaued themselues vnchastlie, or were taken in incestuous Whoredome, as were *Porphiria*, *Minutia*, *Sextilia*, *Æmilia*, with their other Companions, and many more: they were put to death in this manner. First she was degraded, by taking off her Robes, and veile on hir head, and then laid on a Beere, whereto she was fast bound, with her face couered, and so carried (with wonderfull silence) through the midst of the Cittie, (which all the whole day was full of mourning) to the Port or Gate, called

The order obserued by the *Romaines*, in punishing the Vestalles, when they committed whoredome.

* *Salaria*, neere to which Gate was a place, called, *The wicked Fielde*, where (expressly) a Sepulcher was made, vaulted in manner of a Caue vnder ground, hauing a little doore, and two little Windowes belonging to it: in the one of them stood a burning Lampe, and in the other, Water, Milke, and Hony. Being come to this place, the chiefe Bishop said some Prayers, with his hands heaued vp to Heauen, and afterward, they went in with the Beere at the little doore; while the people (then present) turned their faces a contrary way, not willing to behold so wofull a spectacle, whereof euery one had much compassion. So leauing the offender there entombed aliue, they returned with the empty Beere, and a great stone beeing rouled against the Graue doore, the people couered it ouer with earth, spending the rest of the day in griefe and mourning.

* From the *Sabines* to *Rome*.

Seruius sup. lib. 2. de Aeneis.

Vestal virgins buried aliue for whoredome.

The Temple of *Vesta* (by chance) afterward fell on fire, and *L. Cecilius Metellus* being chiefe Bishoppe, twice Consull, Dictatour, and Maister of the Horse, entred into it, and brought forth the *Palladium*, after it was halfe burned, with the losse of his owne eyes. *Numa Pompilius* created also three Priests, called *Flamines*: one in the honour of *Iupiter*; the second, of *Mars*; & the third, of *Romulus Quirinus*, wearing verie signal Robes, made much like to the Coapes, which Priests vse to wear in Churches; and round white Cappes vpon their heads, wherein stucke a branch of Olife, with a flock of wooll on the top thereof, and the Cappe must necessarilie be made of the Wooll of a Sheep, which was offered vnto *Iupiter*; and called *Alba-Galera*. Hee instituted also twelue other *Sacerdotes* or Priestes, called *Salij*, in honour of *Mars* the Conquerour, Propugnatour, Reuenger, and pacifier of all strifes. They were clothed with certaine sleeueleſſe Iackets, or painted Robes, and wore on their Breasts, Targets of Copper, enriched with Gold, Siluer, and precious stones. Religion so encreased among the *Romaines* afterward, and adoration of their Gods, that they exceeded thirty thousand in the number of them.

Fenestel. cap. 3.

The *Flamines*.

Priests called *Salij*. Priests of *Mars*.

Pompilius did further augment the num-

Pater-Patratus Fecialis. Epulones. Augures.

ber of Priests; to wit, the *Pater-Patratus*; the *Fecialis*; the *Epulones*, or Banqueters, and the *Augures*; who had such authoritie, as the Senate could not bee assembled without their permission. And they were clothed with diuers vestiments, except when they performed the sacrifices: for then they all wore a like habite, which was a * Gowne or Albe of Linnen, large and long, which they girded to them with a Girdle, and this manner of Garment was called *Cinctus Gabinus*.

* The *Latines* named it *Alba Vestis*.

Moreouer, they had many Instruments and Vessels made for vse in the Sacrifices, to wit; The *Præfericulum*, which was a Vessell of Brasse or Copper, without any handle, and broad as a Bason. The *Patina*, or *Patera*, was another Vessell, wherin the victimary emptied the blood of the Beast. The *Achama* was another little Vessell, in fashion of a Cup, and therein they tasted the wine of the Sacrifices. The *Infula*, was a veile of Linnen, which the Priestes and Sacrificers did weare on their heads. The *Acerrea*, or *Acerra*, was a little Chest or Coffer, wherein the Incense was kept. That which had the name of *Enclabris*, was the Table where the sacred things remained: whereby the Vessels seruing for Sacrifice, were called *Enclabria*. Thereon they laide the Sacrifice wide open, curiously to peruse his inward parts (to wit; the Hart, Lungs, and Liuer) with a Knife of Steele somewhat long, hauing a round Haft, made of Iuory, and obseruing the inward partes very diligently, to deriue from thence some diuination, as the *Grecians* also obserued, according to the affirmation of *Pausanias*. The *Secespita*, was the fornamed knife, with a roūd haft of Iuory, and a Pommell garnished with Gold and Siluer, and nayled with Nailes of Copper, and there-with the Sacrificer did cut the beasts throat, the Knife beeing so named, *à secando*. *Struppi*, were certaine bundles of Hearbes, tearmed *Verbenes*; as Laurell, Myrrhe, & Oliffe, accounted (by them) happy in all Sacrifices: which Hearbes they would wreath in Garlands; placing them on their Gods heads, and putting them in their eares. *Aspergillum*, was a braunch of Hisop, which they dipped in water, that stood in a vessell of Marble, named *Labrum*, placed at the entrance of their Temples; as the holy Water-pots now adaies vsed, & where-with they sprinkled all the people present. *Suffibulum*, or *Subfibulum*, was a white Veile, foure square and long, which the *Vestall* Vergines did weare on their heads, when they sacrificed. The ancient *Romaines* had many other Ceremonies, which I omit for breuities sake.

Read Festus Pompeius. Præfericulum.

Patina, or Patera. Achama.

Infula.

Acerrea.

Enclabris.

Enclabria.

Pausanias. Secespita.

Struppi. Verbenes.

Aspergillum.

Labrum.

Suffibulum, or Subfibulum.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Auncient manner of Marriages, as well among the Romains, as diuers other Nations. What course the Romaines obserued in the repudiation of their wiues; And who was the first that diuorced his Wife.

THe very same honest excuse, which we pleaded in the beginning of our precedent chapter, must serue as our best buckler for this ensuing; because many points heerein, haue been before declared, as they were set down by *Loys Guyon*, Lord of *Nauche*. And surely, I cannot hold it any offence to the Reader, to put him twice or thrice in minde of one and the same Argument; when worthy Authours doe enlarge the same, for his more ample satisfaction. List then what *Pedro Mexia* writes of ancient Marriages, and accept my pains, that (willingly) would not displease any man.

The cause why this chapter is inserted.

The ancient *Romaines* obserued a custome, to decke the Woman when she married her Husband, in this manner. First, they gaue her a Key in her hand, when she entred the House of her spouse: to signifie (saith *Sextus Pompeius*) the facility of child-bearing. Or, which beareth a better vnderstanding, to let her know heereby; that the keeping and care of all Houshold matters, contained vnder that Key (as the house, administration and dispensation of all things therto belonging) were familiarly to her trust referred. Ouer the mans head, they held a Launce, quite pierced through the body with a Fencers Sword:

At a Maides marrying her Husband.

Sextus Pompeius.

Sword: as signifying thereby, a readie punishment for violation of Marriage. *Blondus* saith, that she was girded with a Girdle, wouen of Lambes Wooll, which her Husband taketh from her on the Marriage Bed. Vpon the Veile on her head (which they called *Flammeum*, and she did weare in signe of good lucke, and that she should neuer be diuorced) was placed a garland of *Verueine* and other Hearbes intermingled, and this they crowned her withall, sitting on a Lamb or Sheeps skin: for no other cause (as I conceiue) but to set before her eyes, that she should alwayes haue Wooll neere her, to spinne her owne Garments. *Festus Pompeius* writeth, that when the Bride should goe to bee married, three Children (whose Fathers and Mothers were liuing) did beare her company. One carried a lighted Torch before her, made of the Hearb called *Alba-Spina*, vulgarlie tearmed our Ladies Thistle (for they were married in the night time, as *Plutarch* saith in his Problemes:) and the other two Children went with her, one on the one side, and the other on the other. The Torch was carried lighted before her, in honor of *Ceres*, for as *Ceres* (who is held to be Mother of the Earth, and the Creator of all Fruites) nourisheth all mankind: euen so in like manner, the new marryed Bride, becomming Mother of the Familie; must haue care for nourishing of her Children. The like manner is yet obserued in many places, especially in England, that two Children (like *Paranymphes*) doe conduct the Bride to Church, and receiue (with her) holy Prayers and blessings among the Congregation. From thence, two Men do conduct her home againe, and the third youth (in stead of a flaming Torch) caryeth a Bride Cuppe of Gold or Siluer.

Moreouer, in the time of Marriage, the Romaines vsed oftentimes to name *Thalassius*, as the defender of Virginity. Some hold it to be the Nuptiall Verse or Song, or else the God that gouerneth in marriage, called by the *Greekes* Ὑμέναιον. But many speake diuersly, of the reason why they make such acclamations in their Nuptials. *Titus Liuius* and *Plutarch*, in the life of *Romulus*, saith, that among them which made stealth of the Virgins from the *Sabines*; some were found of slender quality, and yet they would be sure to seaze on such as surpasse the rest in wonder of beauty. And meeting some principall men of the Cittie by chance, they would haue taken the Virgines from them forcibly; and they had preuailed therein, had they not cryed out aloude (as they led them) to *Thalasia*, or *Thalassius*, who was a young man, much beloued and esteemed by euerie one. And when the other men heard, that it was for him whom they cryed; they were verie glad and ioyfull, commending them for expressing such affection towardes him: so that as they accompanied them on the way, they would often-times turne backe, onely for the loue of *Thalassius*, with loud repetitiõs of his name. And thereon grew the Custome, that the *Romaines* sung at Weddings, the name of *Thalassius*, euen as the *Greekes* sung *Hymeneus*, as accounting it a happinesse to meet with a Wife.

Notwithstanding, there are others, of whom *Varro* is one, who alleageth, that this name was induced at Marriages to no other end: but to aduertise the new married couple, how they should thinke on labour and trauaile, especially the Woman to spinne. For they tearmed the little Pannier or Basket of Osiers, which held their Wool, *Talassio*, and the *Latines* called it by another name, as *Calathus* and *Quasillus*. *Plutarch*, in his Problemes, maketh this Vocable to descend from the *Greekes*, who tearme Wooll Ταλάσιον. Moreouer, the new espoused Woman hath three peeces of Money; which they call * *Asses*, one whereof, she holdeth in her hand, and as if shee bought a man; shee giueth it to her Husband. Wherein may be noted the miserable condition of the Feminine Sexe, tyed to this hard Law, to bring great Riches with her, in getting a Husband. Wee giue good Wages to Varlets and Seruants, beside our large expences on their bellies: And Women, how faire soeuer they be, must bring to their husbands (whom wee may tearme their Masters) a great Dowrie, which sometime exceedeth an hundred fold more, then the expences for their dyet and

Blond. in lib. 8. de Triumph. Rom.

Verueine tearmed holie Hearbe, or *Iunoes* teares.

Alba-Spina, Our Ladies Thistle. *Plut. in Proble. Plin. in lib. 10. Cap. 18.* Where he speaketh of those torches

Thalassius the nuptiall song.

Fol. 84 A. Verd *Tit. Liuius in 1 lib. ab. vrb. cont. Plutar. in vit. Romul.*

Thalassius esteemed among the *Romaines*, as *Hymeneus* with the *Grecians*.

Marcus Varro.

Plutar. in Prob.

Fol. 86. A Verd

Budeus saith, that *As* was a piece of Money of Copper, cõtaining the weight of a pound, & the value of oure deniers or pence among vs, or little more. It was taken also for another thing. See his learned Booke *de Asses*.

maintenance, can amount vnto al their life time. Vpon which occasion, *Euripides* speaketh in his *Medea*, to this effect. *Of all things produced by the Earth, that hath a vegetant and sensible Soule; there is nothing which surmounteth a woman in misery. She must haue great goods, wherewith to buy her a Husband, that must be the Master of her body.*

Euripides in Medea.

Poore vertue is poorely prized in these daies.

If the Maiden be poore, though of neuer so good and vertuous behauiour; small account is made of her, except to purchase her honour at a cheap rate: for shee may tarry a long time before she be maryed, vnlesse it be with one as poore as her selfe. Because Auarice reigneth so commaundingly; that rich Men couet to haue Wiues richer then themselues. Which Saint *Iohn Chrysostome* seemeth to touch, saying. *He that purposeth to marrie a Wife, doth hee enquire of her good manners, or education of the Maide he seeketh after? Truelie no, but rather soundly to informe himselfe, what plentie of Gold and Siluer shee hath, and the bottome of her Inheritances, and valuation of her mooueables. He questioneth very curiously after these thinges, euen as if hee would make a bargaine or exchange.*

S. Ioan. Chrisost. in Homil. 74. sup. Math.

Of the other two peeces of Money.

The new married Wife carryeth another peece of the fore-named Mony in hir stocking (*Festus Pompeius* saith, in her shoe) and then layes it on the Chimny-harth, where the *Lares* and familiar Gods doe resort. The third, she putteth in a Purse hanging by her side, opening and shutting it at euery streets corner. This was obserued as an ancient Law among the *Romaines*, and *Boetius Seuerinus*, in his Commentarie on the *Topickes* of *Cicero*, declareth another sollemnity of ciuill Law, vsed by them also, and whereby both the Man and Woman did interchangeably buy and purchase the others affection, which was tearmed *Coemptio*, and performed in this manner. The Man and Woman did interogate together, hee demanding of her; *If she would bee Mother of his Family?* Whereto shee answered, *Yea*, and then further demanded of him: *Will you be Father of the Family?* He replied; *He would*. This done, they ioyned their right handes together, and kissed each the other. * And then the new troth-plighted Husband, gaue a Ring of Gold to his new elected wife, in signe of earnest, and as a testimony of mutuall dilection, or else, that by this gadge, their harts might be conioyned. This Ring, *Tertullian* in his Book of womens ornaments, tearmeth *Pronubus*: And it was put by her Husband on her fourth finger, meaning the next to her little finger, on her left hand. Because, saith *Isidore*, in regard of the Diuine Offices therein contained, there is in that finger a veine or nerue of blood, extraordinarily tender, which goeth and extendeth directly to the hart. The selfe-same reason is giuen by *Aulus Gellius*, following the opinion of *Appian*, and *Atteius Capito*: wherefore both the ancient *Greeks* and *Romaines*, in wearing the Ring on that finger of the left hand, did account it to be Phisicall. *Pliny* also testifieth, that (in his time) they had a custome, to send a Ring of Iron to the intended Bride, without any stone therein enchased. The *Asirians* took their daughters (which were marriageable) with thē to the Markets, where men bought them, to enioy them in marriage. The *Babylonians* did the like. And the people of *Thrace* (as *Herodotus* writeth in his *Terpsichore*) did by their wiues (as a great price) of their Parents.

Boetius Seuerinus in Comment sup. Topic. Cicer.

The *Greekes* in elder times, did buy their wiues together; and the same did the *Indians*. *Iphidamas*, the Son of *Antenor* (according as *Homer* writeth in the second Book of his *Iliads*) gaue an hundred Oxen to his Father in Law, vpon condition, that he would giue him his Daughter in marriage. The ancient *Allemaignes*, saith *Petrus Crinitus*, brought dowries with them to their wiues; but their wiues not any to them. We haue Women now adaies, that cause themselues to be well bought, for before their affianced friend can enioy her to his mind, or the first nights nuptials be nere hand; there is more spent in iewels, toyes, habits, and feastes, then halfe a good dowry amounteth vnto. So that, if restitution should take place, by death of the husband; the sum of the dowrie would be augmented aboue the moity, yea, to a third part (as we tearme it) in right of the wiues suruiuing; for so it hath been couenanted in marriage contracts: Thus we see a woman to be wel bought. The people of * *Taxila* in *India*, could

Strabo in li. 15. Arist. in Polit. Lib. 2. cap. 6.

Homer. in Lib. 2. de Iliad.

Pet. Crinit. in Lib. 12. cap. 8.

* Read *Tertullian*, in his Booke of veiling virgines. And in his Apologies, Chap. 6.

Pronubus annulus.

Isidor in lib. 2. Cap. 15.

Aulus Gellius. Appian. Atteius Capito.

Plin. in lib. 3. Cap. 2.

Aelianus in li. 4 Stobeus Ser. 42 Herodot. in Terpsico.

* A great City in *India*, betweene the Riuer *Indus* and *Hydaspes*.

could neuer enioy any such happinesse as these men, to receiue Money with such Wiues as they tooke in marriage: but contrariwise, they were glad, and feigne to furnish them. If pouerty be the hindrance of any maid, and no man will accept or giue her entertainement: then, in the floure of her youth, shee is brought into an open Market (as Horses to a common Faire) with sound of Trumpets and Clarions, and the people beeing assembled about the Maide, her backe partes are discouered vp so high as her Shoulders, and afterward, the like is done before. And if shee be found to be comely, well featured in all her members, and fit to content a Man; immediatlie shee shall haue a Husband. The like we haue formerly declared in the Custome of *Carthage*.

Strabo in li. 15 de Geograph.

Plato in lib. 6. de Legib.

Plato, in the sixt Booke of his lawes, would haue none to bee deceiued in marriage: but that all ignorance being auoided, each Man might know, on whom he bestoweth his Daughter, and of what honest race eyther side is descended. For which cause, hee thought it conuenient, that sports and assemblies of young Boyes and Girles should bee permitted, hauing their bodies naked so farre, as modest shame might suffer: to the end, that by conuenable reason of that age, they should see each other, and bee seene in imperfection, or comlinesse of stature. For my part, I doe not allow of this opinion, neyther would I councell young Maides or Weomen, to suffer themselues be nakedly seene of Men. For, as K. *Gyges*, the Son of *Dastylus*, speaketh in *Herodot.* ἅμα δὲ χιτῶνι ἐκὼν ὁμοίως συνέκδυνε τῆς καὶ τῆς αἰδὼ γυνή, That is to say; *The Woman that puts off her Smock, doth in like manner put off all shame and modesty.* Which saying S. *Hierome* approueth, against *Iouinian*, and likewise *Clemeus Alexandrinus*, in the second Book of *Pedagogie*; and Saint *Cyprian* consenteth with them, in his Booke of Virgines Habites, saying. *The honour and shame of the bodie, are both together in the Garments couerture.* And in another place of the same Booke, he findes himselfe much offended with women, that putting off their Garments, would goe naked into the Bathes and

For auoiding ot all ignorance on eyther side in marriage.

Herodot. in lib. Fol. 38. A. Verd

S Hierom. in li. 1. cont Iouinian

Clem. Alexand. in Pedag. Lib. 2 Cap. 9.

S. Ciprian in lib de Hab Virg.

Soues. *Blondus* writeth in his first chapter; *That the feare of shame, may wel proue sufficient to cut off a Contract, although there be no feare of death, or torment: As if a man should despoile a woman, threatning to cast her forth starke naked.*

Baldus sup. Leg. interpositas C. de transact.

But let vs leaue this, and pursue our purpose, concerning Customes in marriages of diuers Nations: and then returne againe to our *Romaine* Spouse, whom we haue left (I feare) too long. The *Namasones*, a people of *Lybia*, had a strange Custome, to cause the Bride (the first night of her Nuptials) to lye with all the Guestes, and thence forward, to keepe perpetuall chastity. The *Anthropophages*, *Medes*, and some of the *Æthiopians*, resort to their Mothers and Sisters when they are marryed. The *Arabes* make a Wife common to all the Kinred. The *Numidians*, *Moores*, *Ægyptians*, *Hebrues*, *Persians*, *Garamants*, *Parthyans*, and almost all the *Barbarians*, haue each Man as many Wiues, as hee is able to maintaine; some ten, and others more. The *Athenians* made their Wiues and Children common, and (like brute beasts) wallowed in all kinds of luxuries.

Hero. in Lib. 4.

Strabo in Lib. 16. de Geograph

Herod. in lib. 6.

In *Scotland* it was sometime obserued as a Custome, that the Lord of the Soyle should haue the Brides Maiden head, before her Husband: which vnworthy dealing in any Christian Man, was abolished by *Malcolme* the third, King of *Scotland*, a very famous Prince, and deceased in the yeare 1090. And he ordained, that the new marryed couple, for redemption of their pudicitie, should pay to the Lords of the places, a peny of Gold, which (I heare) is yet to this day obserued. I should forbeare to say, it is no long time since, that diuers Lords; yea, some of Ecclesiasticall order, held aright by auncient Custome, to lay one Legge naked in the Bed, on the first night of the Brides marriage; but some say, that the Leg was armed. And there was one man, who would needes exceede the limits of his duty, & abuse his priuiledge through his vnbrideled lubricity, so that (with the price of his life) the custome was lost: But returne wee now to our first intention.

Strabo in lib. 15 de Geograph A custome obserued in *Scotland.*

A Custome among some Ecclesiasticall persons.

Before the new married Bride entred into her Husbands house, shee annoin-

ted the doore thereof with a kinde of Lard: *Pliny* saith, the Greaſe of a wolfe; but *Seruius* saith, it was a certaine Oyle, to ſignifie thereby, that ſhe chaſed away all annoyances. *Donatus* saith, that the name of *Vxor*, came firſt *Ab vngendis poſtibus*. And *Polydore Virgill* saith: *Vnde ab vngendo Vxor dicta, quaſi Vnxor.* Afterward, the new Bride was preſented at the doore, with Water and Fire, and ſhe muſt touch both of them; according as the Lawyer *Scenola* maketh mention.

Plin in lib. 28. cap. 6. Seruius in lib. 4 de Aenead. Donatus ſup. Scen 2. Com. Terent. vocat. Hecyra Polyd. Virgil. Iſidor Etymolog Lib 9 cap. vlt. Sceno lib penult. F. de donat. int. vir.

Sextus Pompeius giueth a reaſon, wherefore this Ceremonie was thus performed. *The new married Wife*, (ſaith he) *was waſhed with Water, to ſhew, that ſhe came pure and chaſt to her Husband. Or elſe, that ſhe participated with him in Fire and Water, two principall Elements, without which, the Creation of Man could not conſiſt.* I ſhould inferre heereby, that the reaſon of this fire and water ſo preſented to the Bride, implied thus much: Fire was to mooue the carnall appetite of her Husband, and water to quench it. I will ſet downe the words of *Varro*, in his fourth Booke of the Latine tongue, where he giueth another very good reaſon, as followeth. *Igitur cauſa naſcendi, duplex, æqua & ignis: Ideo ea in nuptijs in limine adhibebantur, quod coniungit. Hinc & mos ignis, quod ibi ſemen: aqua fœmina, quod fœtus ab eius humore & eorum coniunctione ſumit Venus.* Aſſuredly, when moyſture and heat are tempered together, all thinges doe receiue original by the. For although fire be repugnant to water; yet the humide and moyſt vapour createth all things, and their diſcordant agreement is proper to all generation: for one of them is as the Maſculine Element, and the other Feminine; the one the actiue, the other the paſſiue. Hereupon, in Antiquity, when nuptiall alliances were inſtituted; they were approued by oaths ſollemnely made on fire and water, becauſe all creatures do receiue body and ſoule, by heat and moiſture in their generation, and liue by them. For euerie beaſt is formed of a ſoule and body: the matter of the body conſiſting in moyſture, and that of the ſoule in heat. As appeareth by the Egges of Fowles, which by reaſon of groſſe humours, (whereof they are full) cannot be reduced into a body; and the body can haue no ſoule, if heat do not work his operation.

Sext. Pompeius

Marc. Varro in lib. de lingu. Lat.

Of the Elements Fire and Water.

Oaths made vpon fire and water.

Moreouer, the Bride did not enter on her feete into her Husbands houſe; but was carried in: as declaring, that ſhee went not willinglie, but by conſtraint, to the place where ſhe was to looſe her virginity. The *Romaines* alſo would not marry in the Month of May, reputing it to bee vnfortunate for marriage, whereon there aroſe an auncient Prouerb; *Menſe Maio nubunt malæ: Bad people marry in the Month of May.* Whereon *Ouid*, in the fift of his *Faſtus*, ſaith; *Menſe malas Maio nubere vulgus ait.* There are ſome, that now in theſe daies do ſuperſtitiouſly make ſcruple, to marry in that Month, and only (as they ſay) to be free from iealouſie, whereon I ſee no reaſon grounded. But happily it may be, that they haue heard by their predeceſſours, that the moſt part of Men and Women then obſerued (by ſuch as were married in the moneth of May) to agree badly together, and came (in the end) to diuorce or repudiation, which was in vſe among the *Romaines*.

The Bride carried into her husbands houſe.

Eraſm. Chilia. 1. Centur. 4.

The moneth of May vnfortunate for Marriage.

The *Romaines* had three ſeuerall kinds of ſeparation in mariage. The firſt they called Repudiation; which was done by the Man, againſt the will of the Woman. And the firſt Man that thus repudiated his wife, was *Spurius Caruilius*, in the yeare after the building of *Rome*, fiue hundred twenty three, becauſe ſhe was barren, and bare him no Children. *Caius Sulpitius* repudiated his wife, becauſe ſhe went out of his houſe, with her haire about her eares, and no veile on her head. *Quintus Antiſthius* did the like to his wife; becauſe ſhe had beene ſeene to conferre ſecretly, with a woman a Libertine. *P. Sempronius* took offence; becauſe his Wife was ſeene at publique ſpectacles, without his knowledge. And *C. Caſar* repudiated *Pompeia*, onely thorow ſume ſuſpition he had of *Clodius*, who was found in the habite of a woman among Ladies, at the Celebration of the ſollemnitie for *Bona Dea*.

Three kindes of ſeparation among the *Romaines*. *Dionyſ. Halicar in lib. 2. Plutar. in vit. de Numa, cit. in An.* 230. The firſt that repudiated their Wiues.

The ſecond manner, was called Diuorce, and this was done with the conſent of them both and to either of the it was permitted to require it. But among the *Hebrues*, it was not lawful for a man

The ſecond kind of ſeparation, called Diuorce.

Deut. 24, 1.

man to leaue his wife. *Moyses*, who was the first Author of Diuorce, appointed it so, for the reason deliuered by S. *Hierom. Moyses* (saith he) *seeing many of the Iewes mooued to Auarice: some for Domesticke disquietnesse, and others for Whoredom tormented their wiues, yea, oftentimes did put them to death, with intent to take other newe wiues; either richer, fairer, or younger then they. To remedy which euill, power was giuen them, to be diuorced from their first Wiues; with condition, that the Husband shoulde giue his wife a Bill of Diuorce, to stand for hir warrant and security. To which Bill* (saith Iosephus) *the husband was then to write these wordes following:* I PROMISE NEVER TO TAKE THEE MORE. And this was thus doone, becausethe Woman might marrie with another and hee haue like power to seeke another Wife, for otherwise Diuorce might not bee graunted.

S Hierom vpon the matter of Diuorce.

Iosephus in lib de Antiq. 4 chap. 8

Thus you see, that by the permission of *Moyses*, and not his expresse commandement, Diuorce began at first amongst the Iewes. Iesus Christ giueth Testimony both of the one and other, in the nineteenth Chapter of Saint *Matthewe*, speaking thus to the Pharises: *What God hath conioyned, let no man seperat*; adding a little after, *Moyses, because of the hardnes of your heart, suffered to put away your wiues, but from the beginning it was not so.* He saith, for their hardnesse of heart, because they were cruell to their wiues, whom not to loue, was most hard & inhumaine. Neuertheless, Iesus Christ did not reiect Diuorce, so it were doone only for the cause of Whoredome and Adultery.

Math. 19, 6, 8.

The third manner, was tearmed Direption; for which, there was allowed seperation in Marriage; and this was done according to the Princes will: whereof I purpose to speake more amply elswhere, for I doubt I haue stoode to long on this matter of marriages.

The thirde kinde, called Direption.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How manie Armies the Romain Emperours kept, and in what places.

IT cannot varrie much from our purpose, to speake in this Chapter, of the *Romain* Armies, and the places of their abiding: as also of their name and number: to the end, that al the World may know the powerful strength of the Romaine Empire, while shee feasted in hir Royall Triumphs, which was from the time of *Augustus*, till *Constantine* transported the empire into the East. Whosoeuer shall duely consider Romes strength, and how many Prouinces were subiected to her, will account it no wonder, that the Romains had two and twentie compleate Armies, and great store of people belonging to each one of them. *For it requireth* (saith *Vlpian*) *a great number of armed men, if we intend to giue it the name of an Armie, because one or two Companies, make not an Army, but a great many conioyned together.*

The time of Romes Triumphs.

The name of *Exercitus*, cam of exercising a mans selfe. *Quia exercēdo fit melior* (saith *Varro* and *Vegetius lib 2 ca. 23*) *Ab exercitio Exercitus nomen accepit.*

The first that was saide to be a double Armie, remained in the lower *Mysia*. That which was tearmed the *Augustane* Armie, abode in *Scotia*: The *Galatian*, in *Phoenitia*, now called *Caramania*. The *Cyrenaicone*, in *Arabia*; and another *Augustane* Armie in *Numidia*. The *Flauian* and *Scithian* in *Soria*, otherwise cald *Numantia*, in *Spaine*. The *Macedonian* in *Valachia*. The conquering and victorious armie, in *England*. The *Claudians*, in *Seruia* and *Bosfina*. The Iron or rough Armie, being called the tenth, in *Iudea*. Another tenth, in *Allemaigne* or *Cermanie*. Another *Claudian*, in *Transyluania*. Another double Armie in *Dacia*: and the Twines in *Pannonia*. The dreadfull and Thundering Armie, in Egypt. The *Apollonian* in *Cappadecia*. The *Valerian* and second vanquishing Armie, in *Bretaine*. There was also another armie alwayes at Rome, for guard of the Emperour. And these were the two and twentie Armies, which the Romaines kept continually, for the Defence of their Prouinces: to the end, that they

The places of the Romains seuerall Armies.

they might be ready at all seasons for the appeasing of tumults & seditions whensoeuer they happened.

The number of men, Elephants, and Chariots, in the Romaine Armies

The Romaines had also in the forenamed Armies (acording as *Appian* writeth) two hundered thousand foot-men, and fortie thousand Horse-men, three hundred Elephants made apt for warre, and two thousand ready-furnished Chariots, beside three hundred thousand Armors for store prouision. And their armie by Sea, consisted of two thousande Shippes, and fifteene hundered Gallies, from two to fiue Oares on a side. And beside these, they had eight hūdred great ships, called *Thalomegos*, only for pomp, and to carrie the Emperors Golden and rich furnitures, in their prowes & pompes. They had likely sundrie military ensignes; as the Wolfe, the Minotaur, the little Horse, the wilde Boare, with many other beside: But the Eagle was the proper and principall Ensigne of the Romaines.

Their Armie by Sea.

Their Ensignes or Standards.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Whether the Romaines did generally speake Latine, or no; Or whither they hadde two seueral Languages.

TO the end, that we may not stand in doubt of the thing, which (in my iudgement) is plaine and euident enough, we will deliuer the testimonie of *Cicero*, who in the thirde Booke of his Orator, saith; *The Romaines had a certaine, proper, & singuler Language in their Citty.* Which he prooueth by the example of *Lelia* his Mother in law, who spake in such maner, as they that heard hir, immagined that they vnderstoode *Plautus*, or *Neuius* speaking, her phrase seemed so like vnto theirs. But, becausе no man should thinke, that *Lelia* had learned another Language, to wit, *Latine*; and yet knew a contrary, to wit, her Mother tongue, which she had (from her Cradle) naturally learned in the house, he saith a little after; *There was no man maruelled, that an Oratour spake Latine. For, if he did otherwise, they wold haue mockt him.* And in the first Booke of his *Tusculanes*. *The frequent assembly* (saith he) *in the Theater where were Women and Children, were moued, hearing so rich a phrase.* Whereby it appeareth, that one only Language, & namely Latine, had beene, and was then common to all the Romaines, considering that Children and Women knewe the Latine tongue.

Cic. in lib. 3. de Orat.

Lelia Ciceroes Mother in Law.

Cicero vbi sup.

Cicero in lib. 1 ad Tuscul.

Neuertheless, he was expert in learning, that knew how to chuse his words, and waigh them by direct Iudgement of hearing, which no man could do, without Learning. For, all the Romaines speake Latine, but all knew it not by letters and Learning, as is manifest by Testimony of the saide *Cicero*, introducing *Titus Pomponius*, who (in his *Brutus*) hee maketh to speake thus: *Thou seest the Latine tongue corrected, whereof such as haue beene commended, neuer had knowledge, by reason or science, but as it were by Custome.* And a little after he addeth, *I being a young Childe, haue seen* Titus Flaminius, *who was Consul with* Q. Metellus *to bee thought to speake Latine well: and yet notwithstanding he knew not the letters.* Any man then may be freed from doubt heerein, considering that the Prince of Eloquence speaketh it.

Concerning Iudgement & Learning.

Cicero in Tit. Pomp ad Brut.

And there was no other diffrence, but that which is likewise amongest vs at this day, to wit; that the Inhabitants of *Rome* spake more eloquently, then those that dwelt abroad. And in regard, that the Language is nowe otherwise in Rome, then in times past (speaking *Italian*, insted of Latine, and yet not so good vulgar as at *Florence*) it was occasioned by barbarous people and Nations, as the *Gothes* and *Vandales*, and others; who gayning heeretofore ouermuch dominion in *Italy*, did likewise corrupt the language whiche then was in vse. So that by little and little, and by course of time, Antiquitie (by the frequentation of straungers, and corruption of manners) hath bin quite peruerted and changed, and noueltie induced. But most true it is, that it is easy to discerne their Originall of the Latine. The like peruertion and alteration, few Nations in the World, but haue as well felt, retaining very little, or none at all, of their prime Tongue and Language, which

The reason for the difference and alteration of the language.

Other countries Languages altered.

which they then enioyed: and therefore, Romes change deserueth the lesse meruaile.

CHAP. XXXIX.

How necessarie Water is for the life of man: Of the excellency of this Element: and the meanes how to know good & wholsome Waters.

Water, the chiefe thing for support of life.

IT plainly appeareth that there is not anie thing more necessary for the life of mã, then Water. For sometimes, when bread wanteth, a man may nourish himselfe with flesh, and other Viands. If fire faile him; hee findeth so many other thinges to feede on raw, as he may wel liue diuers years without fire. But let there be no water to be had, and then neither man, or anie creature elfe, is able to liue. There is no herb, or any kinde of plant, which can produce seed or fruite, without water: for al thinges haue neede of it, and must receyue moisture. This is so true, that *Thales Milesius*, and likewise *Hesiodus* conceyued; that water was the beginning of all thinges, and the most ancient of all the Elements, as also the most potent. For, as *Pliny* and *Isidore* (in like manner) do say; VVater both moisteneth and ruinateth great Mountaines, gouerneth the earth, quencheth fire, and conuerting it self into vapors, passeth thorough the ayres regions, whence afterwards it descendeth, to engender and product all things in the earth.

Plin. in lib: 2. cap. 4. Isidor. de Etym. lib. 3.

Likewise, God made such especiall esteeme of VVater, that hauing resolued to regenerate man by Baptisme, hee ordained it to be done by the means of this Element. And when he diuided the waters in the beginning of the worlde, hee held it in such acount, that the text saith; *He placed the Waters aboue the Firmament of Heauen, without comprehending them that circuited the Earth.* The verie greatest torment which the Romans inflicted on condemned persons, was interdiction from water and fire, preferring VVater before Fire, as worthy of the highest degree and eminencie.

The Romans denied water to condemnd people.

Seeing then, that water is so needful for the life of man, we ought (with heedfull care) to seeke out the best: to which purpose, I will set downe some especiall properties thereof, alledged as wel by *Vitruuius*; as *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, and *Dioscorides*, with diuers other, that write of the election of waters.

Vitruuius in li. de Architect. Arist in Proble.

The first instruction is, that if a man trauaile into straunge Countreyes, and would knowe, if the VVaters there bee good and wholesome for him, and to carie with him elsewhere, according to his necessitie, let him obserue and note the rounde Neighbouring places, vnto the Welles, Springs, or Riuers; as also what the life and disposition is, of the people there inhabiting. VVhither they be helthfull, strong, and well coloured in their faces, without any defects in their eies and legges; for such men do testifie the goodnesse of the water, and also the contrary if it be bad. But if the water bee newlie or lately found, whereby this experiment must needes faile, then there are other proofes to be made.

Seueral experiments to be made of Water.

Let him take a Brazen Bason, verie cleanly scoured, and sprinkle some drops of the water (whereof he would make triall) therein: if after the water droppes be dried, no blemish appeare in the Bason by those droppes, it is a manifest signe of the waters goodnesse and puritie. This is also another good proofe; to boil som of the water in the same Bason, and then suffer it quietly to stand and coole; then when it is emptied foorth, if there appear no slime or sand in the bottome, it may be called excellent good; and of both the waters, that which hath the least slime is the better. In those Vesselles or other things, where any Graine is sodden, to make Brothes or Pottages, as Oate-meale, Pease, or any other Pulse, the best VVater is that which seetheth them soonest.

Waters goodnes approued by boyling.

To deliuer a sound and certain iudgment in waters, there must be good consideration vsed, concerning the places whence they haue their sourse; whether the ground be sandie, neate, and cleare, or whither it be muddy, trobled, & soule: likewise, if Rushes, or other bad and pestifferous Herbes, doo grow thereabout.

For sound and infallible iudgment in Waters.

But

But the beſt and ſureſt way, and to auoid drinking of an vncertain water, or where any doubt is made, is to ſeeth it with a ſoft fire, and then let it coole.

Plin. in Lib. 4. Cap. 2. *Pliny* ſaith, that the Emperor *Nero* cauſed Water to be ſo boyled and then cooled it in Snow, glorifying himſelf for finding out ſuch an inuention. Now, the reaſon why boiled water is moſt holſom, is, becauſe the water which we drinke, is not ſimple in his own Nature, but is mingled with the Earth and Aire. And by the fire, the windy part is exhaled, and reſulteth into ſmoake. The earthy part alſo, by Nature of the fire (which is to refine and ſeperate diuerſity of natures) deſcendeth to the inferiour place, and there abideth; by meanes whereof, ſodden water is the leſſe enflating or ſwelling, becauſe the windy part (which it hadde in the beginning) is wholly euaporated. It is alſo more light and ſubtle, by being purified from his earthy part, and therefore, the more eaſie to bee kept and preſerued: ſo that it cooleth & moiſteneth competently, without any obſtructing or alteration. VVhereby is perfectly knowne, that the water of VVelles is not ſo good as other water, becauſe it pertaketh moſt of the earth, and is no way purified, by the ſuns warme viſitation, which makes it the apter for corruption. Notwithſtanding, the more water we draw forth of the Well, the leſſe hurtfull it is, becauſe the continuall motion hindereth the ordinary corruption, which commeth to encloſed waters, and that haue no courſe. And then Nature ſendeth new and freſh water in ſuch meaſure, as preſent draught is made of that ſo lately ſent. For this cauſe, the waters of ſtanding Lakes and Ponds, is the worſt of al other: for through want of courſe & current, it corrupteth it ſelf, engendering euill things, and oftentimes infecting the ayre, cauſing diuers diſeaſes thereabout.

It is further to be conſidered, that waters that haue their courſe towardes the South, are not ſo good as they that run towards the North; becauſe in the Southerne quarter, the Ayre is much mingled with Vapors and Humidities which hurt the waters, and greatly endamage them. But in the Northern parts, the aire is more ſubtle, and leſſe moiſt, whereby it ſwelles not the Waters, neither troubles them ſo much. In regard whereof, the water which is cleareſt, lighteſt, ſubtileſt, and moſt purified, is the beſt; becauſe (as we haue already ſaid) it is leſſe intermedled with other Elements; and beſide, being neere to the fire, it rather heateth it then the other.

It is alſo a ſinguler proofe of two waters, to obſerue which of them wil be the ſooneſt warmed by one & the ſame fire, & in like ſpace of time: for they are both arguments of the moſt ſubtle and penetrating ſubſtance. And becauſe the mixture of the earth among the water, dooth argue his waightines, it is good to make election of the lighteſt Water, which may bee experimented in this manner. Take two pieces of Linnen cloath, which are of equall poiſe, and ſteepe the one in the one water, and the other in the other, till they bee thorowly ſoaked; then take them forth, and hang them in the Ayre, where the Sun (by no means) may come to them; and when they are drie, weigh them againe, and the piece which waigheth heavieſt, wil declare which is the heavieſt water. Some vſe to waigh theſe waters, in veſſelles verie cleane and neat, & that are of an equall waight.

Ariſtotle and *Pliny* doo ſay, that the greateſt cauſe which diuerſifieth the qualitie of waters, proceedeth from the ſubſtance of the earth, from ſtones, trees, and Minerals, and Mettals; thorow which, Riuers and ſtreames make their paſſage. In regard whereof, ſome do becom hot, others cold; ſom ſweet, and others ſalt: for it is a moſt certaine rule, that the water which hath neither ſauour nor odor, is alwayes knowne to be the beſt VVater. All ſuch as haue written on this Argument, doo maintaine; that that VVater which paſſeth thorow Mines of Gold, is the beſt water. And to approoue this, the moſt notable and excellent Riuers in the world, are ſuch as engender and conſerue Gold in their thin and fine ſands. But becauſe we are elſewhere to diſcourſe perticulerly of the properties of ſome riuers and other waters, I meane now to wade into no further examples.

Seeing then, that we haue ſpoken of the waters of Riuers, VVelles, and Fountaines; reaſon requireth, that we ſhould ſay ſomewhat concerning Raine-water, which is praiſed by ſome, and blamed by others. *Vitruuius*, *Columella*, and ſome Phyſitions, doo highly commend Raine-water

The reaſon for drinking boyled water.

Soddenwater is not windie or ſwelling.

Well-water, not ſo wholeſome as other water.

Lakes and Pondes haue the worſt water.

The South-waters worſe then them of the North.

An experimentall proof of two waters

A triall of the lightneſſe or waight of water.

Ariſt. in Lib. 3. de Animal. Plin. in Lib. 22.

Waters paſſing through Mines of gold

Of Rain-water.

water, when it falleth pure and clear. For (say they) it is light and not mixtured, because it commeth from the vapor, which by his great subtilty, is mounted into the Ayres Region; and therefore, it is to bee credited, that heauie and waighty water remaineth in the earth. And albeit some say, that the water descending from heauen, corrupteth immediately, as wee behold in Fishponds, that engender a thousand filthes: yet it is not therefore to bee saide, that this ensueth by defect in the water; but rather, because it is stayed in such a place, where Muddes, Infections, and other Vncleanlinesses are met together. And partly, by some filthinesse which it bringeth with it selfe, washing the ground as it passeth along, when as it raigneth in great abundance. Therefore, the cause of his sudden corruption proceedeth from hence, that it is subtle and delicate; and by meanes of the Sunnes heate, and humiditie of the water, being commixed with many Ordures. Neuertheless, if this water being subtle, purged and cleared, were gathered as it falleth from the couerture of verie clean houses, or else as it falleth from Heauen, passing thorow the ayre, without touching anie thing, and so conueyed into as clean vessels, it would be better then the other, and coulde preserue it selfe for longer time.

Vitruuius in li. de Architect. Columella in Agricul.

The reason of raine-waters corruption.

Raine-water purelie taken and kept, lasteth lõg time

There are some other Authors, who hold a contrarie opinion, and namelie, *Pliny*. He saith, *It is so vnwholsom that no man should drinke of it, because the vapors from whence it commeth, do proceed of many things, and by diuers wayes; whereby, it receiueth store of different qualities, as wel such as are euil, as them that be good.* And in deliuering other reasons, he answereth to them which we haue aledged, & saith: *That the proofe is not sufficient to say it is good, in shewing it to be the more light, by being drawne from the Region of the Aire: for such euaporations are exhaled aloft, by a secret violence of the Sun. And that also, by the same reason, it is a vapour likewise, wherby hard Hail-stones are formed in the Ayre: which water is pestilferous; and so is Snow water.* Hee saith moreouer, *That Raine water (beside his other defects) infecteth it selfe by the heate and vapour of the earth, euen then when it raineth: & to encrease his impuritie, it sufficeth to see, how quickly it putrifieth and corrupteth; where-*

Plin in lib. 32. cap. 3.

Answeres made by *Pliny* to the former reasons.

Against the impuritie of Raine-water.

of true experiment is made on the Sea, wher such water cannot be conserued: and therefore Wels and Cesternes are reproued. Vpon all these opinions, euerie man deliuereth his owne, according as appeareth best to his owne iudgement. But as for mee, I affect Rain-water lesse then the other, although it be more necessarie. And *Pliny* who blames it, yet saith; *That Fishes doe fatten in Pondes, Lakes, and Riuers; and when it raineth, they are then best, because they haue need of the water of heauen.* Theophrastus saith, *That Garden Hearbes, and all other beside, beeing watered by neuer so much aboundance of water, do not so plentifully encrease, as by Raine-water.* In the like manner, *Plinie* speaketh of Reedes, that neede the water of heauen for their encrease. And *Aristotle* also, speaking on the abounding and encrease of Fishes.

Plin. l. 32. ca. 3.

Theophrastus.

CHAP. XL.

By what meanes a good quantitie of sweete and fresh Water, may be had out of the Sea. Why cold Water maketh a greater noise in his fall, then hot Water. And whither a Ship be of heauier weight on Salt water, then on fresh water.

Aristotle and *Plinie* do both aduise vs, for to make sundrie vesselles of waxe, hollow within; binding them so strongly, as possiblie may be, and free from any cracke, hole, or vent. So putting them into Nettes, or some such like matter, well fastened with long Cords, let them down into the sea, and keepe them there the space of a whol day. This being done, to draw them vp againe; and when yee open each of the Vessels, ye shall find a good quantitie of fresh water, in each one of them, as sweet as anie in the riuer. The reason why salt water thus becommeth fresh & sweet entering thorow these vesselles of wax, is rendered by *Aristotle*, for hee saith; *That wax being sweet and delicate, the Water penetrateth it, and the subtle part of the Sea water passing through it, sweetneth it self, leauing the earthie part vvhich it hadde, in the superficies of the Wax.*

Arist in Lib. de Animal. Pl. lib. 32. cap. 4

Arist. vbi supra

In

vessels of wax make salt water fresh and sweet.

In verie truth, if this be true (I say if it be true, because I my self neuer yet made experiment of this secret) it may do great seruice, in diuers necessities, which doo ordinarily happen. Notwithstanding, methinkes, that if salt water will become sweet, by entering into vessels of waxe, it should likewise become sweete, by softe trilling or gliding into wax, wherof such Vesselles may bee made, like vnto those which we haue of stone, to take away the saltnesse of the water. For, by the same reason, these things doe tend to one and the selfesame effect, although there may appeare some difference, by entering into empty vessels, and comming forth of full vessels, because there is an apparance of much greater force and violence, in comming forth of a full Vessell; neuertheless, the curious quetionist may trie both the one and other.

An experiment of hot water & cold.

Yet, in kinde affection to such, as are delighted in like singuler experiences, I will disclose another thing wel worth the knowledge. Take two Bottelles, which are of equall opening and measure, and fill them with water, the one boyling, & the other cold: afterwards, emptie them both together, and the colde water will issue forth sooner then the hot, and make the more lowde and greater noise in his fall, then the hot water, which fals more deafely, and with lesse strength. The reason is, because hote water is lighter then the cold, for that by the heate of the fire, it is more euapored. Likewise, at the beginning of the cold waters issuing foorth of the vessell, the hindmost part striueth to be formost, so that waightinesse is the cause, that cold water issueth forth sooner then hot, & maketh the greater noise in his fall, then the other can do.

Hot water lighter then cold.

A ship beareth a waightier burden on the Sea, then on anie fresh Riuer.

This is the reason deliuered by *Aristotle*, who likewise telleth vs another thing, which wee beholde daily, to wit; that a Ship beareth much heauier charging on the Sea, then on fresh Water, because the water of the Sea is more grosse and thicke, and beareth on her bosome anie thing whatsoeuer, in much greater weight, then any fresh Water is able to do, which is more subtle. To approue the truth hereof, experience maketh daily demonstration. For, if a man cast an Egge into a fresh Water Riuer, immediately it sinketh vnto the bottome: but, throwe it into Salte Water, or the Sea, and it floateth aloste thereof, and cannot sinke.

CHAP. XLI.

The Reason why all Creatures haue as many feete on the one side, as on the other: And on which side, they first beginne to go, and for what cause.

WHosoeuer hath duely considered, the order of Gate or going in al kind of creatures; hath also obserued, that their feete are numbered by paires, as well in those of two feet, as of foure, and more. It is likewise to be further noted, that they are in such manner diuided to them, as the one halfe is on the one side, and the rest on the other. The reason whereof, seemeth to proceed from some secret in Nature, and whereof I purpose to discourse, according to the opinion of the most sprightly, & best iudging Phylosophers. Among all which graue men, *Aristotle* handleth the manner of their common going, and maketh a disputation therof in his Problems. But for our better vnderstāding, we must presuppose, that the motion of all creatures, is composed of rest and trauaile: for to mooue one part, requireth to haue the other firme and in quiet, and afterwards it mooueth also; so that our motion in gate or going, appeareth to bee the one footes rest, while other marcheth: which is a rule most certaine and necessarie, except in leaping, which is formed by the whole body, without requiring the managing of the feet, ech after other. Why then it followeth necessarily, that when one part or side of the feet do repose and rest themselues, the other mooueth; and afterward rest againe, while the other do aduance their march; and by this course the feete haue their motion alternatiuely.

All creatures haue their feet by pairs.

Arist. in Probl.

The order of motion in all creatures.

Of Leaping.

To performe then this motion, there is necessarily required more then one foote; and beside, that they must be alike in number, that is to say, either two, or foure, or more, because in hauing three feete, the gate ot going had not well bin ordered,

One foote is not sufficient in any creature, neither a third foote.

ordered, or equall; for when two hadde mooued themselues, the third (of necessitie) must haue carried the whole burthen. And for the very same reason, all creatures, howe many feete soeuer they haue, either two, foure, or more; are numbered by paires; and they haue the one halfe on the one side of the body, & the other on the other side; to the ende, that the more orderly all the two partes may moue themselues in equal number, and in the manner of their trauaile. As we may obserue in Bees, Flies, & Beetles, which haue sixe feete: and likewise in other Vermine, some that haue forty, and others an hundred, yet are equally deuided by halues on either side. And albeit, that in these creatures hauing so many feete, inequality would appear insupportable: yet by auoyding of such confusion, Nature thus appointed them, for the more perfection.

Bees, Flies, & Beetles haue six feet.

It is also a matter most notable and memorable, which learned *Aristotle* hath determined in those Bookes before alledged. Hee saith, *That Men, and all other kinde of Beasts or Creatures, doo euermore begin their motion on the right side*, whereof wee haue verie euident experience in all things that we do. He that prepareth himselfe to runne a race, dooth alwayes set his left foot formost, to the end, that he may beginne to runne with the right foote, and so to proceed on in his course. If a man do beare any weightie thing, ordinarily he carrieth it on the left arme, or on the left side; because the right part of the bodie may be at libertie, to go on the more lightly. Whereby we discern, that when a man would moue himselfe to do any thing, except it be for some expresse cause, or by reason of a known inconuenience and hinderaunce, the first part of the bodie directed forward, is the lefte, but the right hath the rule and prehemiNence.

Arist. in Probl.

Motion in mē and Beastes, beginneth on the right side.

Likewise, we may behold, when a man would go about anie thing, hee turneth alwayes to the left side, to haue his right arme at full scope and libertie. If he be Dauncing, he turneth with his right arm toward the left. And in mounting on Horse-back, or on any other thing, wherein vse is required of the hands helpe: the right part is still the readiest, both in any mannuall work or motion, in mounting aloft, although a man do put his left foot into the stirrop, and hold by the left hand on the Saddles Pommell, to cast himself into the Saddle. So then wee perceyue, that these kinds of motion are in the left hand; but the right hand is the only chiefe guide and conducter.

Of the diuersitie of turning, dancing, and mounting on horsebacke.

The End of the Fift Booke.

The Sixt Booke.

CHAP. I.

¶ *Of the Kingdome of* Fez: *Of the Lawes, Customes, and Manners therein obserued, with a true Description of the Common wealth.*

BEcause the kingdome of *Fez* is great, as beeing the chiefest in all *Barbarie*, and the Cittie verie notable in hir lawes and orders: I am the more willing to make a perticuler Description therof, not thinking that it can be vnthankefully taken: because it is the true food of man, to hear and know the most famous thinges which are in the world.

A description of *Fez*.

1. FEZ, is a verie great Citty, engirt with high and goodly wals, and is (as it were) wholy Mountainy and Hilly, so that the middest onely of the Cittie is plain, but the fourth part therof (as I haue saide) is all hillie. By two wayes the Water enters into the Cittie, because the Riuer deuideth it selfe into two partes: the one passeth besides new *Fez*, which is on the South part, and the other runneth vnto the West. As the Water makes his entrance into the Cittie, it parteth it selfe into manie Channelles, which runne (for the most part) to the Cittizens Houses, and Courtiers Dwellings belonging to the King, and to diuers other Houses; as also, to all the temples, euery Oratory hauing his part of the Water, as the Innes, Hospitalles, and Colledges haue the like.

Of the Waters entrance into the City.

Houses of office in the open Citty.

Neere to the Temples or Churches, are certain Houses of necessary vse, made after a foure-square manner, with little Chambers built rounde about in them, each hauing his seuerall doore for entrance: And in euerie one of them, is a Well-spring; which water issuing from the walles, falleth into certaine Channels of Marble, making an indifferent noyse with the fal; and running thence thorow those needfull houses, conuayeth all the filthinesse of the Cittie into the Riuer. In the middest of these Houses is a lowe VVell spring, about some three yardes in depth, foure in bredth, and twelue in length; about which, are diuers Channelles, wherein the water runneth, and passeth along vnder the houses; the whol number of these houses are an hundered and fiftie.

The manner of building their houses in the Cittie.

The houses of dwelling in the Citie, are of Bricke and Stone, verie formallie builded, and the most part of them verie goodlie, beeing beautifyed with Stone-woorke of variable Colours. The doores in like manner, are paued with Bricke, and the Porches with Anticke Tyles of diuers Colours, like vnto the Dishes of *China*.

The toppes of the houses are painted with curious VVorkmanship, and costly Colours, as with Golde and Azure; the

The height of their houses.

roofes being made flat like Tables, and plaine, for more commodious couering the whole house, with faire extended painted cloaths, and to sleepe in during the Summer season. Almost al the houses do consist of two Stories of height, & some of three, with sundrie Tarrasses curiously framed, which do greatly adorne them, and serue as passages from Chamber to chamber vnder the roofe, because the midst of the house is wide open, and the Lodgings are deuided, some on the one side, and some on the other. The Doors of the Chambers are made large and high, and men of what quality soeuer, haue their Chambers entrance formed of costly Woodde, verie curiouslie Carued.

The Porches and Portals of their houses.

Each Chamber hath his Presse or Cupbord, verie fair and cunningly painted, of conuenient length to the Chambers largenesse, which serue as VVardrobes for their best and costliest things. All the Portals of these houses, are made vppon Collumbes of pauing stone, and beautified (well-neere half) with painted earth, like to that of *China*. Some also are mounted on Pillers of Marble, made with Arches, raised from one Collumbe to another, all couered with artificiall Checkie Stone-woorke: and the Transomes that are aloft on the Pillers, and do support (as it were) the seuerall Stories, are of VVood, Carued with ingenious labour, and colours of most curious painting.

Houses for preseruation of Water.

There are also great store of Houses, made purposely for the pure preseruation of water, much like vnto our Conduites, made foure square, containing six or seauen yards in bredth, tenne in length, and about twelue in depth, all couered and bricked verie artificially. In the length of some of them, diuers pretty low fountaines are made, appearing verie fayre to sight, and composed of the foresaid *China* stuffe: in the midst whereof, are large Vessels of Marble, such as wee see in our Fountaines of *Europe*. As these Fountaines do fill themselues, the ouer-flowe of water is conuaied to the houses of preseruing water, couertly: and when those houses are full, it is likewise thence-carried by other priuate Water-courses, that neighbor to those preseruing houses, and haue their fall by little made wayes; and passing vnder the Houses of necessarie vse, runne with quicke streame into the Riuer.

Well springs & Fountaines

For conueyance of water thorough the Citty.

Turrets of pleasure in the houses.

On their houses, they haue Turrets or Towers, wherein are diuers apte and well adorned Chambers: in which Turrets, the women do most bestowe themselues, when they are wearied with their Houshold affaires, for out of those Turrets, they may suruey the whole City. Of Temples and *Moschaes*, there are about seauen hundred, and these are their places of Prayer. Fiftie of those Temples are very great, very well built, and beautified with Pillers of Marble, and other seemly Ornaments. Each of them hath a goodly fountaine, made of pure Marble, and other faire stones, not seene in *Italy*; and all the Collumbes haue curious Tribunes of Checky woorke vppon them, or Tables very ingeniously ingraued. The tops of the Temples are like to them in *Europe*, and couered accordingly, and the pauements in the Temples, are all couered with Mats, artificially made, and so cunningly ioyned together, as not a iot of the Floore can bee seen. The wals are likewise couered with such Mats, but of no more heighth then the stature of a man. In each of these temples there is a Turret, wherinto such men go, as haue the charge to cry & proclaim the houre appointed for ordinary praier. There is no more but one Priest belonging to each Temple, to whome appertaineth the Office of Prayer, and care of entrance into the Temple, to wit; Dilligently to keepe the accounts, to dispense to the Ministers of the said Temple, such as do light the Lampes by night, and the Porters of the doors; also, those Officers that haue the charge to cry (in the night time) on the Tower or Turret, and declare the houres of Prayer: because they that cry in the day time, haue not any wages, but is freed from all tenths and payments whatsoeuer.

Temples and *Moschaes*.

Fountains belonging to the Temples.

The Pauements & wals of the Temples.

Turrets in the Temples.

The Priest of the Temple.

The Crier in the Tower or Turret.

In the Citty, there is a principal Temple, which is called the Temple of *Caruen*, and it is a very great Temple, containing in circuit a mile and a halfe, and it hath one and thirtie gates each one verie high: the couerture is an hundered & fifty *Tuscane* yardes in length, and little lesse in bredth then fourescore. The Tower wherin the Crier standeth, is likewise very hie; and the couering or seeling in length, is sustained vpon 38. Arches, and

The great Temple of *Caruen*, & the Tower therof

in

in bredth vpon twenty. Round about it, to wit, Eastward, Westward, & Northward, are certaine Porches, each beeing thirty cubits wide, and fortie in length. Vnder these Porches, are diuers Storehouses, wherein are kept the Oyle, Lampes, and Mats, with al other things of necessarie vse for the Temple: wherein are nine hundred Lamps nightly lighted, because euery Arch hath his Lampe, especially those Arches in order, which passe through the bodie of the Temple; and they only haue an hundred & fifty lamps; in which rank also are diuers other great Luminaries, all made of brasse. There are places for a thousand and fiue hundered Lamps, all which were made of Bels, wonne from diuers Citties of the Christians, by the Kings of *Fez*.

Store-houses for the Oyle, Lampes, and Mats.

In the Temple, and as fixed to the walles, are Pulpits of all qualities, wherein many Learned Masters do read to the people, matters concerning their Faith, and of the spirituall Lawes. They begin a little after the breake of day, and finish at the first houre in the day. In the Summer time they read not, but after the four and twenty houre, and their Readinges do continue for an houre and an halfe in the night. And they read not only the faculties and Morrall Sciences, but those spirituall also, according to the Lawe of *Mahomet*. The Readings in Summer, are perfourmed by none but by certaine priuate men, and none may reade, but such men as are expert in the Lawes, and euerie one hath good and ample Wages for his Lectures, beside their Bookes and Lights freely brought them. The Priest of this Temple, hath no other charge but to say Prayers: yet hee may take care of the mony and prouision which is offered in the Temple for young Children, and be Steward of such guiftes, as are left at the Gates entrances for the poor; as mony and Corne, which at euerie Feast is imparted vnto all the poore of the Cittie; to some more, and to some lesse; according to the quallitie of their Family.

The Pulpits and Readings in the temple

The Summer Readings.

The Priestes charge of the Temple.

He that taketh the Office on him, as Collector or Receiuer for the entraunce Money of the Temple, hath a seperate office, and for his owne prouision, hath a Ducate each day allowed him, and sixe men to attend him, that gather the Rent Money of the Houses, Shoppes, and other profite, and each of these is allowed fiue in the hundred. He hath also about som twentie Factors, whose charge is to goe abroad, to make prouision for daily Labourers, such as Delue in the grounds, looke to the Vines, and woorke in Gardens, and such like offices, whose wages may amount vnto three Ducates, each man (monthly) of those twenty. About a mile out of the Cittie, are some twenty Furnaces, where Lime is made, and as many more, for Bricke and other necessary furniture, for the buildings and possessions of the Temple, as also of the Temple it selfe, whose allowance is two hundred Ducats daily, but more is spent (by the halfe) in the fore-named occasions. Beside, those Temples and *Moschaes* that haue no reuennewes, are furnished from this Temple in manie things. And if any ouer-plus of benefits doo remaine, they are spent to common vtilitie of the Cittie, because many poore Commoners haue little other benefit. And most true it is, that lately in our daies, the king caused great summes of money, to bee lent to the Priest of the Temple for these vses, which as yet were neuer repayed backe againe.

The collector or Receiuer of Temple. mony

Twentie Factors and their wages.

Furnaces and Killes out of the Cittie.

The great Temples daily allowance.

In this Cittie, are two Colledges of Schollers, verie fairely builded, with manie Ornaments of embossed workes, and Carued Transomes, couered with fine Slates, and supported with goodlye Marble Pillers. In each of these Colledges, are manie Chambers, amounting to an hundered and more, all builte by diuers Kinges of the House of *Marino*.

One of them is (in trueth) verie admyrable, both for Greatnesse and beautie, which was caused to bee builded by the King *Abu Henon*, hauing a verie rare and goodly Fountaine in it of Marble, the Bowle beeing able to containe two Tunnes of Water; and when it ouerfloweth, it passeth like a little Riuer in a faire Channell, the bottome whereof, is Paued with Marble, and diuers other Checky coloured stones.

In this Colledge, are three faire Galleries, with Beddes in them, verie costly couered, and round encompassed with pillers, fashioned into eight Cantons of diuers Colours, and so made fast vnto the Walles. And on the heade of euerie Collumbe, are Arches bowing

Colledges in the Cittie of Schollers.

One Colledg builded by K. *Abu-Henon*.

from one to another, adorned with Pinacles of ſtrange moduling, embelliſhed with Balles of Gold and Azure. The walles about the Colledge are no higher, then a man (ſtanding cloſe by) may reach with his hand, and thoroughout made al of Checquerd ſtone. And round about on the Walles, are Verſes written, containing the yeare when the Colledge was built, and praiſes of the place and Founder, who was the King *Abu Henon*: the Letters being groſſely engraued, and in Blacke Carracters on a White Field, for the better ſight and reading farre off. The Colledge Gates are of Braſſe, verie artificially and ingeniouſly Wrought, and each Chamber doore, of coſtly carued wood.

The height of the Colledge wals.

The Colledg Gates.

In the great Hall, where Orations are made, is a Pulpit, hauing nine ſteps or ſtaires vp to it, made of Iuory and Ebonie, almoſt myraculous to beholde. When the Colledge was finiſhed, the King would ſee the Booke of his charges; and hauing not ouer-viewed the left part of the Booke, which aroſe to forty thouſand Ducates, without any further inquiſition, he tooke the Booke, tore it in pieces, and threw it into a little Riuer running by the Colledge; alledging two verſes of a verie worthy Author among the *Arabians*, to this effect.

The Kinges viewe of the Colledg building.

Things deer & faire, can neuer be too deer,
And if they pleaſe, no man can pay too deer.

But there was a Treaſurer, Named *Hibnulagi*, who ſeeking to find out a certaine account, although hee came much ſhort thereof, yet he could alledg the expences of four hundred & 4. ſcore thouſand Ducates. All the other Colledges of *Fez*, haue ſome correſpondence with this; and in euerie Colledge, there are Readers in diuers Sciences; ſome, that read in the Morninges, and the other in the night, all hauing ſufficient and verie excellent allowance left by the founders and builders.

Part of the building charges.

The allowances of readers

In auncient times, euery Scholler in this Colledge, was affoorded his expences and Garments, for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares But now in theſe dayes, nothing is graunted but Chamber-roome, becauſe in the warre of *Sahid*, many poſſeſſions and Gardens were ſpoyled, the benefit whereof went to theſe charges. So that now there remaine but ſome ſmall fragments, where-with the Readers are maintained: ſome hauing two hundred, others an hundered Ducates, and ſome leſſe. And this perhappes, may be the occaſion of the decay of Vertue in *Fez*; and not only of *Fez*, but of all the Cities in *Affrica*.

Former allowance for ſcholers.

None doo dwell in theſe Colledges, except certaine Schollers that are ſtrangers, who haue their liuing of the Cittizens Almes, and from ſom parts of *Fez*. And if any haue their lodging in the Citie, they may not exceede the number of two. When any of the Lecturers will reade, a Scholler doth firſt deliuer the Text, and then the Lecturer comments thereon, inducing ſome expoſitions of his owne; and declaring all difficulties happening in the Argument. And ſomtimes, in preſence of the Lecturer, the Schollers will fall to diſpute amongeſt themſelues, according to the ſubiect of the Reading or Leſſon.

Strange ſchollers dwell in the Coledges

The order of Reading.

2. In *Fez*, there are many Hoſpitals, which in forme and beautie, are not inferior to the forenamed Colledges. And it was obſerued (as a Cuſtome) in former times, that ſtraungers ſhould haue three dayes entertainment in thoſe Hoſpitals. There are many other without the gates, no leſſe commendable then thoſe within, and theſe Hoſpitalles were very rich: but in the time of *Sahids* warre, the King hauing neede of great ſummes of mony, was conſelled to ſel their reuennues and allowances. The common people yeelding no conſent thereto, an Atturney (belonging to the King) gaue them to vnderſtand, that thoſe Hoſpitals were builded vpon meere Almes, which had formerlie beene giuen by the predeceſſours to the preſent King, who now ſtood in daunger of looſing his Kingdome: and therefore, it was better to ſell thoſe poſſeſsions, to chaſe away the common enemie, then to ſtand vpon ſuch immediate perill, conſidering, the warre ſhould be no ſooner finiſhed but now reuennewes might bee purchaſed. Hereupon, they were ſold, and the King dyed, before any new purchaſing followed; ſo that the Hoſpitalles remained poore, and in a maner, without any ſuſtentation: yet now there is a Lodging allowed for ſome forraigne or trauailing Doctor, or to a Gentleman, but very

Of Hoſpitals, and Stoues or Bathes.

Sahids warre, tooke away all the Hoſpitals reuenues

The olde reuenues ſolde; but no newe purchaſed.

very poorely in the Citty, to releeue foote trauailers, and sickly Strangers, and there is but one of them neither, yet without either Phisition or Phisick; onely lodging and expences is affoorded, till a poore weake man dye, or be recouered.

Respect of mad and frantique people.

In this Hospitall are certaine Chambers, appointed for Lunaticke or distracted persons, that hurle stones in the streetes, and are otherwise dangerous; where they are kept lockt vp, and fast chained, and the doores of these chambers, which front the Galleries or Tarrasses, are barred with Iron, both beneath and aloft, and the Windowes with Woodden barres, strongly knit with Iron. He that hath the charge of their dyet, when he perceiueth any one of them to behaue himselfe disorderlie; he beats them with a Bastonado, which hee commonly carryeth ready for the purpose. Oftentimes it happeneth, that trauailers walking by those Chambers, the distracted persons will cal to them, and vse many lamentations, that they are cured of their infirmitie, and therefore should be discharged from imprisonment, protesting, that they endure infinite iniuries at the Officers handes. Some, being ouer credulous, will look in at the Windowes, and for their labour, are rewarded with an handfull of noysome filth in their faces. For, although these distracted persons haue their conuenient Houses of Office; yet notwithstanding, they will empty their bellies in the midst of the floore, and watch opportunitie for these beastlie prancks: except the Officers (by their dilligence) cleanse away the filth, or fore-warne strangers of such an iniury.

Chastisement for mad people.

The brutish behauiour of lunatick people.

Attending officers in the Hospitals.

To conclude, these Hospitals haue all such familiar Attendants, as are to discharge all fitting Offices: as Clearkes, Factours, Protectours, Cookes, Butlers, and others for apt seruice to the infirme.

Of the Stoues or Bathes.

There are also an hundred Stoues or Bathes, beautifully builded and adorned; some whereof are small, others greater: but all made after one forme and manner; to wit, euery one hath foure places or roomes, of the largenesse of great dining Haules. Without, are certaine Galleries somewhat high, and ascent is made vnto them by diuers degrees or staires: where men vse to disrobe themselues, and leaue their garments in safety. In the midst are certain large Wels made, after the manner of their preserued waters, but much greater.

Now, when a man would go to one of these Bathes, when hee hath entred at the first gate, he passeth into a spacious place, which is coole, and there is a coole Well-spring to temper the Water, when it waxeth excessiuely hot. From thence (by another Gate) he goeth on to the second place, where the Water is hotter, and there are diuers Officers, that attend to wash and make cleane all Commers. From thence he passeth to the third, which is very hot, where he sweateth for a while, and here he endureth heat indeed, for the water is walled round with heate: but it hath conuayance forth into certain Buckets of wood, and to each man they must giue two Glasses of water, or more, to such as shall demaund them, for which courtesie, hee giueth to the attending party, a small peece of Coyne, called a * *Baioc*, or but two at the most; and to the Patrone or Maister of the Bath, he payeth no more then two * *Quatrines*. The water is made thus hot with the Dung of Beasts, which the Maister of the Bath keepeth Boyes of purpose for to gather, who passing through the Citty, doe load themselues with Dung out of the Stables; and then carrying it forth of the Cittie, they doe make thereof a topping Dung-hill, and so it remaineth there two or three moneths drying. Afterward, to heat the Bathhouses and the water, it is burnt in stead of wood, or other fuell.

The entrance into the Baths

The coole water, and seuerall degrees of the Bathes.

* Valuing two *Italian* pence.

* The fourth part of an English peny.

Weomen also haue their seperate Stoues or Bathes, and many are kept for Weomen and Men together: but men doe determine their time, which vsually is from the third houre, vntill the foureteenth, either more or lesse, according to the quality of the day, and the rest of the day, is perticularly appointed for Women. At the time of their entrance into the Bath, as a manifestation thereof, a Cord is thwarted at the doores passage, and then no man presumeth to enter. But if it happen, that any man then would speake with his Wife: he cannot, but some Seruant of

Baths appointed for weomen.

The order of womens entring into the Bath.

of the house must carry her his errand. Many times, the Men and Weomen of the Citty do banquet together in those Baths, & vsing diuers pleasures, in diuers kinds, singing very often with excellent voyces. The youth also of eyther kind, doe enter into them starke naked, without any shame or offence to either. But men of some condition and degree, doe enter with wiping Cloaths wrapped about them, and sit not in any common places: but haue the aduantage of certaine distinct little roomes, which euermore are made handsome, and fitting for men of reputation. When the Seruants and Attendants doe wash any body, they cause him to lye along, and then rub and chafe euery part of him, with Oyntment restoratiue, and sometime with such Instruments, as do take away all filthinesse. But when they wash a Lord, or one of great account; they cause him to lie downe on a cloth of Felt (such as Hats are made of) laying his head also vpon Pillowes of Felt, and so deale with him gently and tenderly.

Youth vse the Bathes.

For men of good reputation.

For a Lord.

To euery one of these Bathes or Stoues, are many Barbers belonging, who pay alike payment to the Maister, for vse of their Instruments there, and washing according to their profession. The most part of these Bathes, do hold their best estate of the Temples and Colledges, and doe pay them great rents: some an hundred, others an hundred and fiftie Ducates yearely, some more, some lesse, according to the greatnesse of the place. Nor will I conceale a familiar Feast, made once a yeare by the Seruants and Youth attending in these Bathes, which is performed in this manner. These young men doe inuite all their Friendes, and goe with Drums, Fifes and Trumpets, forth of the Cittie. Afterward, they take a great Onion, called an Onion of the Sea, and put it into a Bason of Copper, which when they haue couered with a faire linnen Towell: they march backe to the Cittie, sounding all the way to the Gate of the Bathe. Then they put the Onion into a Basket, and fastning it to the doore of the house, say: *This shall be a signe of benefit to the Bathe, because this yeare it shall bee frequented by many.* But me-thinkes, this rather resembleth a sacrifice vsed by the ancient *Affricanes*, at such time as they were Gentiles, and continued in vse euen to our times; as likewise wee finde many notes of their Feastes, imitated by Christians, and as yet obserued, though scarcely well knowne, vpon what occasion those Feasts were vsed. But in euery Citty certaine Feasts were obserued, and left in vse to the Christians, when they gouerned *Affrica*.

Barbers belonging to the Bathes.

The rents of the Bathes.

A Feast made by the youth of the Bathes, euery yeare.

A Sacrifice vsed by the *Africane* Gentiles.

3o. In the said Citty, there are about two hundred Innes or Hostaries, verie hansomelie built and contriued. But some doe exceede the other in greatnesse: as those that are nere to the great Temple, and mounted three Stories in height, containing one hundred and twentie Lodgings, and some more. In euery one are fare Welles of Water, and Houses of Office, with their conuaying Channels, which quickly rid away all filth whatsoeuer. Like vnto these, are (in *Italie*) the Colledge of the *Spanyards* in *Bologna*, and the Pallace of the Cardinall of S. *George* in *Rome*, euerie Chamber doore entring vppon the Tarras. But albeit these Innes are faire and great, yet they doe afford but verie bad lodging: for there is neither Bed, Bed-stead, nor Sheetes, but euery guest hath a course Couerlet, or Irish Rugge allowed him, & a hansome Mat to sleep vpon. And if he will eate, hee must goe buy his Victuals himselfe, and deliuer them to the Cooke to bee dresst. Poore Widdowes of the Cittie, that haue neither House, kinred, or Friends; are also allowed accesse to these Innes, where roomes are appointed for them, some seuerall, others two in a Chamber.

Releese for poore widdowes.

The Hosts of these Innes are of a certaine generation, which they call *Elchena*, and go in womanish garments, adorning their persons after the fashion of Weomen: For they shaue close their Beards, and striue to imitate women in their speech. What doe I say, in speech? Yea, they will sow and spin. Each one of these base-minded men, doth keepe his Concubine, and vseth the very same familiaritie with her, as the Husband doth with his Wife: Other loose Weomen also haue resort thither, that make sale of their honesty, as

Of Innes or Hostaries in the Citty.

What lodging the Innes doe yeild.

The Inne-keepers of the Citty, and their base qualities.

Bad guests to be allowed in Innes.

as the whores of *Europe* vse to do. These Inne-keepers haue authority, to buy and sell Wiues, without any dispensation from Court Officers. And in these Hosteries, men of the most foule and vilest life haue continuall resort; as to make themselues drunke, and to satisfie their lust with women of hire: because there they may exercise all brutalitie of life, secure from the apprehension of Officers, and other such like deformities, which better beseemeth silence then vtterance. These so well-deseruing Inne-keepers, haue a Consull, and pay certaine tribute to the Castillian and Gouernour of the Citty: standing bound beside, when any Army is required for the King or Princes; to prouide a great retinue of their Seruants, to prepare foode for the Souldiours, because few other are able for that imploiment.

The Inne-keepers pay tribute to the Gouernour.

Assuredly, if the strict Law had not enforced me, whereto a true Historian standeth bound, to reueale the truth in such general descriptions: I could more willingly haue buryed these foule faults in silence, because they are the grossest blemishes in any Cittie, wherein (beside) are many vertues. And setting apart these vices, the Kingdome of *Fez* containeth men of greater goodnes, the are in all the parts of *Affrica*. And therefore with those dishonest Hosts, (as is credibly auouched) few other haue any conuersation; but onely ribald persons, of base blood & life: for neither Scholler, Merchant, or any honest Artezane, will so much as speake to them, and they are interdicted beside, from entring into the Temples, or the Market place of Merchants, the Bathes, or any of their Houses. Neuertheless, such as keep the Hosteries by the great Temple, are fauoured in lodging Merchants of rare qualitie, but the common people do nothing but scorne and mocke them: And because they do seruice (as I haue already said) to the Prince in the Fielde, they are suffered to continue in that wretched kind of life.

Men of much vertue in the Kingdome of *Fez*.

Inne-keepers forbidden entrance into the Temples, &c.

4 Within this Citty, there are about some four hundred Milles, for the grinding of Corne, and they may easily amount to a thousand; considering, that the said Mils are made in the manner of a great Haule, and in Collomes, and in some of them are foure, fiue, or sixe seuerall Milles. There is a large streete in the Cittie, wherein are nothing else but Mill stones, and thither do resort certaine Traffiquers, tearmed Meale-men: who doe hold many of the Milles at rentage, and buying Graine for them, cause it there to be ground. Afterward, they make sale of the Meale in the Shoppes, which they also pay rent for, deriuing very good benefit thereby: because all the Trades-men, that haue no apt means to furnish themselues with Corne, doe buy the Meale in these Shoppes, and make it Bread in their owne Houses. But men of any degree, doe buy their Corne at the best aduantage, and then cause it to bee ground in certaine Milles, which are allowed by the Cittizens, paying the Miller two *Baiocs* for the Bushelles grinding. The most part of these Milles doe belong to the Temples and Colledges, so that but few appertaine to Cittizens: and they pay great rent, two Duckets for euery Mill.

Of Milles in the Citty.

A Streete of Milstones.

A Trade onely of selling Meale.

5. The Artes and Trades in this Citty, are separated one from another, and those of greatest worth and respect, are in the circuit, and neere neighbouring to the greatest Temple: As Notaries or Scriueners, and of them there are about fourscore Shoppes, one part of them beeing ioyned to the Wall of the Temple, and the other right against it, two Notaries sitting in each Shop. A little further off, toward the West-side, are about thirty Shops of Booke-sellers or Stacioners: and toward the South-side, are they that sell Shooes, whereof there are aboue an hundred and fiftie Shoppes. These onelie doe buy both Shooes, Buskins, and Stockings ready made, in very great store, and so make sale of them againe: And not farre from them, are the Shoe-makers, that make Shooes for all degrees of persons, and of them are about fifty Shoppes. On the East-side of the Temple, the Sellers of Brasse and Copper haue their place, and right against the great gate, toward the West-side, stand they which sell Fruit, making (among them) other fifty Shoppes. Next to them are the Waxe-sellers, that shew

Of Artificers, Trades, shops and Market-places.

Scriueners.

Booke-sellers

Shoe-sellers and Stocking-sellers.

Shoe-makers.

Brasiers.

Fruiterers.

Wax-sellers.

Mercers.

Floure-sellers

shew rare worke-deuises in Wax. And by them are the Mercers; but of both these there are not many Shops. Then follow the Sellers of Flouers, who likewise sell Citrones and Limons: but such as doe behold the rare diuersity of Floures, would imagine to see mid-Aprill, when the Fields are in their richest Linery, or when the Gardens make their best shew of beautie. Of these Shoppes there are about twenty: for such as vse to drinke Wine, will alwayes haue Hearbes and Floures with them.

Milke-sellers.

Neere vnto them, are certaine sellers of Milke, whose Shops are well furnished with all *China* Vessels. They vse to buy their Milke of diuers Kine-keepers, who make this kind of Merchandise of their Kine, and euery morning these Kine-keepers doe send their Milke in certain wodden vessels, bound about with Iron, very narrow at the mouth, but large in the bottome, and so sell it them of these Shoppes. Such as is milked at night, is bought by these Shopkeepers, and Butter made thereof: and that which is sower, commonly called Butter-Milke, they sell in like manner to the people; so that betweene sweet and sower Milke, fiue and twenty Tubs of Milke is daily made sale of. Next to these, are the Sellers of Cotton and Bombast, making (betweene them) thirtie Shops. On the North-side, are the Traders in Hemp, that sell Halters, Horsse-Collers, Packe-thred, and all kind of Cords. By them, are the Makers of Saddle-girts, riding Pantofles, and Head-stalles for Horses, some of Leather, and some of Silke. A little further off, are the Scabberd or Sheath-makers, for Swordes, Daggers, and Kniues, who likewise make Leather Breast-plates for Horses.

Sellers of Bombast.

Hemp-sellers

Sadlers.

Scabberd-makers.

Next to them stand the Sellers of Salt and Whiting, which they buy in grosse, and sell by retaile. Then they that sell all kind of Stone-vessels, which are faire, and of perfect collours, some that be of one, and others of two colours; of all these there are about an hundred Shoppes. Then such as sell Bittes and Bridles for Horses, Saddles, and Stirrups, of which there are about fourescore Shoppes. Then there is a place for Porters, which are to the

Salte-sellers.

Pot-sellers.

Lorrayners.

Porters.

number of three hundred, who haue a chiefe or Commaunder among them, and he appointeth those men weekely, that are to labour and carry burthens, and they must duely attend on al occurrences, which happen in that weeke. When the weeke is ended, he deuideth the Money duely and equally among them that haue laboured for it. And the Porters loue like Brethren, for when any one of them dyeth, and leaueth a young Child behinde him: they not onely (in common) do pay the widowes charges, vntill she marry againe; but also haue a louing and diligent care of the Cilde, till it be of age to vndertake some Trade. When any of this ranke marrieth, or the birth of a Child is knowne among them: a Banquet is made for the whole Company, and at this meeting, no one escapeth without one present or other. And no man may enter into their profession, till he haue made a sociable meeting to the whole Company: Or else, if hee presume to enter in labour among them, hee must haue but the halfe moity of his owne earnings. And they are priuiledged by the Lord of the Citty, from paying any penalties or taxations whatsoeuer, or the baking of their owne Bread at the Ouen. If any of them commit a fault deseruing death, it is not publikely punished. And when they follow their labour, they goe cloathed in garments all of one colour; but when the day concerneth not their labour, they are habited to their own liking: and to conclude, they are all accounted honest men, & of good life, sildome deseruing any reprehension.

A louing amitie among men of meane qualitie.

Orders obserued among the Porters.

Not farre from the place where these Porters do giue attendance, is the Market place for the cheefe of the Consuls, and Iudges of all things sold for foode. In the midst of this Market-place is a *Serraglio* of Canes, made foure square, wherein are solde Carrets, and other kinde of Garden Roots, by certain men thereto appointed, because none else but they may buy them of the Gardiners, as being thereto especially deputed, and they pay an order of custome therefore to the Receiuer. And dailie shall ye see there sold fiue hundred Horse-load of these Roots, and many times farre greater quantities, sold at verie

The Market-place for *Il Capo de Consoli.*

very cheape rate, sometimes thirty, at (at least) twenty pound weight for a *Baioc*, and Beanes and Peaſe (at due ſeaſons of the yeare) are ſold very reaſonably. Round about are certaine Shops, where they ſel* *Vermicilli*, and other like things, as fleſh made into round balles, and fryed in Oyle, euery ball beeing about the bigneſſe of a Figge: which are ſold at ſixe Quatrines the pound, and they are made of leane Beefe. Beſide this Market-place, ſomwhat more Northerlie is the Hearb-market, where they ſell Cabbages, Turnops, Colewortes, and other Hearbes, which they eate together with meate, and there are forty Shoppes of theſe Traders. Next is the Smoaky Market, where they fry certaine kinds of Bread in Oyle, like to the boiled Hony-Bread ſold in *Rome*. Theſe men haue ſundry Inſtruments in their Shoppes, and Boyes ſinging al the day; for great quantity of this Bread is daily ſold; becauſe it is vſed in faſts, eſpecially on Feaſt daies, and when they intend any ſolemne-faſting.

Theſe men vſe not to roaſt their meat on Spits or Broaches, but they haue two Ouens or furnaces, made one ouer the other, and they put fire into the neathermoſt, and when that aboue is well heated: they put in the meate at a conuayance made aloft, becauſe no fire ſhall offend their hands. By this means, the meat is exceedingly well Cookt, keepes a delicate colour, and hath a rare reliſh: becauſe neither Smoke, nor ſmell of the fire can come at it, but is thus temperately dreſſed all the night time. In the morning, of this meat, and the Bread before named, there is dailie ſold to the value of two hundred Duckets, for there are fifteene of the Shops, and they haue no other exerciſe. They ſell alſo, fryed Fleſh, and fryed Fiſh, and other kinds of Bread, made into Paſte, like Cakes; but yet ſomewhat thicker, being kneaded with Butter, and ſo with Butter and Honny they vſe to eate it. They ſeeth likewiſe the feete of Beaſts, like to our Neates feete or Trotters; & theſe are commonly ſold to poor men, that labour in the grounds, who make their morning breake-faſt of them, and afterward goe to their worke. Next vnto theſe, ſtand the Sellers of Oyle, Butter, ſalt and freſh, Hony, Cheeſe, old and new, Oliues, Capers, Lemons, Skirrets, and Pottatoes, their Shoppes being furniſhed with *China* Diſhes, making a farre greater ſhew then ſubſtance. They ſell their Pots and Veſſels of Butter and Oyle, in the ſame manner as we ſell goods at an Out-cry, to them that will giue moſt, and they that cry theſe things, are certain Porters thereto purpoſely appointed, who meaſure forth the Oyle, when any great quantity thereof is ſold together. The pots and Veſſels do containe (ſeuerally) an hundred pound weight, and there the Kine-keepers doe ſtand bound, to ſee that this meaſure be duely performed, and as they are ſtill emptied, to bee filled againe, and ſold in the Cittie.

Neere vnto this place, is the Shambles or Butcherie, and there are about fortie ſhoppes of them, faire and large, as any of the other profeſsions, where they cut orth meate, and ſell it by waight of the Ballaunce. They vſe not to kill anie beaſt in the Shambles, but in apt appointed ſlaughter houſes by the Riuer ſide, where they flay off the hides, and then cauſe them to be brought by Porters into the Market, from the ſlaughter houſe, but firſt they are preſented before the *Capo de Conſoli*; who hauing ſeene and examined the goodneſſe thereof, he deliuereth the ſeller a Ticket in Writing, at what price he ſhall ſell the fleſh: and this Ticket is faſtened by the Butcher to the meate, that euerie one may publickly ſee and read it. Beſide the Butcherie, is another Market place, where wollen cloath (made in the Countrey) is ſold, and containe about an hundred ſhoppes. If any man bring Cloath to be ſolde, hee muſt deliuer it to a Crier, who carries it on his ſhoulders, and ſo goeth on from ſhop to ſhoppe, crying the price thereof, and of theſe Criers, ther are threeſcore in number. The cry beginneth after mid-day; continuing till darke night, and the Cryer is payed two *Baiocs* in the Ducate; but the Merchants trading in theſe affayres, haue verie great dealings. Next theſe, ſtand the Polliſhers and Clenſers of Armors and Weapons, as Swordes, Daggers, Partezans, and ſuch like; whereof theſe are ſome that both cleanſe and ſell them. Then are the Fiſhermen or Fiſh-mongers, who Fiſh in the Cities Riuers, both within and without; ſelling manie good

* A ſmall cut Paſtimeate, vſed in *Italie* to make pottage withal.

The Hearbe-market.

The Smoake-market.

Their maner of roaſting meat.

Fried Fleſh, & fried Fiſh.

Oyle, Butter, Salt and other comodities,

ſolde as by Out-cry.

The Butchery or Shambles.

The Woollen Cloth Market, and Cryers of Cloth.

Armourers.

Fiſhermen, or Fiſh-mongers

good and great Fishes at very easy price, at three *Quatrines* the pound. They vse to take great store of one kinde of Fish, which in *Rome* is called * *Laccia*, & they begin to Fish for them at the entrance of October, and so hold on to Aprill.

* The Chub, or Cheuin.

Next, are the Makers of Cages, Pens, or Coopes, for Powltrey and Fowles, which commonly they make of Canes, and consist of about fortie shoppes. For euery Cittizen doth keepe a great manie to fatten; and (to auoyd noysomnes) they suffer them not to goe at libertie in their houses, but onely keepe them immured in these Cages.

Basket and Cadgemakers

A little further are the Sope-sellers, who sell verie licquid Sope, hauing all their Shoppes together, becausse they stand seperated by the street. This Sope is not made in the Cittie; but in the neighboring Hillie Countrey, and among the Mountainers, whence the Muleters doo bring it, and sell it to the owners of these Shoppes. Then are the Sellers of Flower and Meale, but there are not many shops of them in this Market, becausse they are elsewhere placed in the Milles-streete.

Sope-sellers.

Meale-sellers

Next, the sellers of all kind of graine, both for seede, and other-wise; with great store of attending Porters, that carry it thence to mens houses on Horses and Mules, according as it is measured out by the appointed measure, in three sackes vpon a Beasts backe, lying one aloft on the other, & men are especially commaunded to haue care of the measuring and measures. Next is the Market-place, where Linnen and wollen yarne is sold, and the same dressed in such manner as it ought to be. This Market consisteth of a goodly House, with foure seuerall Shops or abidings about it. In one of which sit the weauing Merchants, with certaine inferior Ministers or Officers, which weigh the yarne. In two other sit Women, that haue spunne, and come to sell the saide Yarne, and there is no small number of them: Their Market beginneth at noone, and lasteth till euening, making sale in great plenty. Diuers vse to go see this Market place, becausse it is found planted with Mulberry-trees, which giue a comely shade to the Market women sitting vnder them; and they assemble there together in such crowdes, that hardly is any passage by them, and falling (many times) from scolding to fighting, are much shame to themselues, and such as behold them.

Corne-sellers

Linnen and Woollen Yarne.

Weauing Merchants.

Mulbery Trees.

Now returning to the West part, towards the Temple from the Gate, as we goe to *Mecuasce*, beyond the smoke market in the direct way: are they that make Buckets of Leather, vsed for casuall fires, and drawing Water out of Welles, of which Trade there are some foureteene Shoppes. There are also the makers of Hutches and receipts for Meale and Corn, being about thirtie Shops in number. Next whom are Coblers and menders of old Shoes, purposely prepared for poore & meane people; of which, there are aboue an hundred and fifty Shoppes.

Bucket-makers.

Coblers.

Then are the Target and Shield-makers of Leather, according to the *Affricane* manner, and as wee see in some places of *Europe*. By them are the Landerers, which are diuers men of base condition keeping there sundry Shops, with Tubs and Water ready in them. Such as keepe no Maide-Seruants in their Houses, bring their Linnen to be washed by these men Landerers, which they also perform very diligently, hanging them afterward on lines to be dried, as they doe in *Italy*, appearing so pure and neatly washed, as no Weomen could expresse more cleanely labour. Many other Markets and Trades there are beside, which beeing of meane and silly importance; I forbeare to speake of them, and will now proceede to the Merchants Market, or place of resort.

Target-makers.

Launderers that are men.

6 This Market place is after the manner of a little Cittie, with a Wall built about it, containing in circuit twelue Gates or entrances: And each one of these Gates is ouer-thwarted with a Chaine, so that no Horses, or other Beasts can enter in thereat. The Market-place is deuided into fifteene streetes or passages. Two of them belongeth to Shoe-makers, that make Shooes for Gentlemen, of which cost and comlinesse, none other may weare them, neyther Artificer, Souldier, nor Courtier. Other two doe appertaine to Silke-men, or Merchants of Silke: One part whereof doe sell faire Tassels and Furnitures for Horses, and haue about

The Market place of Merchants and Merchandise.

Shoe-makers for Gentlemen.

Silke-men.

bout fifty Shoppes: The other do ſell dyed and coloured Silkes, to worke in Linnen, or any other thinges elſe, and haue (very neere) as many ſhoppes. By theſe, ſtand ſome that make Belts and Girdles for women of wooll; but they are vnſightly. Others alſo, that make the like of Silke, but of no better or handſomer faſhion: becauſe they make them in plaites or treſſes, as great as a mans two fingers, ſome of them beeing thought ſtrong enough to hold a Boat tied. Next to theſe are two other ſtreets, where ſtand the Merchants of Wollen Cloth, ſuch as come out of *Europe*, and all theſe Merchants are tearmed *Granatini*. There alſo ſtand they that ſell all kinde of Sattins, Veluets, and other Silkes, Hats, and Bonnets, and raw Silkes. A little further off, ſtand they that make al kind of Bedding Pillowes, Mattraſſes, and ſuch like neceſſary furniture. And by them is the place for Toules and Cuſtomes. For theſe cloths are likewiſe ſold by way of out-cry, and ſuch as take charge of them, doe bring them firſt to bee ſealed in the Toule-Houſe, and afterward walke crying them among the Merchants; there being alſo about ſixty Cryers, each man hauing paid him a *Baioc* for a cloth. Thē there is two other ſtreetes, wherein are the Taylors and Makers of Garments. By whom ſtand they that make diuers Bonnets of Cloath, to couer the head withal. And then are two other ſtreets, where the Linnen weauing Merchants haue their due place, ſelling Shirtes, Smocks, and all other wearing Linnen for men and women. Theſe are the richeſt Merchants in the Citty; becauſe they make quicker returne in their Negotiations, then al the reſt together do. There is another ſtreet, where they ſell all kind of Cloath-Garments, that are brought out of *Europe*, and euerie euening an out-cry is made of theſe Garments, ſuch as are brought to the Citizens to ſell, ſome old, ſome new, and for all vſes. Laſt of all, is a place, where all old Linnen is ſold, as Shirts, Sheets, Hand-towels, Wipers, and ſuch like: And hard by are little Shoppes, where they cry Carpets, and Coueringes for Beds.

Girdle-makers for women.

Granatini Merchants of wollen-cloath.

Mercers.

Vpholſters.

The Toule or Cuſtome-houſe.

Taylors.

Bonnet-makers.

Linnen-Merchants.

Broakers and Sellers of old Garments.

7 All theſe ſtreets are called together *Caiſaria*, an ancient word, and deriued of *Cæſar*, as meaning *Cæſar*, who was the greateſt Lord of thoſe times in all *Europe*.

Concerning the name of the ſtreetes, cald *Caiſaria*, ſo named of *Cæſar*.

For all the Cities from the Riuer of *Mauritania*, were gouerned by the *Romaines*, and afterward by the *Gothes*: and in euery one of them was ſuch a Market-place, that bare the ſame name. The occaſion heereof, is thus rendred by the Hiſtorians of *Affrica*, who ſay, that the Miniſters and Officers of the *Romaines* and *Gothes*, were euery where intermingled in the Cities Store-houſes, and Ware-houſes, where the tribute accounts and collections wer kept together, which many times happened to be ſpoyled by the people. Hereupon an Emperour was aduiſed, to make a place like vnto a little Cittie, where all the Merchants of beſt reputation might aſſemble together, to make ſale of their Wares; And likewiſe the Officers of the Treaſury, to ſtore vp ſuch tributes and taxations, as ſhould bee gathered. Wel aſſuring himſelfe, that if the Cittizens would preſerue and defend their owne goods, it was conuenient for them to doe the like to thoſe of the Empire. For they could neuer conſent to any ſpoile, but it returned alſo to their owne dammage. As many times hath beene obſerued in *Italy*, when Souldiours (in particular fauour to ſome faction) haue entred into a citty, & ſpoyling the contrary part: when the enemies faculties haue not proued ſufficient, they ranſacked alſo the houſes of their friends.

The reaſon of this generall Markets building.

Spoile in any Citty maketh no reſpect.

8 Neere vnto this little faſhioned Cittie, on the North-ſide thereof, are the Apothecaries, who haue a ſtraite goodly ſtreete, wherein is about an hundred and fifty Shops. This ſtreete is ſhut in at eyther end with two faire Gates, no leſſe ſtrong then large: and theſe Apothecaries doe keepe diuers Watch-men at their owne charge, that walke about in the night time, with Lanthornes, Dogges, and Weapons, to preuent all inconueniences that might enſue.

Of Apothecaries, & other Artes.

Here are ſold all matters of Spicery, or belonging to Phiſicke: but they doe not make any Sirups, Conſerues, or

All matters of Spicery.

Electuaries, becauſe the Phiſitions do ſee theſe offices performed in their own Houſes, and afterward ſend them to their owne Shoppes, keeping Seruants for the purpoſe, who doe ſee the receipts diſtributed, according to the Phiſitions direction. And the moſt part of theſe Shoppes are ſo conioyned together, with them belonging to the Apothecaries: that the Common people know not the Phiſitions from the other. Theſe Apothecaries haue their Shops high, large, and fairely adorned, with beautifull roofes and rich furniſhments. In all the World is not a ſtreete of Apothecaries like vnto this. True it is, that in *Tauris*, a Citty of *Perſia*, there is a goodly Marketplace of the ſame Arts-men: but the Shoppes haue darke entrances, yet curiouſly builded, and the Porches mounted on Pillets of Marble. But theſe of *Fez* are much more commended, for their benefit of aire and light; thoſe of *Tauris* being too obſcure. A little remote from this ſtreet, are many other Trades, whereof, becauſe I haue elſe-where ſufficiently ſpoken; I may be fauoured to paſſe them ouer.

Phiſitions & Apothecaries haue ſhops together.

The Apothecaries of *Tauris*.

9 The Citty toward the Eaſt, is ciuile, ſtored with goodly Pallaces, Temples, and Colledges: but (indeede) it is not ſo copious and abounding in Artes and Trades, as the other part is; becauſe there are neither Merchants, Taylors, nor Hoſiers, but of courſe and homely Cloth. There is a little Market-place of Apothecaries, wherein are no more then thirty Shops. Toward the Cittie Wall, are the Furnace men, Makers of Bricke, painted Tyles and Diſhes. And hard by them, is a great Market-place, where they ſell all kinde of Veſſels for vſe, but no Glaſſes; as Pots, Diſhes, Pans, Treyes, &c. Then is the Market of the Garners, where they keepe all their Corne: And another ſtands right againſt the great Temple, hauing all the floore paued with painted Tyles, with diuers Shoppes of Arts about it. There are alſo, fiue hundred and twenty Houſes of Cloth-Weauers, which houſes are made like vnto great Pallaces, conſiſting of many roomes, with many fair Haules, in each of which are great ſtore of Weauers: and the owners of theſe Houſes do not handle any working Inſtrument, but onely the Worke-Maiſters, who pay both the wages and rent of euery houſe. And this is the greateſt of all the Artes in the Citty; for it conſiſts of aboue twenty thouſand Men, and as many more are daily exerciſed in the Milles. There are likewiſe an hundred and fifty houſes of Whiteſters of Yarne, all which Houſes are builded (for the moſt part) by the Riuers ſide, and well furniſhed with pannes and Cauldrons, for boyling the Yarne, and other neceſſarie occaſions. In the Citty are ſundry great Houſes, wherein they ſaw and cleaue Wood into diuers formes: which labour is performed by certaine Chriſtian Bond-ſlaues, and of the Money they earne, their Patrones find them their maintenance. They are admitted no time of reſt, but onely the halfe of Friday, from noone to the euening; and ſome eyght other dayes at ſeuerall ſeaſons in the yeare, at which times are the Feaſtes of the *Moores*. There are publique Brothels or Stewes, where Strumpets are attendant at poore price: wherein they are fauored eyther by the * *Bargello*, or Gouernor of the Citty. There are alſo diuers men, who (without offence to the Court) do exerciſe the office of Bawds or Pandares, keeping Wine and Women in their houſes, making benefit by their lewdneſſe, and ſuch as reſort thither, doe it ſecurelie. There are ſixe hundred heads or Springs of Water, naturall Welles, hemd in with walles, and lockt with cloſe Doores; becauſe ſome are deuided into many parts, and runne along vnder-ground, paſſing by Channels to Houſes, Temples, Colledges, and Innes. This Water is in much more eſtimation, then that of the Riuer: becauſe it ſometime faileth, eſpecially in Summer.

Weauers the greateſt trade in the Cittie.

Chriſtian Bondſlaues that cleaue and ſaw wood

* A Captaine of Sergeants.

The ſecond part of the Citty.

What Trades are in this part of the Citty.

Sixe hundred well-ſprings in the Cittie.

Hereto is added, that when they wold make cleane the Kennels, the courſe of the Riuer runneth without the Cittie, which makes euerie one the more gladly to vſe this other ſweete Water. And though Gentlemen (in Summer time) haue of this Riuer Water in their Houſes; yet will they haue ſtore of the Springes Water, as being more freſh and ſweete, but in Winter they doe otherwiſe. Theſe Springes are (for the moſt

Spring water better then the Riuer.

moſt part) on the Weſt and South ſides of the Cittie, becauſe the part anſwering North-ward, is all Mountainie, being called *Teuertino*, and there are very great and deepe places, wherein they keepe much Corne for many yeares, ſome capable to containe two hundred quarters. And the Inhabitants in thoſe places, who are common vulgar men, doe liue on the profit they make by the rentage of them; which is a quarter vpon euery hundred, at the beginning of the yeare.

Stores for Corne.

On the South-ſide, which is halfe inhabitable, are many Gardens, ſtored with good and delicate Fruites; as Lemmons, Citrones, Mellons, and very fragrant Flowres; among which are the Geſſemine, Damaske-Roſe, and Wall-floure, brought thyther out of *Europe*, and much eſteemed of by the *Moores*. In which Gardens alſo, are diuers beautifull Lodgings, Fountains, and proſpects, round engirt with Geſſemines, Roſes, and other ſweete floures. In the Spring-time, whoſoeuer walketh neere thoſe Gardens, ſhall ſmell a rare, delicate, and moſt pleaſing odour; & they are no leſſe anſwerable, in contenting the eye with their beauty and ſplendour. So that, to ſpeake vprightly, no one of theſe Gardens but it doth appeare like an earthly Paradiſe; and this is the reaſon, that Gentlemen (poſſeſſors of them) doe dwell in them, from the beginning of Aprill, vntill the ending of September. On the weſt ſide, is the Rock-Fort, or Caſtle, which was builded in the time of the K. of *Lontuna*, and (in greatneſſe) may equall an indifferent Citty. This was the ſeat (in elder times) of the Gouernors and Lordes of *Fez*, that is to ſay; before it was a roiall Citty: And afterward; when new *Fez* was builded by the Kings of the Houſe of *Marino*, this Caſtle was left as a dwelling for the Gouernor only. In this Caſtle is a goodly temple, built in the time when it was much inhabited, and thoſe faire Pallaces which then were there, are now quite ruinated, and Gardens made where they ſtood. Onely one remaineth, wherein the Gouernor dwelleth, and certaine other Houſes for his Family. There are alſo many other places, where the Gouernor vſeth to giue audience to offenders, and afford them

Gardens on the Cities ſouth-ſide.

Gardens compared to earthly Paradiſes.

The Caſtell Rocke, built by the King of *Lontuna*.

The Gouernors Pallace in the Rocke-Caſtle.

Iuſtice. There is likewiſe a Priſon made in the likeneſſe of a dungeon, yet ſuſtained with many pillers; which priſon is ſo large, as it may well hold three thouſand perſons: for there is no ſeparation, or ſecret deuiſion of one from another; becauſe they vſe not to keepe any man cloſe Priſoner in *Fez*.

The Gouernors Priſon.

10. In the Citty there are none but meane Officers and Magiſtrates, who haue the charge of adminiſtrating Iuſtice. The Gouernor is ſupreame, both in cauſes ciuile and criminall. There is a Iudge, who is appointed for Cannonical cauſes, that is; the Lawes contained in the Bookes of *Mahomet*. Another Iudge alſo, who is Lieutenant to the other, and he attendeth cauſes of Matrimony and repudiation; to examine witneſſes, and vniuerſally to render Iuſtice. Next is the Aduocate, with whom they vſe to conſult on the lawes, and to whō they make their appeale from the Iudges; either when they deceiue them, or giue ſentence by authority of ſome leſſe excellent Doctor. The Gouernour enioyeth a great deale of Money, by condemnations made at diuers times: And the whole weight of Iuſtice, giuen to a guilty offender; is to be depriued of the Gouernors preſence, and beaten with an 100. or 200. ſtripes. The Hang-man taketh the fruſtrated perſon, & putting a Chaine about his necke, leadeth him thorow the Citty, ſtarke naked, onely the partes of ſhame reſerued, which is couered with a breech purpoſely made. The *Bargello* goeth along with them, & the Hang-man publiſheth all the way, the fact wherein hee hath offended: which beeing done, he putteth on his Garments againe; and then is returned backe to Priſon, but ſometimes, many are led in this manner together.

Of Magiſtrates, and their maner of gouernment in adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and cuſtommarie habites.

Of puniſhing ſome criminall perſons.

The Gouernour hath of euery guiltie priſoner, a ducate & a quarter, or fourth part, and of euery one committed to priſon, he hath a taxation, which is ſeuerally paid vnto him, by Merchants & Artificers, deputed onely to that office. But among all other benefits, he hath a Mount which yeildeth him ſeuen thouſand ducates of yearely rent. True it is, that he ſtandeth bound to find the King three hundred Men and Horſes, in the time of Warres, and (ſo long as they endure) to be their Pay-maiſter. The

The Gouernours fees of Priſoners.

Iudges in Cannonicall causes.

Iudges for Cannonicall matters, haue neither wages or reward; becauſe it is forbidden in the Law of *Mahomet*, that any payment whatſoeuer ſhould bee made to a Iudge, for ſuch an Office. Therefore they liue vpon other wages; as on their readings, or by being a Prieſt in ſome Temple. In like manner, the Aduocates and Procuratours, are but ſimple and vulgar perſons. The Iudges haue a certaine place, wherein Debters are impriſoned, and others for light occaſions, or of ſmall moment. In the City are foure Bargelloes, and no more, who make their ſearches from the foure and twentith houre, vntill the ſecond houre of night: And they haue no wages neither, but a certaine tribute of them which they apprehend, by their retention, and for certaine ſmal puniſhments inflicted on them. But each of them may keep a Tauerne or Inne, and be a Bawd for Boyes or Strumpets. The Gouernour of the Cittie keepeth neyther Iudge or Notary to attend him; but deliuereth the ſentence from his owne mouth. There is but one man alſo, that hath chiefe charge in the Cuſtome or Toule-hoſe, who payeth thirty ducates daily to the Kings Chamber, and keepeth Guardians and Notaries at euery Gate, where all thinges (of ſmall price) pay their due at the Gate. But others of greater value, are (by the Guardians) conducted from the Gate to the Cuſtome-houſe, and Guardians & Notaries together, according to the quantity, haue certaine Stipends allowed them. Sometimes the Guardians do go forth of the Gates, to meete the Muleters, becauſe they ſhould not hide or conceale any thing: but if they finde any matter imbezeled, they pay double tribute for the offence, The ordinary payment, is two Ducates in the hundred: And of ſtone-fruit (wherof great plenty is daily brought thither) they pay the fourth part of the price; But for Wood, Corne, Cattle, and Poultry, they pay not any thing. Onely guelded beaſts are not payed for, but in the Butchery, two *Baiocs* for euery ſuch Beaſt, and one to the Gouernour, who is the *Capo di Conſoli*. For he keepeth a Court, with twelue Sergeants there attending. And he rideth oftentimes about the citty, to approoue the weight of Bread, Fleſh, and other thinges that are ſold: And if he find not the eeuen weight, he cauſeth thē to be broken in many fragments, and giueth the Seller ſo many blowes in the necke with the Baſtone, that he leaueth him (in a manner) dead, and the more of ſuch thinges as he findeth too light, the more doth he breake, and publiſh their ſhame beſide thorow the Citty. This Office is granted by the King to ſuch Gentlemen as make ſuite for it: but in former times, it was onlie beſtowed on learned men, and of eſpeciall good fame; though now (by the Lordes meanes) priuate and ignorant perſons do ſooneſt enioy it.

Aduocates & Atturneyes.

Bargelloes Captaines of watch and ſearches.

The Gouernour giueth ſentence himſelfe.

Of the Cuſtome or Toule-houſe, and Officers thereto belonging.

Concerning tribute payments.

The *Capo di Conſoli* his Court, and his riding thorow the City.

The beſt ſort of Inhabitants in the Citty, and their Habites.

The Dwellers in the Cittie, to wit; the Noble and worthyer ſort, are truly ciuill, and cloathe themſelues in winter time, with garments of forraigne wollen Cloth. The manner of habite, is a long ſide Caſſock or Coat, worne ouer the Shirt, with halfe Sleeues, and verie ſtraite: ouer which hee weares a long Gowne, ſeamed or made faſt before, & a hood hanging behind. On his head he hath a plaine bonnet, like them worn in *Italy* in the night time, but without eares: whereon is twice folded about the head certaine fine knotted Cloath, and vnderneath his beard. He weares no hoſen, or halfe hoſen, but only breeches of cloth: winter time excepted, or when he rideth, and then he weareth Buskins. The popular ſort weare long skirted coates with hoods, without any ſuch gownes ouer them as is formerlie named: and thoſe kind of bonnets (ſimply) on their heads, of ſmall price or eſtimation. Doctours and Gentlemen of ſome yeares, doe weare certaine Garments with wide ſleeues, much like to the Gentlemen of *Venice*, who hold much more honorable office. In briefe, ſuch as are of meane and baſe condition, clothe themſelues in Garments of white Wollen Cloth, made in their owne Countrey, and Hoods alſo after the ſame manner.

The common ſort of people

The meaneſt ſort of all.

The habites of Women of all conditions

The Women goe very comely clothed, but in hot weather, they weare a long large linnen Garment onely, guirded about the midſt with ſome Girdle, rather rude and courſe, then otherwiſe. In Winter time, they weare certaine Gownes with large ſleeues, ſeamed down before as the mens are: but when they

they walke abroad, they weare close breeches, which reach so largely, as they couer their whole legs. They also weare a veile or Cloth on their heades, which couers their whole body, after the manner of *Soria*. Their faces likewise is couered with a fine Cloath, so that nothing can be discerned but their eies. In their eares they haue earings of Gold, and very costly Iewels: but such as are not of the like condition, weare none but of Siluer, and without any Iewels. About their wrists, they weare Manilions or Bracelets of pure Gold, and on each arme, which Bracelets doe commonly weigh an hundred ducates. The ignoble and meaner women, haue their Bracelets of Siluer, and such also they weare about their Legs.

Veiles for womens faces

11. The Custome of dyet and feeding among the vulgar sort; is to eate fresh Flesh twice euery Weeke. But Gentlemen feede thereon euery daie, according to their appetite, and haue three meales a day. The first in the morning; is but as a light breake-fast, because it is of Bread or Fruite, and a kind of Broth or Pottage, made with Flower and Wheate, rather very thin, then otherwise. But in Winter, in stead of their Broth, they seeth therein powdred Flesh and Hearbs. At noone or mid-day, they feede on light meates also, as Bread, light-salted Flesh and Hearbes, Oliues, and Cheese: but in Summer time, this second meale is best. At night, their third meale is lightest of all, to wit; Bread & Mellons, or Egges, or Milke. In Winter, their best feeding is on boyld meats, with that kind of Pulse, which in *Spaine* is called *Cuske*, or *Cuscusu*, made in Paste like Coriander Seeds, and stewed in a bored vessel, like to a Strainer, to receiue fume from another boyling vessel, and being afterward well mingled with Butter, is serued in with the broth. They vse not to eate any roasted meate, and this is the feeding of the common people, as also of Artificers, and other poore Citizens. But men of account, as aged Gentlemen, Merchants, & Courtiers; they liue in better sort, and fare more delicately.

Of their manner of Dyet and feeding.

Three meals a day, & how obserued.

The vulgar people, and meanest Citizens.

But in comparison of the dyet vsed in *Europe* among Gentlemen of respect, the *Africanes* is truely miserable and vile: not in regard of the small quantity of foode, but the rude and disorderlie manner of their feeding. Which is on the ground, vpon a very low Table, without Table-Cloth, Napkin, or Linnen of any kinde, or vsing any thing, but the hand onelie: And when they eate the *Cuske* or *Cuscusu*, all the Guests are serued in one dish, and graspe it with their fingers, without helpe of any spoone. And each man taketh which part of the meat himselfe pleaseth, tearing it from the rest without cutting, because they vse no kniues; and tearing it with their teeth, they hold the rest in their hands, eating and deuouring it very greedily. And no man drinketh, vntil he be well satisfied with eating; then each man drinketh a Mazzer of water, containing the quantity of a quart, and this is the common vse. It may be, that some Doctor liueth more moderatly: but to conclude, the meanest Gentleman of *Italy*, liueth more sumptuously then the greatest Lord of *Affrica*.

The dyet of *Europe* & *Fez* compared together.

Their rude & grosse maner of feeding.

12. As concerning Matrimony, this is the manner obserued among them. Whē any man is willing to take a wife, so soone as the Brides Father (if shee haue any) hath made promise to him of his daughter: they inuite and assemble their friends together at the Church or Temple, taking two Notaries with them, who draw the Bargaine and conditions of the Dowry, the Husband and Wife beeing there present. The indifferenter sort of Cittizens, doe vse to giue them thirty Ducates in readie Mony, a *Negro* Seruant-Maid, of fifteen ducates price, a certaine piece of cloth, made of Silke and Linnen in diuers colours, Chekerwise, and other fine Cloathes of Silke, for her to weare on her head.

What maner of custome they obserue in their marriages.

The reasonabler sort of Citizens gift.

It is their custome also, to present her with a paire of Shoes, fairely wrought, and two paire of Choppinoes, painted with Gold and Siluer, and diuers other small gifts; as Combs, Fans, Perfumes, &c. After that the writings are drawn, and that both the one side and other are contented; the Husband taketh all his company there present, to dine with him; and the Father to the Bride, doth the like to all his bidden guests.

What the Brides father may giue to his daughter beside custome.

If the said Father will adorne his Daughter with any Garments, he may doe it in respect of his owne Gentility: because, beside the Money giuen to the Husband, he standeth not bound to any other charges; although hee may iustly be taxed with shame, if he be not more bountifull. Now adaies, beside the thirtie Ducates giuen in help of the Dowry; the Father (or hee that vndertaketh the matter in like case) spendeth two or three hundred ducates in furnishing the Bride, as well in garments, as furniture for household, but giueth neither House, Vine-yard, nor possession.

The manner of furnishing the Bride.

The custome is, to make her 3. gownes of fine cloth, and three of Silke, eyther of Taffata, Sattin, or Damaske; many Smockes; many Sheets for bedding, listed with Silke on either side; Pillowes and Boulsters. She hath giuen her also eight Beds, foure to be laid vp in store,

Furniture for the house.

in conuenient Presses made for the purpose; two for present vse on the Bedsted, the Tikes whereof are grosse and strong, and two other made of leather, which are held as Ornaments to the Chamber. Three faire Couerlets, such as we tearme Quilts, but made of wollen-cloth, and lined with linnen: one of which is first laid vpon the bed, and then another of Silke ouer it, whereof also she hath three in number, with others made conuenient for Summer; beside hangings for the Wals, fairely fringed and buttond with Silke; And this is as an addition to the Dowry, but many times much more, whereby many Gentlemen haue sustained great impouerishing.

The manner of bringing the Bride home to her husbands house.

When the husband bringeth home his new wife to his house, she is first placed in a Tabernacle of wood, made with eight gazings or windowes, al couered with cloth of Gold and Silke, and carried by eight Porters on their heads; being accompanied with her Father, Friends, Husband, Flutes, Trompets, and Drums, beside a great number of lighted Torches, and the Friends to the Husband march before with their Torches, and the Father with his Friendes following, passing on to the great market place, by the great Temple. When they are come into the Market place, the Husband there saluteth the Father and Kinred of his new wife; but shee, without any further attending, goeth home to the house, ther expecting him in her Chamber. The Father, Brother, and Vnckle, goe with her so farre as the Chamber doore, and there present her to her Husbands Mother. So soone as she is entred into the Chamber, the husband sets his foot vpon his wiues foot, which being done, they are left there shut vp together: while they of the house prepare a banket, & one woman remaineth at the Chamber doore, vntil the Bridegroome hath had the honour of the Brides virginity, and the woman then going to her, receiueth a Cloath from her somewhat tinctured with blood, wherewith she goeth among all then present at the banquet, shewing it openly in her hand, expressing with a loud voyce, that the Bride was found to be a virgine. Herevpon, the Husbands Kinred giues her food to eate, and afterward, beeing accompanied with other weomen, she goes to the House of her husbands mother, where she is likewise honoured, and set downe to meat. But if it so happen, that the Husband findes not his wife to be a virgin; he returnes her backe to her Father and mother, and no one wil eat a iot of the banquet, but depart discontented, as a manifest signe of her shame.

The ceremony in the Bride-Chamber.

The Brides shame, being found no virgine.

The Brides three Banquets.

They vse three seuerall Feasts or meetings; The first, is the same night when the Bride is brought home; the second, is the next night after, and then none but women are inuited. The third, is the seauenth night following, whereat the Brides Father, Mother, and Kinred, are al present. On that day, the father vseth to send no meane presents to the Husbands house, beside Comfits, and other banqueting stuffe, and it is seauen daies before the Husband goeth forth of his doores; in all which time of his not being seene abroad, a certaine quantity of Fishes is bought each day, and duelie brought him home to his house. Afterward, either the Mother, or some other woman (in her stead) doth cast those Fishes vpon the Brides feete; which they hold to be an exceeding good augurie, and beside it hath bin a custome of very ancient vse among them. Beside these fore-named Feasts, there are two other also in the Fathers House. The one is, the day before he sends his Daughter,

An augury & obserued Custome.

The Feasts in the fathers house.

ter to her husband, & then inuiting the other ſriendes, the whole night is ſpent in Feaſting and Dauncing. On the day following, the women come thither, that vſe to decke and adorne the Bride, there they trim her haire, rub her cheekes, and paint them red, as alſo her hands & feete blacke, with a certaine tincture that continueth but a while, and this day the ſecond Feaſt is performd. Then is the Bride placed vpon a caried Scaffold, to be publickly ſeen as ſhe paſſeth along; in which time, meate is prepared and deliuered to all them that adorned the Bride. And when the wife is come to the houſe, all her Husbands deareſt Friends, doo ſend thither certaine Diſhes of Bread fryed in Oyle, with others made of Honey, and diuers pieces of roaſted fleſh; and the Husband (hauing inuited manie of his Friends) deuideth theſe ſeuerall preſents among them.

Of decking the Bride.

The Bride caried to bee publickely ſeene.

In their Dancing, which continueth all the Night time, they haue both Muſitians and Singers, who conforming their voyces to the Inſtruments, do make their Muſicke verie pleaſing. No more daunceth then one alone; and when hee hath finiſhed his dance, he taketh a piece of money out of his mouth, and throwes it on the Table before the Singers. And if any friend will do honour to him that danceth, he performeth it on his knees; and then ſticking diuers pieces of money on his face, the Muſitians preſently take it off. Women alſo haue their Dauncing, but ſeperately aſide from the men, hauing likewiſe variety of Daunces, Singers, and Muſitions, which order is eſpecially obſerued; when the bride commeth a Virgin vnto her Husband: but when ſhee commeth to a ſecond time of marriage, the ſolemnity conſiſteth of the leſſer reputation; and then they giue courſe Beefe in their feaſting, Mutton of the Ewe, and boyled Hennes. But when they mingle diuers kindes of pottage with their meate, they vſe to ſet twelue great diſh-ful before the gueſts, in a great round platter made of Wood, the Feaſt conſiſting of ten or twelue perſons; and this is obſerued among Gentlemen and Merchants. The meaner ſort of people, vſe a kinde of pottage, made with round molded Bread in it, like to the *Laſangna*, vſed in *Italy* in their *Meneſtra*; & therein is cut great ſlices of coorſe fleſh, al mingled together in a large woodden Platter, which they eate with their handes, vſing no Spoones, and ten perſons may feed at one of thoſe Diſhes.

The Order obſerued in their dancing among men,

The womans maner of dancing.

The dyet of Gentlemen & Merchants

They vſe alſo another kind of feaſting, at the circumciſing of their Male-Children, which is ſeauen dayes after the Childes Birth; whereto the Father calleth the Barber, and other inuited frends, on whom he beſtoweth a ſupper. Which being ended, euery one of the Gueſtes, giueth a guift to the Barber or Circumciſer: ſome a Ducate, ſome two, ſome halfe a Ducate, ſome more or leſſe, according to their ſeuerall ability. Theſe perticuler guifts of money, are laid each after other, vpon the Barbers childs face (if he haue any, or ſome other for him:) which Childe pronounceth euery giuers name, quantity of gift, and thanketh him for it, and then the Barber circumciſeth the child; which being done, they dance and feaſt in the fore-named manner. But if it bee a Daughter, leſſe ioy is declared.

Circumciſing their Children, and a feaſt therfore prepared.

13. There remaineth alſo in *Fez*, certaine Trackes or Imitations, of ſome Feaſts concerning the Chriſtians, wherein they vſed diuers words vnknown vnto themſelues. On Chriſtmas day at night, (commonly called Chriſts birth day) they vſe to eate a kind of Pottage, made of ſeuen ſundrie diuerſitie of Herbs, as Coleworts, Turnops, Carrets, and ſuch like; being dreſt and prepared with al kinds of round Pulſe, as Beanes, Peaſe, & wheat, which is eaten that night, inſted of a delicate confection.

The cuſtomary Order of their Feaſts, and maner of mourning for the dead.

The firſt day of the yeare, Children, masked with Vizards on their faces, vſe to go to Gentlemens Houſes, there to get variety of Fruits, ſinging diuers ſongs made fit for the purpoſe. Vpon the day, called S. *Iohns* day, in euerie ſtreet, they make verie great fires of ſtraw. And as a Childe beginnes to haue his teeth grow, his Parents make a Feaſt for other Children, and they tearme this Feaſt *Dentilla*, which is a proper Latine word. They haue many other Cuſtomes and maners in receiuing their Auguries; which I haue ſeene obſerued in *Rome*, & in ſome other Cities of *Italy*.

The firſt day of the yeare.

On S Iohns day.

The feaſt called *Dentilla*.

A Ceremony alſo there is verie frequent amongſt women, when as eyther their Husbandes, Fathers, Mothers, or Bre-

A Cuſtome amongſt the women at the death of their Husbands, &c

Brethren chance to dye, they then meet together, and despoyling them of their vsuall wearing Garments, do put on verie coorse sackcloath. They take the soile and filth from their pots and pans, and therewith do rub and be-smeare their faces. Then causing some base and rude men to come to them, cloathed in Womanish Garments, beating on square Drummes; to the sound thereof, they sing extemporall Lamentations, and mournefull Verses, made in the praise of Death.

Funerall Songs and Complaints.

At the end of euery Verse, the Women crie with loude voyces, beating their Faces and Breasts so violently, that blood yssueth forth in great abundance: they rent and teare their haire likewise, mourning and crying bitterly all the way they passe along; and this behauiour lasteth seuen dayes together. Afterward, hauing respited the space of forty daies, this time is no sooner finished, but they renewe againe their former complainings, and so hold on, for the space of three dayes more.

This Custome is obserued amongst the Vulgar and common people: but they of better quality, do mourne more moderately, and without any such violent beating. Their friends vse to come and comfort them, and all their neerest Kindred, doo send them diuers kindes of foode to eate: because in the dead bodies house, so long as it remaineth there, they vse not to dresse any meate, nor doe the Women accompanie the dead bodie, although it be their Father or Brother.

No foode dresst in the dead mans house, while his body is there.

14. There are men in the Cittie, that take delight in keeping of Pigeons, whereof they haue store of such as are verie faire, and of diuers colours. They keepe them in certaine large Cages, on the top of their Houses, shaped after the manner of the Apothecaries shoppes: opening twice, euerie morning, and towardes the Euening, because they conceiue much pleasure in seeing them flye; and such as flye oftenest, and speedyest, are most esteemed.

Of Dooues or Pigeons, and their manner of keeping them.

And because many times it hapneth, that one mans Pigeons do mingle themselues among anothers; they quarrel and fall out, yea, and go together by the eares about them: yet to preuent this distemper, they keepe men on purpose, who stand on the top of the Cages, with nets fastened to the end of long Canes; and when their Maisters Pigeons would flye among the Neighbours, they take them in that Net. In the rowe where the Colliers stand, are seauen or eight Shoppes, where nothing else but only Pigeons are solde.

15. Amongst the more ciuill and Gentler sort of men, no other kinde of play or sport is vsed, but the Chesse onely, according to the ancient obseruation. They haue diuers other manner of Pastimes, but they are rude, and vsed by the vulgar people only. At certaine times of the yeare the young men gather together, and they of one streete, doo fight against them of another, with Staues and Cudgels.

Their manner of Sportes & Pastimes.

The sporte of youth, proouing (many times) from iest to earnest

Sometime it chaunceth, that eyther side do grow into such heat; as from iest they fall into earnest, yea, and kil one another, especially at the solemne Feastes, when the Assembly of these youthfull people is made out of the Citty. When they can no longer fight with Cudgels, they fall to hurling stones at each other, & will not giue ouer so long as day-light lasteth. Whereupon, when the *Bargello* is not able to part them; he seazeth on some of them, and commits them to prison, afterward punishing them thorough the Cittie.

In the night time also, some Wilde bloodes will yssue forth of the City, carrying Weapons with them, and run into the Gardens and Fields. But if they meete with as hot resisters (as many times they do) they fight verie fiercely and cruelly together, bearing alwaies deadly hatred to each other: but manie times, they meete with founde and seueare chastisement.

Dangerous sporte in the night time.

16. There are also many Poets, who compose Vulgar Verses of diuerse matters, but especially of loue; some describing their owne Loue, which they beare to Women, and other to Maids, many times setting downe the affected parties name, without vsing anie shame or respect. These Poets euerie yeare, on the Feast day of *Mahomets* Natiuitie, do write sundry Songs in praise thereof; and meeting together earely in the morning, in the Market place of the *Capo di Consoli*,

Poets in their vulgar tongue

The feast day of *Mahomets* birth.

Consoli, they ascend vp into his seat, wher euer y one (each after other) doth duelie rehearse his song in presence of the people. And he that is iudged to haue done best, and most elegantly declared his owne meaning, that man for the whole yeare ensuing, is called and accounted as Prince of al the other Poets.

A Prince of Poets.

But in the time of the famous Kinges of the house of *Marino*, the King that then liued, vsed to inuite all the Learned men to his Pallace, yea, all the Iudicious wits in the Cittie, where making a banquet for all the worthiest Poets, he would haue them to recite their Verses seuerally (made in commendation of Mahomets Birth) in his owne royall presence; but it was vppon an open Scaffold, and in the companie of many deepe vnderstanding men, according to whose iudgement, the most commended person had giuen him by the King, an hundred Ducats, a horse, a Woman-slaue, and all the Garments which the King at that time did weare. To all the rest he gaue fiftie Ducates for each man, that no one might depart from him vnrewarded. But it is nowe about an hundred and thirtie yeares, since (with the declination of the Kingdome) this custome ceased.

The bounty of a Heathen King to Poets

17. For Children to be enstructed in Learning, there are about two hundered Schooles, each bearing the forme of a goodly great Hall, with seats or degrees round about, for Children to sit on. The Master teacheth them to read and write, not in any Bookes, but in certaine great Tables. And the Lessons read each day vnto them, are sundry clauses of the *Alchoran*, which beeing fully reade ouer in two or three yeares, and then beginning at the Originall againe, a child learneth verie readily, and containeth euery thing well in memory, proceeding so stil on for the space of seauen yeates.

Schooles of learning for the instruction of Children.

No instruction in Bookes.

The Maister also teacheth them some fewe Rules of Orthographie, but both that kinde of erudition, and the Grammer, is ordinarily read in the Colledges, as likewise the other Sciences. These Masters haue small stipendarie Wages, but as Children do learne to certaine limited places in the *Alchoran*, their Fathers stand obliged to gratifie their Maysters with some gift. And when the child hath learned the whole Alchoran, then his Father maketh a solemne Feast to all Schollers of that Schoole, whereat his Sonne is adorned with Garments like a Lords sonne; and riding vpon a goodlie great Horse, and of no meane Value, (which Horse, as also the Garments, the Castillane of the Cittie Royall, standeth bound to prouide him) al the other schollers, mounted likewise on horsebacke, do accompanie him home vnto his Fathers house; and as they enter in thereat, they sing many Songs in the praise of GOD, and of the Prophet Mahomet. And then is the Feast made to the Schollers, and al his Fathers Friends; each of the which Friends, do giue some guift to the Maysters: and then, the Sonne putteth on his owne Cloaths againe, because the other do appertaine to the Maister. And this is their yearly obserued custome.

Rules in Orthography.

The Schoole-Master wages

The Schollers triumph for the best learner.

They vsed also, to make a Feaste for these Schollers, on the birth day of Mahomet, and then the Father must send a Torch to the Schoole, whereby euerie Childe bringeth his owne Torch: some whereof, do waigh thirty pound waight, some more, and some lesse, according to the persons quality. Those Torches are verie faire, well made, adorned and beutified round about, with diuers Frutages made of Wax, and these Torches doo burne from the breake of day, til the Sun be risen; all which time, the Master bringeth in diuers Singers, that sing the praises of Mahomet; and so soone as the Sun is risen, the Feast is furnished. These are the greatest profits of the Maysters, because sometime they sell their Waxe for an hundered Ducates, and sometime for more, according to the number of their Schollers. No man payeth anie Dutie for his Childes schooling, because the Schooles were founded on Almes, which were left vnto them by diuers persons. The Schollers, not only of these Schooles, but likewise of the Colledges, haue two dayes vacancie euerie weeke, and then they neither read, nor studie.

The Schollers Feast on *Mahomets* birth day.

The Maisters greatest benefit by their wax Torches.

18. There are a great number of Wizardes or Sooth-sayers, which deuide themselues into three kindes, or (as we may rather say) qualities. The first, are certaine men that Diuine and foretell things by the Art of Geomancy, making diuersity of figures; and are paid for euerie one of them, according as the vse of

Of Sooth-sayers and Diuiners, or Foretellers of thinges to come.

Diuiners by the Art of Geomancie.

of them (for imployment) is needfully required. The ſecond, are ſome others, who putting water into a Glaſſe Baſen, and they letting fall a drop of Oyle into the ſaide water, which will appear bright and tranſparant, like a Glaſſe: they then tell the By-ſtanders, that therein they do beholde Deuils, troope vpon troope, ſeeming like to an Armie of manie ſtoute Warriours, offering to plant down their Tents or Pauillions, euen as they march along the way; ſome on the water, and ſome on the Land. Then as the Wizzard pretendeth this confuſion to be appeaſed, he demandeth of them that com for information, ſuch matters as they ſeeke to be reſolued in: whereof he then queſtioneth thoſe Deuils in the Water, and they make him aunſwere, by ſignes, noddes, becke of the hand, or winke of the eye. Beholde, what groſſeneſſe is in them, that will credite theſe fallations. Sometimes, hee will put the Baſen into the hands of a Childe, of eight or nine yeares old, and aske of him if he doe not ſee ſuch & ſuch a Deuill, whereunto the ſimple Child anſwereth, that he doth ſee ſuch ſhapes as he tels him.

Diuiners by a Baſon of water.

Strange anſweres of Deuils in a Baſon of water.

This do many Fooles verie conſtantly beleeue, aud ſpend much mony on ſuch ſhameleſſe deceiuers. The third ſort, are women, who perſwade the common people, that they holde amitie with Deuils of diuers kindes: and therefore, they tearm ſome to be red Deuils; others they ſay are white Deuils, and others they affirme to be blacke Deuils. When they would fortel vpon any ones requeſt, they perfume themſelues with certaine ſweet Odours, and then they perſwade the partie, that the Deuill which ſhee then calleth, doth inſtantly enter into hir perſon. Heereupon, ſuddenly ſhe changeth her voice, faigning that it is the ſpirite which ſpeaketh by her tongue. Then the Man or Woman that is come to bee reſolved in ſomewhat by her, demaundeth what ſhe pleaſeth of the ſpirit, with great Reuerence and Humility: and receyuing anſwere, leaueth a good guift for that deuill, and ſo departeth, euen as wiſe as when ſhe came thither.

Women Wizzards pretending great familiarity with Deuils.

But ſuch men, as haue ioyned VViſedome with honeſty, and wel experiented ſuch matters, doo tearme this VVoman Soothſayer *Sahacat*, which aunſwereth to the like Interpretatiõ, as *Fricatrices* doth in the Latine toong. For indeed they haue a wicked Cuſtome, in taking Carnall knowledge one of another; and therefore, cannot be expreſſed by an honeſter vocable.

Sahacat the Name of the woman Wizzard.

Moreouer, when among ſuch VVomen as come to them, for information in things that they deſire, they perceiue any one to be faire and beautiful, they becom enamored of her, euen as a young man of his affected Miſtris. And then, in form of the Deuil, no other recompence is required of her, but amorous coniunction in familiar entertainment. The ſimple woman, beleeuing that ſhe ſhal haue the pleaſures of a Spirit, ſometimes is drawn to conſent; and many haue beene therewith ſo delighted, that they grewe deſirous for to ioyne in ſociety with them. Whereupon, counterfetting ſickeneſſe, one of theſe Wizards muſt needs be ſent for, and (many times) the fooliſh Huſband is made the Meſſenger.

Fleſhly fruits of Diuination

She preſently diſcouereth her deſire to the Wizard, who afterward reuealeth it to her Husband; telling him, that a Deuill is entered into her bodie, and that if he be deſirous of her helth, it is very conuenient, that he giue her Liberty to make one in the number of that Societie; and ſecretly to practiſe the Art among them. The Gull-Husbande beleeuing, giueth his conſent; and (to expreſſe his greater folly) maketh a ſumptuous Feaſt for the whole Order: wh ch being ended, they all fall to Dauncing, certaine Negroes playing on their Inſtruments, and ſo ſhee is referred to her fortune amongſt them. But ſome Husbandes will driue the Deuill out of their Wiues, with the ſolemn ſounde and blowes of a good Baſtinado. And others, diſſembling themſelues to be poſſeſſed, do deceyue the Deceyuer, euen by ſuch meanes as his wife was beguiled.

Of Women that deſire to ioyne in ſociety w th theſe Wizzards.

Fit Phyſicke for Fooliſh Women.

19 There is likewiſe another ſort of Wizzards, who are called *Muhazzimin*, that is, Enchanters. Theſe are reputed to be verie powerful, in deliuering mad-men, or ſuch as are poſſeſſed with euill ſpirits: not for any other reaſon, but that ſometimes their endeuor forteth to effect; but if it ſucceede not, they tearme the Deuill to be an Infidell, or elſe, that he is ſome Celeſtiall ſpirit.

Of Enchaunters or Coniurers. *Muhazzimin.*

The maner of his Coniuring, is thus; he

The maner of his Coniuration, & dealing with a party poſſeſſed.

he writeth certaine Carracters, and formeth Circles on a Chimney Hearth, or other like place; afterward, hee painteth ſome ſignes on the hand or foreheade of the partie poſſeſſed; and then ſweeteneth himſelfe with diuers perfumes. Thus the enchantment being made, he demandeth of the Spirit how he enterd into that bodie? By what part? What hee is? And how hee is named? At length, hee commaundeth him to depart. Some there are of another ſort, that worke by a rule called *Zairagia*, that is, * *Cabala*. But they fetch not their operations from the Scripture, becauſe this Science of theirs is held to be naturall. And indeed, many of them know howe to giue infallible anſweres, to matters that are demanded of them. But ſuch a rule is very difficult, becauſe he that will preuaile therin, muſt needs bee no leſſe a perfect Aſtrologer, then an *Abbachiſt* or Arithmatician. Sometimes, he maketh a Figure, which asketh ſo long time in making, as from Morning till night, in the Summer ſeaſon; and it is in this forme.

* A hidden ſcience of heauenly and Diuine miſteries, profeſſed by the Rabbies.

The order of making a Figure after their manner of *Cabala*.

He maketh many Circles one within another, & in the firſt he ſhapeth a croſſe, at the Confines whereof, hee ſetteth downe the foure quarters, Eaſt, VVeſt, North, and South. VVithin the ſayde Croſſe, that is; where all his parts meet together, he formeth the two Poles; and without the firſt Circkle, hee frameth the foure Elements. Afterwardes, diuiding the ſaid Circkle into foure parts, he deuideth the following Circkle into as manie more; and then euery part he deuideth into ſeauen parts, noting downe in euery one of them, certaine great *Arabian* Carracters, which are twenty eight, or twentie nine Carracters for each of the Elements. In another Circkle, hee ſhapeth the ſeauen Planets: In another, the xii. Signes: In another, the twelue Moneths of the yeare, according to the Latines: In another, the eight and twenty Tabernacles (or as we tearme them, Houſes) of the Moon: In another, the three hundered, threeſcore and fiue daies of the year; and without all theſe, the foure principal windes. He taketh then one letter only, of the thing to bee demaunded; and then, multiplieth it with all the matters numbered, vntill he commeth to know what number the Carracter beareth. Afterward, he deuideth it in a certain manner, and then putteth it into ſome parts, according as the Carracter is; & in what Element it ſtandeth, inſomuch, that after the multiplication, diuiſion, and dimenſion, he perceiueth, that the Carracter agreeth with that number whereto it is aduanced. Then reſpecteth he that found Carracter, according as hee did the firſt; and ſo traducing it on from degree to degree, it paſſeth the eight and twentie ſeuerall places, or Carracters. Thereof then hee compoſeth a ſentence, and of that ſentence a ſhort Oration, which is the anſwere to the queſtion demaunded, and that Oration euermore agreeth with one meaſured Verſe, beeing the firſt of thoſe *Arabian* Verſes, which are called *Ethauil*, conſiſting of eight and twelue Sillables, anſwerable to the *Arabian* Metricall Art.

Arabian verſes, tearmed *Ethaul*, wherin conſiſteth their chiefe *Cabala*.

In the ſaid Verſe then, is comprehended the fore-named Carracters, becauſe of them it is compounded, and from thence ariſeth a true and vndoubted anſwer: for firſt, is diſcerned the matter demanded, and afterward the anſwer to the cauſe demanded. The like courſe as this neuer erreth: and in this *Cabala* of theirs, conſiſteth an admirable Art: for, neuer was ſeene a matter (held to bee naturall) that appeareth more ſuper-naturall and Diuine, then this their *Cabala*.

One of theſe Figures was ſometimes made, in the Colledge of King *Abululan* in the Cittie of *Fez*, and the open place where it was made, was paued with fine ſmooth white Marble, euery quadrant of the place, containing fiftie yardes in length, and two third parts of the place, was employed with ſuch things as belonged to the framing of the ſaide Figure: three ſeuerall perſons alſo were verie ſeriouſly buſied in making it, each man hauing the charge of a proportioned part; and yet they could ſcarſely conclude it in a whole day. Another was likewiſe made in *Thunis*, by a verie excellent Mayſter, whoſe father had commented on the ſaid rule in two Volumes; and ſuch as be acquainted with this rule, are held to be verie ſinguler men.

An apparant proofe of this kinde of Figures, by ſeueral Maſters performed.

The twelue Months after the Latines.

20 There are alſo many Learned men, who are ſtyled by the name of wiſe men, and morrall Phyloſophers, who obſerue ſome other Lawes then were commanded by Mahomet. Som of them are

Rules and diuerſities in the Lawes of Mahomet.

are accounted Catholicke, and others not; but the vulgar people repute them to be Saints, although they admit many things for lawful, which were prohibited by the Lawes of *Mahomet*. As by way of example: The Law forbiddeth, that no ſong whatſoeuer of Loue, ſhalbe ſung by the rules of Muſicke; and yet theſe men ſay, that they may do it.

There are Orders in this Lawe, and many Rules, euerie one of which, hath his chiefe defence, and Doctors alſo, to defend thoſe Rules, exerciſing manie Workes, concerning ſpirituall life. This Sect began foureſcore yeares after Mahomet; and the firſt and moſt famous Author thereof, was named *Elhejembra Abilhaſen*, in the Cittie of *Bafra*, who began to giue certain Rules to Schollers, but wrote downe none.

The firſt Author of this Sect.

An hundred years after being paſſed, there was another moſt woorthy man in like manner, called *Elharit Ibna Eſed*, of the Cittie of *Bagaded*, who wrote a learned worke Vniuerſally to all his diſciples. But afterward, both by the Lawyers and Byſhoppes, his opinion was depraued, & all ſuch condemned as obſerued thoſe Rules.

Another Author of the ſame Sect.

About foure-ſcore yeares after, this Sect beganne to ſpring vppe againe, and had another verie famous man, as defender thereof, who was followed by manie Diſciples, and preached the ſame Doctrine publickely. So that all the Lawiers (aſsiſted by the Byſhoppes) condemned both him and all his followers vnto death, concluding, that each man of them ſhould looſe his head. Which when the chiefe Leader of this ſect herd, immediately he wrote a Letter vnto the Byſhops, entreating them to afford him ſo much fauour, as that hee might Diſpute with the Lawyers: and if they could conuince him, hee would willinglie dye: but if he could giue demonſtration, that his Doctrine was better then theirs, it was no honeſt caſe, that ſo many poore Innocents (by falſe Calumnie) ſhoulde periſh.

A third Author of this Sect.

A requeſt made for diſputation with Mahomets Lawyers.

This requeſt ſeemed to the Biſhops to be lawfull and iuſt, and they graunted his requeſt, ſo that the Learned man cam to Diſpute with them; and preuailed with ſuch ſucceſſe, that hee vanquiſhed all the Lawyers, and the chiefe Byſhop (in teares) conuerted to bee one of the ſame Sect: and (while he liued) continually fauoured it, cauſing many Monaſteries and Colledges to be builded, for the followers of that man. This Sect continued for another hundered yeares, vntill out of the greater *Aſia*, came *Malicſath* the Emperor, whoſe ſtirpe and originall was of the Turkes. He perſecuted this Sect, ſome of them flying to *Cairo*, ſome into *Arabia*, and they continued twenty yeares in this expulſion, which was till the raigne of *Caſelſah*, Nephewe to *Malioſach*; whoſe chiefe Counſellour (that was a man of great ſpirite, named *Nidam Elmule*) being of this ſect, did ſet it on foote againe, planting and combining it in ſuch firme manner, that by the labours of a very learned man, called *Elgazzuli* (who compoſed a worthy work, deuided into ſeauen ſeuerall Bookes) the Lawyers and followers of this ſect, were reconciled together. Whereupon, the Lawyers had the Title of Doctors, and Conſeruers of the Prophets Lawes; and the other were nominated vnderſtanders and Reformers of thoſe Lawes. This Vnion continued, till the ouerthrowe of *Bagaded* by the *Tartars*, which was in the yeare, 656. of *Lhegira*. And as yet hath hapned no diuiſion, becauſe all *Affrica* and *Aſia* are full of thoſe Diſciples.

The expulſion and perſecution of this Sect.

The re-eſtalment of this Sect, and agreement with the Lawyers.

In thoſe dayes, none might enter into this Sect, except learned men in euerie faculty; and (aboue al) deepe vnderſtanders of the Scriptures; for the better defence of them, and confutation of the contrarie ſide. But now, within theſe hundred yeares, euery ignorant fellowe will enter thereinto affirming, that there is no neede of learning: becauſe, after knoledge of the truth, the bleſſed Spirite is ſufficient for them of cleane heart: This and other like weake reaſons doo they alledge in their owne behalfe. So that leauing the commaundements as ſuperfluous, yet neceſſarie to the rule in parte, theſe men intend no other Offices, but euen what the Lawyers do appoint, addicting themſelues vnto all the pleaſures, which are helde law full by the rule; and therfore, they make many Feaſtings, ſing wanton amorous ſongs, & vſe long dances: At certaine times, ſome of theſe men, tearing off their Garments, according to the propoſed matter of the ſong, or anſwereable to the idle fantaſie then hapning in their brain, wil ſay: that euen then

Who were admitted into this Sect in elder times.

Alteration of theſe latter dayes.

Feaſts, wanton ſongs, and Dances.

then he is heated with the fire of Diuine loue. But I rather suppose him to bee warmed, with the superfluous plentie of meats, because euery one of these vnmanerly men, will deuoure so much meate, as is thought too much superfluitie for three men. Or which I rather thinke to bee more true, this heate proceedeth of intemperate desire, and lasciuious beastly loue to yong beardlesse Boyes. For, it is no rare matter, when a Gentleman inuiteth one of these chiefe Maisters to his wedding, bringing all his Schollers with him, they at the beginning of the Feast, do say Prayers, and sing diuine songs. But when all is finished, the elders putting off their gowns to dance, if any of them happen to fall; hee is quickly holpen on his feet by one of the yong Lads, who therefore is sequited with many lasciuious kisses. Heerupon grew a Prouerb, *That the Hermits banket, is in euerie mans mouth in Fez.* Signifying thereby, that the feast is no sooner ended, but euerie boy must serue as his Maisters bride; for, they may not take any Wiues, and therefore, they are termed Hermits.

The custome at a Gentlemans marriage.

A Prouerbe in *Fez*.

21 Among this Sect, are certain rules held to be hereticall, both by the one and other sort of Doctors, because they not only differ from eithers Lawes, but also from their faith. For some there be, that haue a firme opinion, that a man by his owne good workes, by fasting, and by abstinence, may purchase to himself an Angellical nature: because say they, they purify his heart and vnderstanding in such maner, as he cannot sin thogh he would, but it behoueth first, that he passe thorow fifty degrees of discipline. And albeit he should sinne, before he haue passed those fifty degrees, yet God will not ascribe it to him as sin. And these men (at the first) do keepe very strange, & seldom seene the like Fasts; but afterwardes, they fall to all pleasures in the World. They haue also a strict rule or order, made by an eloquent and Learned man, in foure Volumes, his name was *Esseuerardi de Schrauara*, a City in *Corasan*. There was another Author named *Ibnulsarid*, who compiled al his doctrine in verie elegant verses: but those verses are ful of Allegories, seeming to intreate on nothing elsse but loue. VVherfore, one called *Elsargani*, Commented on the saide worke, and drew thence the rules and degrees which were to bee obserued.

Concerning Rules, Sects, and superstitious credulity in manie men.

A strange opinion of mans begetting an Angellicall Nature.

Esseuerardi de Schrauara.

Ibnulsarid.

Elsargani.

This Poet was of such elegancie, as others (his followers of the same Sect) vsed to sing none but his Verses at their Feasts, so that for some 300. yeares since, not oong was held more polished and delicat, then that receiued from him.

An elegant Poet.

These men are of the minde, that the Spheares, the Firmament, the Elements, the Planets, and all the Starres, are one God, and that no Law or Faith can bee in error, because they immagine all men to honor in their souls, that which deserueth to be adored. They believe also, that the knowledge of God is contained in a man, named *Elcrob*, elected and pertaking with God; and, as concerning knoledge, a meere God. There are likewise, forty other men besides these, who are termed *Elauted*, that is, Boughs or branches, because they are of a lesser degree, and of more inferiour knowledge. But when the *Elcrob* dieth, another is created out of these fortie men, and he commeth out of the number of seauenty other.

The strange opinion of some men.

Elcrob, knowing as a God.

Elections out of diuers degrees.

There are likewise 755. other men, whose title I doo not verie well remember: but when one of these seauentie dyeth, another is added from these to fulfill their number. Their Law bindeth them, to walke vnknowne in the world, disguised like fooles, or publicke noted sinners, or of the vilest men that can be. Wherefore, vnder these or the like shaddowes, many wicked minded men wander thorough *Affrica*, starke naked, making publicke apparance of their owne shame, & are of such vnbrideled disposition, that euen without any respect at all, like vnto brute Beasts, in the midst of an open market place, they will deale carnallie with women; and yet notwithstanding, the Vulgar sort do repute them to be Saints. Of these base people, there are store in *Thunis*, but many more in Egypt, and especially in *Cairo*.

A counterfeit cloake for much wickednesse.

Horrible brutishnesse.

It happened on a time in *Cairo*, in the Market place, called *Bain Elcasrain*, one of these afore-named men, tooke a verie faire young Woman, that was newly come foorth of a Stoue or Bathe, and bringing her into the middest of the Market place, hee there hadde carnall knowledge of her. So soone as hee hadde lefte the Woman, all the Beholders came running to touch her Gar-

A true History of their vilenesse, done in an open Market place in *Cairo*.

ments, as a matter of Deuotion, becauſe ſhe had beene touched by an holy man. And they ſaide among themſelues, that the holy man did but faigne the action of ſinne, and did not commit the deede. When the matter was made knowne to her husband, hee accounted it as a verie gracious fortune befalne him; and prayſing God for it, made a ſolemne Feaſt & Banquet, giuing Almes alſo for, ſo happie a bleſsing. The Iudges and learned men in the Lawes, ſought all means how to punnith the runnagate: but they were in danger to be ſlaine by the people, becauſe (as I haue formerly ſaide) ſuch villaines are held in eſpeciall veneration amongſt the common people, and they will beſtowe great guifts and preſents on them.

Of the *Cabaliſtes*, & ſome other Sects.

22 Certaine other rules, are obſerued among ſome, that tearme themſelus to be *Cabaliſtes*, who haue a ſtrange order of Faſting; not eating the Fleſh of anie creature: but haue certaine meates, and appointed Habites, ordained for euerie houre both of the day and Night. They haue alſo perticuler Praiers, according to the dayes and Moneths, deliuering thoſe Prayers, by the way of number; and wearing on their bodies certain Quadrets, painted with Carracters, and engrauen numbers. They vſe to ſay, that good ſpirits do appeare vnto them, and ſpeake with them, giuing them notiſe of all thinges vniuerſally done in the world. Of this ſort, there was an excellent Doctor, named *El Boni*, who compoſed their Rules & Prayers, as alſo their Quadrets.

El Boni, a famous Doctor

His moſt famous Workes are about eight in number, one whereof is named *Ellumba Ennoramita*, that is; *The Demonſtration of Light*, and therein is appointed their Prayers and Faſtes. Another is termed *Semſul Meharif*, that is, *The Sun of Knowledge*, wherein is contained the maner of making the Quadrets, and it declareth the benefit enſuing by them. A third, is entituled *Sirru Laſme*; *Elchuſue*, that is, *The Vertue contained in the ninety nine names of God, &c.*

Ellumba Ennoramita.

Semſul Meharif.

Sirru'Laſmei Elchuſne.

The order of *Sunach*, being Hermites in Woods.

There is an Order in this Sect, which is called the Order of *Sunach*, that is; of certaine Eremites, who liue in Woodes and ſolitarie places, and feed on nothing but Hearbes, Rootes, and wilde fruites; no man beeing any way able to vnderſtand their liues, becauſe they flye and ſhunne all dwellings of men. But I ſhall wander too farre from my intended purpoſe, if I ſhould perticulerly followe the relation of all the Mahometane ſundrie Sects.

Therefore, whoſoeuer is deſirous of further intelligence in this caſe, let him read the Workes of one who is named *Elacſani*, who defuſedly diſcourſeth on the diuerſitie of Sects, proceeding from the Religion of Mahomet, which are ſeuenty two eſpeciall ſects, and euerie one holdeth his owne to be good and true, as hoping thereby for ſaluation. But the truth is, in this preſent age, there are no more of theſe Sects to be found, but two. One is that of *Leſhari*, which extendeth it ſelfe thorow all *Affrica*, *Egypt*, *Soria*, *Arabia*, and all *Turkey*. The other of *Imamia*, which runneth through all *Perſia*, and ſome Citties of *Coraſan*. This held the *Sophi* King of *Perſia*, and by the like Sects was almoſt all *Aſia* deſtroyed, becauſe they held (before) that of *Leſhari*; yet the ſaide King ſought by ſtrength of Armes oftentimes, to contayne himſelfe in his owne Religion: but moſt certaine it is, that one Sect onely, is embraced within all the Mahometane Dominions.

Elacſani, who declareth all the Mahometan Sects.

The two ſeuerall Sectes at this day remaining.

23 In *Fez* alſo, there are certaine men, who are called *Elcaneſin*, that attend only to finde out Treaſures, which they beleeue to haue beene buried in the Foundations of auncient ruines. This iddeot kinde of people, will go foorth of the Cittie, entering into many Caues & Grottes, ſeeking there to finde the forenamed Treaſures. For, they hold a verie ſtrong and true opinion, that when the Romaines were enforced from the Emperie of *Affrica*, and fled to the Spaniſh * *Bætica*, they were enforced to burie vnder grounde, many verie rich and precious things, which they could by no meanes beare away with them, but left them there enchanted; and therefore, other Enchanters muſt be had to find out thoſe treaſures. Nor is there any want of ſuch men, as will ſweare, that in ſuch Caues they haue ſeene Golde and other Iewels of Siluer: but they could not get them thence, becauſe they had not their enchantments readie, and their fitting perfumes.

Of *Inueſtigators* or ſearchers for hidden treaſures

* Now called *Granado*.

Greedines of gaine beguileth many ignorant people, and some beside, that thinke themselues wise.

perfumes. Whereuppon, the people being led by this vain credulity, do make search in the grounde, ouer-throwing thereby (oftentimes) many goodly buildings and Tombes, wandering (at some times) ten or twelue dayes iourney from *Fez*, because the Riches was drawne by enchantment so farre off. Nay more, they haue Bookes, wherein mention is made of certaine hils, and other obscure places, wherein manie wonderfull Treasures lye hidden, and are there kept by especiall Oracles.

Of Alchimists and what maner of men they are.

24. Nor is there any want of Alchimists, but they abound in verie great number, that bestow their studie in this foolish vanity. And what are they? None but lowtish filthie Fellowes, that soil and pollute the world (more then any other) with sulphurous, noysome, and offensiue smelles. In the night time, manie of them, doo ordinarily meete together in the great Temple, and there dispute on their false imaginations. For they haue many Bookes of that Art, composed by eloquent men: the first & cheefest whereof is intitled *Geber*, who liued an hundered yeares after *Mahomet*, and was reputed to bee a Greeke Renegado, whose workes, and all his receipts are Written in Allegories. They haue another Author, who hath written another great labour, called *Attogrebi*, that was Secretary to the Soldane of *Bagaded*. Likewise another Volume, composed in Songes, reuealing all the Articles of that Art, and the Maister was named *Mugaribi*, said to be of *Granado*. And it was Commented on by a *Mamaluke* of *Damasco*, who was a verie learned man in the Arte; but his Comment is more difficult to be vnderstood, then the Text it selfe. These Alchimists are of two kinds, the one laboureth in search of the Elixer, which is the materiall substance, that toucheth euerie Mettall and Vaine: and the other seeketh after the multiplication of the quantities of Mettalles, by meanes of commixing one with another. But both their proper ends, is oftnest found to be falsifying monies, as may be noted in the most parts of *Fez*, without handling.

Geber a Greek Alchimist.

Attogrebi another Author.

Mugaribi, of *Granado*.

Two sortes of Alchimists.

Of cozening beggerly Montebanks,

25 In this great Citie, there is also as great store of that vnprofitable rascality, which in *Italy* are known by the name of cozening Beggers and Mountebanks. These men go vp and downe the Market place, singing Romants, fabulous Songs, and such like follies, playing on Cimbrils Viols, Harps, and other Instruments, selling to the ignorant multitude, certaine Mottoes, and briefe words, which (they say) are much availeable against diuers euils. With these are ioyned another sort of vile men, who are all of a familie and Kindred, and they walke thorow the Cittie, making Apes and Monkies to dance; and they haue liue Snakes and Adders Writhed about their naked neckes and armes. They can also make some figures of Geomancy, & pretend to fortell what shall happen to women. They lead goodly Stallions along with them, and for a certain price, will cause their Mares to be couered, that are thereto disposed, with promise of successefull speeding.

and dissembling Coniurers.

Cozeners with liuing Snakes and Adders about their neckes.

Heer could I pursu other perticularities, of like base minded men in the Citty, but it shall suffice to say; that (for the most part) they are displeasing and badly affected to straungers, albeit there is no great number of strangers, because the Citie is aboue an hundred miles distant from the Sea; and from the Sea thither, the waies are sharpe, and vneasie for trauailing strangers. I could say also, that the Seigniores are very proud, insomuch as fewe haue dealing with them. The like are the Doctors and Iudges, who (for reputations sake) will conuerse but with very few. Neuertheless, my conclusion is, that the Cittie is faire, commodious, and wel ordered. Only in winter time, the streets are very dirty, so that men can hardlie passe along, but with certaine hie Choppinoes which they weare; yet much auoidance is made by the Channelles, for (by them) many streets are washed clean. But where there are no channels, the filthe is gathered vp, and conueyed thence vpon Beasts backes, and thrown into the riuer.

The Authors excuse from further progression in this kinde.

26 Without the City, on the west side, there is a Town or Burrough, which maketh about fiue hundred fires: but all the houses are verie rude, and inhabited by vile people, such as are the Driuers of Cammelles, the Carriers of Water, and Wood-cleauers for the Kinges prouision. Yet is this Towne furnished with many shoppes, and all kindes of Artificers. There dwel likewise the cozening

Townes and Burroughes out of the City, & of what housholdes they consist.

Beggers, the players on Inſtrumentes of ſmall eſteeme; and great ſtore of Strumpets, but they are brutiſh, baſe, and ſluttiſh. In the chiefe ſtreet of this towne, are many Ditches or Trenches, made by working Tooles and Inſtrumentes, becauſe they are hewed out of a hard rock, where the Corne (for the great Lordes) was wont to be kept, when none els dwelt there, but the Keepers of Corne. But after the warres began, and the Corne was violently carried thence, the Granaries were made in the new Cittie of *Fez*; and theſe which were without, vtterly abandoned. Theſe Trenches are of wonderfull greatnes; for, the verie leaſt of them will containe a thouſande quarters of Corn, and there are an hundred and fifty of thoſe Trenches, which now are layde wide open, and many people (vnawares) haue falne into them: wherefore, certain little wals haue ſince beene made about them.

The chiefe ſtreet of the Towne, containing Garners for corn.

The Caſtellane of *Fez*, when it happeneth, that he performeth any ſecret execution, the offenders bodies are throwne into theſe Trenches, for there is a priuie doore out of the Rocke, made anſwereable and fitting for theſe places. In this Towne, all cozenages at Dice are lawfully permitted; and heere euerie man ſelleth Wine, keepeth a Tauerne, and publicke vſe of Whoores: whereby it is iuſtly ſaide, that this Towne is the receite for all the filth in the Citty. After the twentith houre is paſt, not one man is to be found in any of the ſhops, for then euerie one falleth to dauncing, ſporting, drabbing, and drinking.

When ſecret executions are done, how they beſtowe the dead bodies.

There is another Burrough belonging to the Cittie, wherein diſeaſed Leapers only are dwelling, containing about 200 houſes. Theſe ſickly people, haue their Priour or chiefe Gouernor, who gathereth the reuennues of many poſſeſsions, giuen only for Gods ſake, by Gentlemen and others; and they are attended on in ſuch good maner, as they find no want of any needful thing. This Priour hath the charge to ſee the City free from any ſuch infected perſon: and if ſo be, that he find any one ſo diſeaſed, to take himſelfe preſently out of the Citty, and bring him to this place appointed for the purpoſe. If any one happen to die there without heires, the one half of his eſtate is deliuered to the community of the Town; and the other belongeth to him that can ſhew beſt right for it. But if the leprous partie haue Children, his goodes are his Childrens.

A Towne of Leapers only were relieued & maintained

The Office of the Priour, concerning his charge.

It is further to be noted, that in the number of theſe diſeaſed Leapers, ſuch alſo are included, as haue any white ſcabs or ſcurfe on their bodies, and other incureable infirmities. A little further from this Towne, there is another, wherein dwell none but Muleters, Potters, Bricklayers, & Carpenters, and this Towne maketh aboue 150. fires. Again, further yet weſtward is another great Towne, which can make about 400. fires: but they are very ſimple houſes, and inhabited by poore wretched people, that either cannot, or will not abide in any better place. Neere to this Towne, is a great champain field, which extendeth it ſelfe from this Town to the Riuer, about two miles in length, and three in full bredth Weſtward. In this field, is a Market held euerie Thurſday, and great ſtore of people reſort thether with all kinde of Cattell. The Shoppe-Keepers alſo, dooth carrie thither their commodities, and make ſale of them there in open Tents. They haue a cuſtome, that ſome few Gentlemen being gathered togither, they cauſe a Butcher to kill a Sheepe; and diuiding the body among themſelues, they giue him nothing but the head and feete for his labour, for his skin they ſell to the Wooll Merchant. Litle tol is paid for the goods ſold in this Market; and yet I muſt tel ye, that neither in *Affrica*, *Aſia*, nor in *Italy*, are ſo many people ſeen at a market, as at this, and ſuch ſtore of prouiſion, which ſurely is an vnvalewable matter.

A Towne of Muleters, Potters, &c.

A great town of 400 houſeholds.

A Cuſtom on the Market day.

Without the Cittie, are verie ſteepe Clifts or Rockes, which do engirt a large Trench of two Miles long: and on theſe Cliftes, they hew out the ſtones, wherewith they make their Lime and Chalke, whereby manie Gentlemen growe Rich, but none that are of any Nobilitie. Againe, on the Weſt part without the Citie, are ſome hundered Cottages, erected on the Riuers ſide; which are kept by ſuch as vſe to White cloaths, and then ſpread them abroad in a faire field, neere to theſe Cottages, where they haue euery thing fit and apt for the purpoſe, euen as wee ſee vſed in any other Nation elſewhere.

Rockes and Cliſts without the Citie.

Whitſters of cloath.

Of Common Graues and buriall without the Citie.

27 There are diuers Fields about the Cittie, wherein they burie their dead bodies; and these fields were giuen (for Gods sake) by sundry Gentlemen, onely for common buriall. They lay a Stone made Triangle-wise, but long and faire, vpon each graue. But on men of more woorth and reputation, they place at his head a Table of Marble, and another at his feete, whereon Verses are engrauen of consolation after so harde and bitter a passage.

Somewhat lower, is his name sette downe, his house of descent, & likewise, the day and yeare of his death. Among these Verses, some are apt to cause ioy and comfort in death; but others, do rather encrease griefe and Melancholy, yet patience must be vsed both in the one & other.

Of the Kings burial & Sepulchre.

28 Without the Cittie likewise, is a faire Pallace towards the North, vpon an high hill, wherein manie Sepulchres are to bee seene, of diuers Kinges of the house of *Marmo*, beeing adorned with goodly Ornaments, stones of Marble, & Epitaphes verie ingeniously deuised; so that the cost and colours, do (in a maner) fill the Beholders eyes with much admired pleasure.

Of Gardens and Orchards

29 On the North side also, & Eastward and Southward, are many goodlie Gardens and Orchardes, stored with all kind of Fruits, growing on Trees, great and high. By the Gardens entrance, do diuers Armes of Riuers run along: but by the thicke growing of the Trees, the Orchards appeare to be goodly woodes. The month of May doth water them very plentifully, which is the chiefe cause of the fruits abounding, and alaie of perfect goodnesse, except Peaches, which haue not any pleasing rellish. And it is imagined, that in due season of the yeare, 300. horse-loads of these fruits are sold dailie; and all those horse-loads of Fruite, are brought to one certaine place in the City, where they pay a limited taxation, and are there sold by out-cry, in presence of the Fruiterers. In the same market place also, are sold the Negro Bondslaues, and an appointed tax paide for euerie one of them. Moreouer towards the West, is a large plot of ground, containing xv. mile in bredth, and 30. in length, which is all full of Springes and little Brooks, belonging to the great Temple. This place, is rented by the Gardiners; and there they sow Line, Mellons, Pompions, Citrons, Carrets, Nanons, Reddishes, Coleworts Cabbages, and such like Garden fruits in great plenty: so that it is verily supposed, that this place yeeldeth in Summer time, fifteene thousande horse-loades of these fruits, and as many in Winter. But verie true it is that the Ayre there is verie bad, and the most part of the inhabitants haue their faces of a yellow colour, being continually subiect to Feauers, and verie many do die of them.

The Gardens and Orchardes yeilde great plentie of fruits.

The sale of Negro Bondslaues.

Of the Newe Citty of *Fez*, and the scituation thereof, as also the description of the Riuers current.

30 The New City of *Fez*, is round enguirte with two verie faire, high, and strong wals, being built on a verie goodly plaine, neere to the Riuer, distant from the olde Citty (on the West part, and somewhat leaning toward the South) the space of a mile. Betweene the two wals, entereth and passeth the Riuer along, to wit, on the North side, where the Milles are; and the other current of the Riuer, is diuided into two streams: one running betweene new *Fez* and the olde, on the rocke side; and the other glideth on further, by certain Vallies & Gardens neere to old *Fez*, vntil it getteth entrance thereinto on the South side. The other part of the riuer, enters at the Rocke, and passeth by the Colledge of King *Abuttimam*. This Citie was builded by *Iacob*, Son to *Abdu'iach*, first King of the house of *Marino*, who wonne the Kingdome of *Marocco*, and displaced the king, as such time as he was in warre with the King of *Marocco*, the King of *Telensio*, did very much molleste him, being leagued with the king of *Marocco*; because the house of *Marino* should not encrease.

Who was the first Founder of New *Fez*, and vppon what occasion

So soone as *Iacob* had ended the war of *Marocco*, he bethought himselfe to be reuenged on the King of *Telensin*, and purposed warre against him, as being couetous of his Dominion, yet wel perceiuing, that the strongest Forts of the kingdome, were farre off distant from *Telensin* it selfe; whereon he concluded, to erect the Cittie in this place, and to translate thither the royall seate of *Marocco*, which he accordingly performd, naming the Cittie *Bianca*, but the vulgar people afterward called it new *Fez*.

New *Fez* named *Bianca* by the Founder.

The King caused the City to be diuided

The diuision of the City in to three parts

into three parts, euerie one seperat from the other. In one part, he appointed his owne Pallace-Royall, and other Pallaces for his Children and Brethren, commanding each one to haue their Gardens of pleasure; and neere to his owne Pallace, he builded a verie goodly Temple, beautified in meruailous stately manner.

The first part

The second part of the Cittie, were erected faire great Stables, for the Horsses belonging to his Royall person, and many sumptuous Pallaces for his Captains, and men of greatest esteeme in his court.

The 2. part.

From the Gate on the West side, to the gate that looketh Eastward, was appointed and made the market place of the Cittie, containing in length, little lesse then a mile and a halfe, and there are the shops for Merchants, and Handi-crafts men of all sorts.

The Market place of the Citty.

Neer to the West gate, by the second wall, is a verie goodly lodging, with many other thereto belonging, where the *Custos* of the Cittie, with his Soldiers & Officers, do make their abiding. And neere thereto, is two other great Muzes or Stables, well able to containe aboue three hundred Horsses, deputed only for seruice and guard of the Pallace.

The *Custos* of the City.

The third part of the Cittie, was asigned for dwellings to the Guard of the Kings roiall person, who were certaine stout men of the East, armed with long Bowes, because the vse of Crosse-browes, was not (as then) knowne in those parts.

The 3. part.

Now, at this present, are many goodly temples in the fore-named Market place, and very stately Stoues or Baths, made with great cost and charge.

Temples in the Market-place, and stoues.

And neere to the Kings Pallace, is a place where the Money is coined, which is named the *Zecca*, which is made in forme of a quadrant Market place, with certaine Lodgings round about it, and those are the houses of the Maisters. In the middest thereof, is another faire dwelling, which is the house of the Lord of the Mint, where hee and his Notarie daily sit together; because the saide Mint (as in all other Countreyes) is an Office belonging to the King, and for his benefit.

The Mint for Coyning money.

Neere vnto the Mint, is another Market place, wher are the Goldsmiths shops, with their Consull, and he that keeps the Seale and stampe of the Monyes. In *Fez* they may not make any Ring, or anie other work of gold or Siluer, til the mettall be first sealed or stamped, on paine of great losse to the seller: but being sealed, an appointed price is paide, and then it may be vsed, as they do their mony.

The place of the Golde-Smiths.

A Seale or stamp apointed for Gold and Siluer.

The greater number of the Goldsmithes, are Iewes, who worke al their labour in new *Fez*, and then bring it to sell in olde *Fez*, at a Market place asigned to them; next to the Apothecaries, because in old *Fez*, no Gold or Siluer may bee hammered; neither may any Mahometan vse the Art of a Goldsmith, because they terme it vsurie, to sell things made of Golde or Siluer, for anie greater valu then the waight only; but the Lords giue Libertie to the Iewes to do it, because they are accounted Vsurers.

Concerning the Iewes in *Fez*.

There are verie few, that make any worke for the Cittizens onely, neither haue they any other recompence then for the making. And that part of the Cittie, where (in elder times) the Guard of Archers dwelt, is now allotted to the Iewes onely, because the Modern Kings haue not kept such Guards, but such as haue first dwelt in the old Cittie, and at all such times as a King died, they were expulsed by the Moores.

The Iewes dwelling place asigned by it self.

And it was a great trouble to the King *Abusabib*, to translate the Iewes from the old City to the new, imposing a Tribute vpon them: and nowe there they remaine, in a verie long and large Market place, where they haue their Shoppes, Houses, and Synagogues.

And they are increased to such a number, as verie hardly can they bee counted, especially since the Iewes were expelled by the King of *Spaine*.

The great number of the Iewes, & how they are despised generally.

They are contemned of all men, and none of them may weare any Shooes; but they vse certaine Pantofles, made of Sea-Bulrushes, and on their heads they haue blacke Tolibants; and they that will weare Hats or Caps, must haue a piece of red cloth fastened thereon, to bee publickely noted from other men. Their tribute is to pay the King of *Fez* foure hundred Ducates euery month.

In briefe, this City was within the space of an hundred and forty years, furnished with strong Walles, Pallaces, Temples, Colledges, & al those Ornaments which a City can haue: and I am of the minde, that the cost was greater, bestowed on those ornaments, then on the wals which do engirt it.

The time of the Cities compleating.

VVithout the Citty, are manie great wheels made, to mount the water out of the

Wheeles for conuayance of water into the Cittie.

the Riuer, conuaying it vpon the Citty wal, where certain Channel gutters are made, which carry it to the Pallaces, Temples, and Gardens. And these Wheeles haue been made in our time, to wit, within an hundred yeares: because before, the Water came into the Cittie by Channels, that is, by Water-guides, which issued from a Spring or Fount, distant from the Citty the space of ten miles, which Channels were made vpon certaine Arches, very formall and artificiall. And it is said, that those conuayances were inuented by a skilfull man of *Geneway*, at such time as Merchants were much fauoured by the King. And the Wheeles were made by a *Spanyard*, which are (indeed) very admirable thinges; especially, because in such a power of Water, they turne no more but foure and twenty times both by day and night. I should adde to this discourse, that not many Noble men dwell in this Cittie, or such as are allied to Lords, or Courtyers, because all the rest are meane people, and imployed in base offices. For men of reputation and quality, thinke scorne of admission to any Court offices: beside, they hold it a disgrace vnto them, to match their Daughters with any that are of the Kings house.

Who deuised the water Channels.

Who inuented the wheeles.

Men that refuse Offices in Court.

31. Among all the Lords of *Affrica*, it is not found, that any was created King or Prince, by election of the people, or called from any Prouince or City. By the Law of *Mahomet*, there was not any Temporall Lord, that could tearme himselfe ligitimate, except the chiefe Priests or Bishops. But after that this authority consisted in the Byshops onely; all the heads or commanders of the people, which liued in the deserts, began to approch to inhabited Countries, and (by force of Armes) instituted diuers Lordes against the Law of *Mahomet*, and likewise against the Bishops prerogatiues. As it happened in the West, that the *Turks*, *Curdes*, and *Tartares*, with others comming from those parts, got dominion of what Lands they could attaine vnto. Also in the East raigned the people of *Zeneta*, and they likewise of *Lontuna*; afterward the *Prædiatores*, and after them, the family of *Marino* ruled there. True it is, that the men of *Lontuna*, came in ayde and fauour of the westerne people, to deliuer them from the handes of Heretiques: and heerein the Lordes were Friendes to the people, vntill they began to grow to tyranny, as apparantlie hath beene noted. Vpon which occasion, no Lordes are now made by true inheritance, nor by election of the people, or by the greatest, or by some Captaine: but euery Prince, before hee dyeth, leagueth and bindeth the greater and most potent men of his Court, to create (as Prince) after his death, either his Sonne, or Brother of the said Son. Wherein many times an Oath is giuen them, or else (as it hath often hapned) they would elect for their Lord whom themselues pleased. In this manner haue they vsed to create the Kinges of *Fez*, & so soone as the King is publikely named; he maketh one of his noblest persons his chiefest Counseller, assigning him a third part of his Kingdomes Reuennues. Then doth he elect a Secretary, who serueth for Secretary, Treasurer, and chiefe Steward of his House. Afterward, hee createth the Captaines of his Cauallerie, who are deputed to the Kingdoms custody, and therefore are most times ready with their Horses in the field. Then, for euery Citty is a Gouernour established, who enioyeth the benefits of the Citty vnder Obligation; to keep such a number of Horses at his owne charge, ready for the Kinges commaund; that is, so often as he shall neede to leuy an Armie.

The order of Princes creation at this present in *Fez*.

After publike nomination of the King, the Creation of new Officers.

The order of the K. of *Fez* his Court.

The Law of Mahomet against temporall Lordes.

Next, certain Comissaries are made, and Agents ouer the people that dwell in the Mountaines, and likewise ouer the *Arabes* that are his Subiects. The Comissaries doe administer Iustice, according to the diuersitie of Lawes appointed for the people. The Agents stand charged, to gather the Reuenues, and keepe diligent acccount of ordinary payments, as also such as are not ordinary. Then are certaine Barrons appointed, who are tearmed in their language, *Custodes*: euery one of them hath a Castle, or else one or two Villages, from whence they deriue certaine allowances for liuelode, and to maintaine their quality and condition, in accompanying the King with his Armies.

Arabes Subiects to the King of *Fez*.

Comissaries and Agents, and their seuerall offices.

Forcible dominion, both in the East and West.

Also

Allowance for keeping Light-horses.

Also, they keepe light Horses, whose charges they beare when they are in Fielde: but in times of peace, Corne, Butter, and powdred flesh is allowed them all the yeare, but very little Money; and they take charge of the Horses abroad, no lesse then in the Cittie, because the King furnisheth them with all things. And all the Seruants of the Stable are Christian Slaues, who doe weare great Iron Chaines at their feet: but when the Army goeth abroad, the said Christians doe ride on Camels of burden

Christian slaues, Seruants of the Stable.

The Commissary for the Camels.

There is another Commissary ouer the Camels, who giueth entertainment to the Shepheards, and other Hards, & dispenseth with them for the fieldes, being a Prouider also for a number of Camels, only for imployment in the kings businesse, and euery Cameller keepeth two Camels in ordinary, for the Kings carriages onely, and according as commaund is giuen. Then there is a Steward, who hath charge to furnish, prouide, keepe and lay forth Monies, for prouiding the Kinges dyet, and for the Army, and he keepeth tenne or twelue great Pauillions, wherein he disposeth the Victuals, still changing and rechanging the burdened Camels; to the end, the Army may suffer no want, and vnder his controule are the Officers of the Kitchin. Then there is a Maister of the Stable, who hath care of all the Horses, Mules, and Camels, belonging to the King; and he prouideth all thinges necessary for them, and for the familie vnder his charge, laying out whatsoeuer is therein thought expedient. He hath also vnder him a Commissarie for the Corn or Graine, conuaying the Oates, Barlye, and other prouision for the Beastes, from place to place: and this Commissarie hath Chancellours and Clearkes, who doe set downe all the Corne which is spent, and yeildeth an account thereof to the Maister of the Houshold.

The Steward for the Kings prouision.

Officers of the Kitchin.

Maister of the Horse.

The Comissary for Corne, and his vnder Officers.

There is likewise a Captaine of fiftie Horse, who (after the manner of Cursors) doe ride to lay impositions, on behalfe of the Secretary to the King, and in the Kinges name. And there is another much more honorable Captaine, who is chiefe of the secret Guard, and hath authoritie (in the Kings name) ouer the Officers that doe executions, and for confiscations in cases of Iustice. Hee may apprehend the greatest persons, commit them to prison, and vse seueritie of Iustice on them, when hee is commaunded by the King. The King hath also neere him a faithfull Chancellour, in whose keeping is the Kinges Seale; and he writeth the Letters that passe the Kings hand, sealing them with the same Seale.

A Captain of fifty Horse.

Captaine of the Guard.

The Lord Chancellour.

Of Lackeyes and Footmen there are a great number, who haue a Captaine ouer them, that entertaineth, dischargeth and deuideth among them their most and least Wages, according as he iudgeth of their sufficiency. And when the King graunteth audience, the saide Captaine is alwaies present, and exerciseth the Office (as it were) of a cheefe Chamberlaine. There is also a Captaine of the carriages, whose Office is, to the conuay Tents and Pauillions frō place to place, wherein the Kings light Horse-men are lodged: but the Kinges Pauillions are carried on Mules, & those of the Souldiors on Camels. There is a company of Ensigne-bearers, that carry the Streamers and Standards on the waies: but one of them goeth alwayes before the Army, bearing a verie high pointed Standard. And all these Ensigne-bearers are guides, knowing the waies and passages ouer Riuers, woods, and Deserts, keeping a great companie of Drummers, that play vpon Drums made of Copper, like vnto great Kettles, broad aboue, and narrow beneath, being couered aboue with Skinnes, and they carrie them on Horse-backe, with certaine counterpoizes directly against the Drummes, because their weight is heauie. These Horses are of the best, and swiftest of pace that can be gotten: for it is held as a very great shame, when any drum is lost. And those drummes sound so strongly, and with such a loud noise: that they may bee heard (a long while) a great way off, making the horses and men to tremble, and they play vpon them with Buls Pizzels.

Captaine of the Lackeyes.

Captaine of the carriages.

Ensigne-bearers, & drums of Copper, carried on horse-backe.

Great shame to loose a Drum in war.

The Trumpets are not kept at the Kings charge, but they of the Citty are bound to keepe a certaine number of them, at their owne cost: and they attend vpon the Kings table, as also when he goeth to battaile. There is a Maister

The trumpets

Maister of the Ceremonies, and his office

ster of the Ceremonies, who when the King calleth his Counsell, or admitteth audience; alwaies standeth at the Beds feet, ordering their places, and causing them to speake each after other, according to their degree and dignity. The

The Kinges Houshold *Negro* slaues, and his Wife.

Kings Family or Houshold, are (for the most part) *Negro*-slaues, and of them also are the Chamber-Maides and Women: Neuertheless, he hath his Wife alwaies white. Hee hath also diuers Christian slaues, and they are *Spaniards* or *Portugals*; And all the Weomen are vnder the Guard of Eunuches, who are all *Negro*-slaues.

The Kinges dominion and reuenues.

This King (in truth) hath a great dominion, but smal reuenues, which hardly doe amount to the value of three hundred thousand Ducates. And the fift part thereof also commeth not to his hands, because the residue is assigned, as we haue formerly declared: and the one halfe of those Reuenues, is in Graine, Cattle, Oyle, & Butter, comming in by diuers wayes. Some places doe pay for so much Land, as can be Ploughed in a day by a paire of Oxen, a Ducate and a quarter. Others pay for euery Chimney or Fire, as much. Other places there are, where for euery Man (from fifteene yeares vpward) is paide as much, and in other places, both for Men and Women. Nor is there any other oppression of Toule, but in the great Cittie onely.

The manner of payments.

Toule paid in the great Citty onely.

Mahomets law against reuenues.

I may not conceale, that (by the law of *Mahomet*) Temporall Lordes might not hold any Reuenues or Rents, except the tribute appointed to them, which was: that euery person who had an hundred ducates in ready Mony, stood bound to pay the Lord (out of that summe) two ducates and a halfe yearly, so long as such a quantity lasted. And euery one, that gathered of his owne Land tenne quarters of Corne, was bound to deliuer the tenth part: And such rentages were yeilded into the Byshops hands, who, beside the Kings supplie, made storeof the ouer-plus to cõmon benefit, wherewith were relieued the poore sickely persons, Widdowes, and warre maintained against the Enemy. But from the time that the Byshops power failed, the Lords (as hath beene said) began to vse tyranny: and it did not suffice them to vsurpe on those Reuenues, spending them according to their owne appetites; but they annexed vnto them new tributes, so that, thorow all *Affrica*, few Countrey people are found, that can allow themselues so much, as wil be sufficient for their food and rayment onely. And hence ensued it, that no learned man, or of honest conuersation, will haue familiaritie with temporall Lords, nor feede with them at one Table; much lesse accept any gift or present from them, because they account the facultries of those Lords, to be worse then robberie.

Concerning Lands, and releese of the poore.

Tyranny and vsurpation in the Lords.

Contempt of the temporall Lords.

The K. of *Fez*, keepeth continually in pay, sixe thousand Horse, fiue hundred Crosse-bowes, and as many Shot, all on horse-backe, and ready in order at euery commaund: but in times of peace, they are kept a mile off from his person; that is, when the King is out of the field, for being in *Fez*, he careth not for any guard. If it happen, that Warre is to be made with the *Arabes* his enemies; then those sixe thousand Horse are not sufficient, but he calleth such *Arabes* as are his Subiects to his ayde, of whom a great number are leuyed at their own charge, and they (indeede) are more practised in warre, then the sixe thousand belonging to the King. The pomp and Ceremonies of this King is verie small, and not many are willingly done vnto him: but at Feastes, or in some publike shewes; of necessity then they must be affoorded, as in this manner. When the King will ride abroad, first of all, the Maister of the Ceremonies maketh it knowne to all the Cursores in the Kinges Name; then they giue intelligence thereof to the Kings Kinred, to the Captaines, *Custodes*, and to the other Cauallery, who meete all together in the Market-place, which is before his Pallace, comming thither by al the neerest waies. And as the King issueth foorth of the Pallace, the Cursores doe deuide all the Horse-men in order.

The Kinges continuall preparation for warre.

Of warre with the *Arabes*.

The pompe & ceremonies of the King.

When the K. rideth abroad the order of euery degree in their seuerall places.

First do the Ensignes lead the way; next, the Drummes; then the Maister of the Stable, with all his Officers and Familiars; then the Steward with his Attendants; then the *Custodes*; after them comes the Maister of the Ceremonies; then the Kings Secretarie, the Treasurer, the Iudge, and the Captaine of

The King and his attendants

of the Army. In the next place rideth the King, with his chiefe great Counsellour, and with some other Princes: certaine Officers riding directly before the Kings person; one bearing a sword; another a Shield; another carrying the Kings Crosse-bow; with all the Footmen and Lackyes round about them. One of them beareth the Kinges Partizane; another the Couering for the Saddle, and Head-stall for the Horsse. When the King alighteth on foot, the Saddle is couered with the couerture, and the Head-stall put ouer the Bridle, to hold the Horsse by. Another Footeman carrieth the kings Pantofles, which are wrought with great cost and curiosity. After the King rideth the Captaine of the Foot-men; next the Eunuches; and then the Kinges Houshold. Then follow the light Horsemen; and next them the Crosse-bowes and Caliuers.

The footmen and their office when the K. is alighteth

The habite which the King then weareth, is meane and honest, and such as know him not, will scarcely think he is a King: because his Foote-men are more proudly cloathed, in rich cloath, curiouslie embroidered. No King, or *Mahometane* Lord, weareth any crown or any thing that may resemble it; because the Law of *Mahomet* doth forbid it. When the King remaineth in the Field, first the great Tabernacle of the King is planted in the midst, which is made like to the Walles of a Castle, with Turrets and Quadrants on each side, containing fifty yardes in length; and on the top of euery side, are little Towers, made of Cloth, with Spires, Piramides, and round balles on each Turret, which seeme to be of Golde. This Tabernacle hath foure Gates, at euery one whereof standeth the Guard of Eunuches, and in the middest thereof there is another Pauillion. The Chamber wherein the King sleepeth, is made in such manner, that it may be very easily taken vppe, and set downe againe as occasion serueth. About this Tabernacle, are the lodgings of the Officers, and such Courtiers as are most fauoured by the King: And round about them againe, are placed the Tents of the *Custodes*, which are made of Goats skinnes, like to them of the *Arabes*. Euen as it were in the midst, are

The Kings wearing garments.

The King weareth no Crowne.

The order of the Kings being in the field.

The Kinges resting chamber in the field.

The *Custodes* Tents.

the Buttry, Pantry, Seller, and Kitchin, belonging to the King, and they are all verie great Pauillions.

Not far from them, are Tents wherein the Light-horsemen Souldiors haue their lodging, who doe all feede on the Kinges common dyning boord, but in very base manner. A little further off is the Stable, beeing certaine couered places, wherein the Horses are kept one by another. Without the circuit of these Lodgings, are the Muleters abydings for the Kings carriages, as also diuers Boothes of Butchers, Pedlers, and other retailers. Merchants & Artificers that follow the Fielde, are ranked by the Muleters. So that all the Lodgings about the Kings Pauillions, do appeare like a builded Citty; because the *Custodes* Tents serue in stead of Wals, which are made and planted one by another, that no man can enter into the saide Lodgings, except it bee by appointed waies. About the Kinges Tabernacle, is the watch kept al night; but the watch men are silly persons, no better then Armour-bearers. The like Guard is about the Stable of Horses; but by the simplicity of these Watch-men, not onely are the Kings Horses many times stolne: but also diuers enemies vnto the King haue entred, with purpose to kill the King. The King (almost all times of the yeare) is in the fielde, as well for safety of the Kingdome; as to preserue in peace and amity the *Arabes* his Subiects, wher they spend the time in hunting, or playing at the Chesse.

The Light-horsemens Tents.

The Stable.

The Muleters Tents.

Merchants & Artificers.

Watch about the Kings Tabernacle, and about the stable of horses.

The King in field well neere the whole yeare.

CHAP. II.

Of diuers Customes and manners of burying the dead; Of ancient Obsequies, and their Ceremonies. Who was the first Inuenter of them; And how the dead haue beene lamented for.

Numa Pompilius first deuised Obsequies.

Numa Pompilius was the first Inuenter of Obsequies for the dead, and instituted a chiefe Byshop, who had the care and charge therof. The ancient

ancient *Romaines* had two kindes of burying their dead. One was, to lay them in the ground, and couer them with earth. And the other was, to burne the body in a pile of Wood, which they tearmed * *Rogus*: but this manner of behauiour continued not long, and the first of the Senators that was burned, being dead, was *Sylla*. The order obserued therein, was thus: First matched the Torch-bearers, and after them all the Colledges of Priests. Then followed an Image of Waxe, made in true resemblance of the dead party; before which also went a man, who should counterfeit the deceased in countenance, called * *Archimimus*. The bodie was carried in a bed, with many Escutchions of Armes fastned thereon, before which went the sounders of Trumpets, if he were a man mature of years: but those of young daies, were carried with the sound of Flutes, and followed with Songs. For *Macrobius* saith, those Auncients verily beleeued, that Soules being deliuered out of their bodily Prisons, returned to the original of Musical sweetnesse, that is to say, to Heauen. Some thinke, that it was so done, because the Soule is held by many, to bee harmonious, which *Herophylus* first of all credited. When they came to the place where the fire was prepared, the body was laid therin, and there burned, which done being in presence of the Parents, neerest kinred, allyes and friends to the dead party: they gathered vp the Ashes, which being put into Vrnes, or other vessels, was placed in some tomb, with other pots full of Wine & Milke, and fire in others, that burned for many yeares, it was so wonderfully composed. Then one of the neerest Kinred, pronounced a Funerall Oration in his praise, which being ended, the woman, who was hyred to lament and mourne for the dead, beeing called * *Præfica*, would cry with a loud voyce these last wordes, *I, Licet*; as if shee would haue said, *Ire Licet*, as much to say, as *He must needes depart*. Then the bones and ashes were put into a Sepulcher, before which (as *Seruius* saith) an Altar was readie furnished. All these Ceremonies being finished, the last *Adieu* was deliuered with a loud voyce, in this manner, *Adieu, Adieu, Adieu; Wee must follow thee, according as the course of Nature shall permit vs.*

And because heere a question may be made, to wit; how it should be possible, to select and know the Ashes of the body, from among them of the Wood and Faggots, all of them being burned together: I will set downe that which I haue read in the Geography of *Raphaell Volaterranus*. Hee saith, that the bodyes of great Lords were sowed vp in a Cloath, made of the Stone called * *Amiantus*, which neuer can be consumed in Fire, but onely that which is enclosed in it; and that Cloath was made in the Isle of *Eubœa*, now called *Negropont*, in the Towne *Carystos*, very neere to *Chios*. This custome of burning dead bodies, continued among the *Romains*, til the time of the *Anthonine* Emperours, when then they began againe to bury them in the earth.

The first Honour which they vsed to performe in the Obsequies of famous persons, was, to commend the partie by an Oration: And the first that made Funerall Oration, in praise of the dead, was *Valerius Publicola*, on the death of *Brutus*. The second Honour, was the play of the *Gladiatores* or Fencers: And *Marcus* and *Decius*, the Sonnes of *Iunius Brutus*, were the first that made shew thereof, in honour of their Father. The third honour, was to make a banquet of magnificent furnishment. The fourth, was a distribution of flesh to all the common people. They had likewise an order, that within some while after the Obsequies, they would strew diuers flowers and sweete odours vpon the Sepulcher: as the *Romaine* people did on *Scipio*. And such as could not be buried with the like, and so great pomp (for the expences were insupportable) were buried in the night time, by some which were thereto deputed, who were tearmed *Vespillons*, that carried the dead body to the graue, cloth'd in white, and he or shee that were neerest of Kinred, closed vp his eies.

No long time after the sicke person had surrendred vp his Soule, the Chamber was set wide open, and all of the Houshold were permitted to enter, as also the Neighbours, and three of them (with a loud voyce) called him by his name three times. Afterward, his body

* The buryall Fire.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3.

* The chiefe Actor.

The manner of carrying the body.

Macrobius.

Alexander Aphrodiseus (in his *Problemes*) giueth another reason.

Of burning the dead body.

* A Woman mourner, going before the Corps.

Vide L. Gregor. Giral. et Seruius.

Of knowing the Ashes of the body.

Raphael Volat. in Geograph.

* Some say Salamanders haire.

The Honours done in the Obsequies of great men.

The first Honour.

The second Honour.

The third Honour.

The fourth Honour.

Another Custome.

Of buriall in the night time by the *Vespillons*.

Ouid in 6. de Fast.

After the soul was departed.

dy was washed with warme water, and this Office was done by certaine good Weomen, according as *Euaius* reporteth. The good Woman, that washed and annointed the bodie of *Tarquine*; the Heire gaue her the House, with some other rewards thereto designed: And ouer the doore of the house, were boughes of Cypres thickely placed. If the party deceased were a worthy man, and of authoritie; the Cittizens were inuited to his Obsequies, by one to whose trust the office was referred, and the Wife of the dead Man, with al the Women of his Kinne, went along with the Corpes in white Garments. *Plato* writeth, that the Funerall pompe in his Cittie, was in this manner. Such as were in white habites, neither shed any teares, or vsed any lamentations. Two Quires of Singers, the one of fifteene Boyes, and the other of as manie Maidens, continued about the Coffin, while the Priests (ioyning with them) sung all the praises of the dead person; and this lasted the whole day, in commendation of his felicity. On the morrow following, early in the mornig, the younger sort carryed him to his Graue, and chast men, that neuer had beene married, rode before on Horse backe, and then came next, the band of footemen in their Armour. The young Lads followed, singing Hymnes in their paternall language. The Maides accompanied with aged Women, came after, and then he was ensepulturde, as we vnder-ground lay our dead in a vault.

But among other Nations, the custome of burying their dead was diuers. The Greekes also were burned after death, as *Lucian* witnesseth. The Noble-men among them, were neuer burned alone, as *Homer* recordeth in the Song at the Funerals of *Patroclus*; for with him were burned Oxen, Sheepe, Dogges, Horses, and twelue stout and valiant Sonnes of Noble *Troyans*. And *Achilles* would needs haue his haire burned, with the dead body of *Patroclus*. In *Persia* they neuer interred the bodies of the dead; except they had formely beene torne and dismembred by Dogs or Fowles.

The *Massagetes* and *Derbices*, people of *Scythia*, did account them to be most miserable, that died by any oppression of sickneſſe. For when their Fathers, Mothers, and Kinred, had passed the age of seauenty yeares; they would cut their throats, and deuiding their bodies in pieces and gobbits, did eate them among their Mutton, Goat, Veale, and other flesh: accounting it much more conuenient, thus to sustaine their owne bodies with their friends, then to suffer them to be deuoured of Wormes. Only the bodies of old women they would not touch, but abstaining from them; when they had first stifled them, then they buryed them. Which custome, most sauage, *Tertullian* in his Bookes against *Marcion*, attributeth to the *Pontique* people, saying: *They serued their Tables at Feasts, with the Flesh of the bodies of their slaine Parents, eating them with other Beastes*. Such as ended not their liues in this kind, their death was reputed most vnhappy vnto them.

Stobeus writeth, that they of *Colchos* neuer buried their dead, but hung their bodies vpon Trees, and this kind of Sepulture they reatmed Ayry. The *Ægyptians*, so soone as any one among them was dead; they would draw his braines forth at his Nosthrils with an Iron Instrument, filling the place againe with sweete perfumes. Then they made incision into his belly, with an *Æthyopian* Stone, called *Laigne*, and hauing taken out his bowels; filled the body againe with many sorts of sweete odours, beaten and compounded together. Then, for the space of seuenty daies together, they salted the body with Niter, and annointing it with Gummie, wrapped it in a Sheete. And the neereſt kinred to the partie dead, hauing made an hallow Image or Statue of Wood, according to his resemblance; therein they enclosed the dead body, and then buried it. The *Scythians* vsed to bury in the Graue with the dead body, such as were deareſt and neareſt to him. The *Bactrians* and *Hyrcanians* kept Dogges publiquely, and some priuately in their chiefest Cittles; by which Dogges (each man according to his degree and faculty keeping them) they were after death torne and dismembred. For they held this kind of buriall to the best, and they called those Dogges by a vocable in their owne Language, to wit; *Sepulchraux*. Which cruell and inhumaine behauiour,

Of *Tarquines* washing.

Plat. in Lib. 12 de Legib.

The order of Funerall pompe in *Plotoes* Citty of *Athens*.

Of carrying him to the Graue.

The manner of buriall in other nations

Of the *Grecks*

The Funerall of *Patroclus*.

Of the *Persians*.

Of the *Massagetes* and *Derbices*, who did eate their dead Fathers and Mothers.

Tertul. in lib. cont. Marcion.

Of the *Colchians*.

Of the *Egyptians*, and how they buried their dead.

Of the *Scythians*.

Of the *Bactrians*, and *Hyrcanians*.

Nicanor Lieutenant to great *Alexander*.

our, when *Nicanor* (Lieutenant to *Alexander* the Great, against the *Bactrians*) sought to reforme; hee lost almost the whole Kingdome. Saint *Hierome* saith, that the *Hyrcanians* were not only torne by Dogs after their death; but were also throwne halfe aliue to the Fowles of the ayre. As the Poet *Lucretius* singeth;

The Poet *Lucretius*.

Viua vident viuo sepeliri viscera busto.

Which is as much to say; *That in a liuing Sepulcher, they saw their entrailes buried aliue*. The * *Essedones*, *Scythians* of *Asia*, celebrated the Funerals of their Fathers and Mothers, with Songes of great ioy, & all the kinred being assembled; would teare their members in pieces with their teeth, mingling it in their banquet with the flesh of other beastes, as formerly we haue said of the *Massagætes*. And they vsed the skull of the head, called *Cranos*, in stead of a Cup or Mazzer to drinke in, it being round enchased with Gold: *And this* (saith *Pliny*) *was accounted an especiall great Office of piety*. The *Thracians* buried their dead laughing, and highly reioyced, because (as they said) *That they departed were from euill, & arriued at beatitude*. The *Celtes*, neighbors to the ocean (as *Stobeus* affirmeth) accounted it as a villainous shame to shunne the ruine of a Wal or House when it fell to the ground. And when any invndation of the Sea happened, they would run out armed, and withstand (so long as they could) the waters fury, euen til they were drowned in the deepe; least, by flight away, they should be reputed fearefull of death.

*Sauage people nere to *Mæotis*, and the *Riphæan* hils.

Solinus in Polyhist. Cap. 25.

Plin. in lib. 9.

Pomp. Mela. in lib. 2. Cap. 1. Herodot. in Melpom. Stobeus de For. Ser. 7

Strabo in lib. 4.

The wise *Brachmanes*, a people of *India*, did wonderfully despise death, and (as *Strabo* reporteth) did greatly exercise themselues in contempt thereof. The history of *Calanus* the Philosopher, one of the *Gymnosophists* of *India*, is very notable, who when he was resolued to dye, threw himselfe voluntarily into a great fire. The like did *Zarmanochegas* the *Indian*, in *Athens*, vpon whose tomb was written these wordes following. Ζαρμανοχήγας Ινδὸς ἀπὸ βάργεως κατὰ τὰ πατρία Ἑλλήνων ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθανατίσας. That is to say; *Zarmanochegas, the Indian of Bargos, making himselfe immortall, according to the customes of the Countrey of India; lyeth heere. Numa Pompilius* prohibited the *Romaines*, to vse any sorrow for deceased Infants, or vnder three yeares olde: and for such as had passed that time, he appointed so many moneths mourning, as they were yeares aged. Women vsed to mourne for their Husbands, ten months at the least: and if any one married againe, before the time of mourning were expired, shee was very greatly blamed and reproued. It was also a custome among weomen, when their Husbands were dead; to teare their haire, harme their faces, and beat their handes one against another, which sottishnesse is yet to this day obserued in Rome. For many times, I haue seen Matrones & Ladies of *Rome*, to teare the faire tresses of their Haire, and throw themselues on the dead bodies of their Husbands.

Vide Arrianus de Gest. Alexã.

Zarmanochegas his Epitaph. *Plutar. in vit. Numa Pom.*

How long weomen mourned for their Husbands.

An idle custome yet obserued in *Rome*.

CHAP. III.

Whence the custome grew, of saying to such as sneeze; God saue ye, or Christ help ye. And for what reason, a man maketh the signe of the Crosse on his mouth, when he yawneth or gapeth.

THe yeare of our saluation, 619. in *Italy* happened a strong and very strange disease, that when men sneezed, they died suddenly. Which gaue admittance and entrance thence-forward, to a good and commendable custome: that when any were seene or heard to sneeze, euery one present, or neere, would say, *GOD help ye, Christ blesse ye*; and from that time hitherto, the custome hath not vnprofitably continued. Yawning and gaping, was likewise an occasion of as sudden death; without ability of bringing the iawes together againe. For remedy whereof, and to preuaile (so farre as men might) against this hurtfull inconuenience; whē any one yawned, he was aduised to vse the like good words inwardly, as *God defend me*, or *Christ keep me*, and (withall) to make the signe of the crosse on his mouth; and it pleased God that this sudden euill ceased. For which cause, it hath not bin thought discommendable, to keep the same fashion

A strange disease appening in *Italie*, in the yeare 619.

Yawning and gaping caused people suddenly to dye.

still in remembrance, and in all Christian Nations, the vse thereof is maintained. Yea, and so much the rather, because the signe of the Crosse is our first badge of Christianity, and we receiue it in Baptisme; to the end, that when further yeares shall enable vs, wee may not be ashamed to fight vnder that standard, being a reuerent signe and memoriall of our Redeemers passion, who would suffer on the Crosse, for the saluation of all his people. To which purpose, *Tertullian* saith, in his Booke of the Crowne of Warfare, as followeth. *Ad omnem progressum, atque promotum; Ad omnem aditum & exitum; Ad vestitum & calceatum; Ad lauacra; Ad mensas; Ad limina; Ad cubilia; Ad sedilia; quacunque nos conuersatio exercet, frontem signaculo terimus.* That is. *At euery steppe, and moouing; At euery entring, and departing; At apparrelling, and vncloathing; At washing; At the Table; At the doore Threshold; At bedding, sitting still, or what conuersation else soeuer is vsed; this signe on the forehead is not offensiue.* Not that any superstitious opinion is conceiued thereof, or that the bare signe hath any power to defend, without the maine helpe of all, which is Gods gracious assistance: for wel we know, it is not the signe, but he that was thereon so cruelly handled.

The reason of making the signe of the Crosse.

Tertul. in lib. de Corona. Milit.

Farre be superstition frō any Christian soule.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *Concerning the Originall, of vsing these wordes:* Ie vous baise les mains; *I kisse your hands.*

Omponius Letus writeth, that the vse of kissing handes, did come from the ancient Emperors, who first of all gaue their handes to Noble-men, and then after came the kisse; but to meaner people, they gaue forth the knee to be kissed. And thence, as I am perswaded ensued this manner of speech; *I kisse your hand*, as declaring that so should the man be saluted, who is worthy of empire and soueraignetie. Else, it may be thought to be deriued from the *Carthagenians*, who meeting each other, vsed no salutations by wordes; but in signe of friendly amitie, closed with their right handes, and so each of them kissed the others hand. I am of the minde, that wee doe not hold this Custome from so long a continuance; but my opinion is, that it rather proceeded from the homage of some Vassailes and Liedge men, that stood obliged to doe such seruice to their Lordes, Iustices, and Guides: for in many places, in stead of this homage, some stand bound to kisse the knee, in case of a new Recognisance. For some proofe hereof, I haue a Court-roule of rents appertaining to me, called *De Luriac*, made in the yeare 1352. which maketh *Affidauit* heereof, in euery one of the Tenants aunswers, where it is set downe in the words following. *Pro quibus rebus, fundis & possessionibus ipse fecit homagium ligium dicto Domino de Luriaco, vt assuetum est genibus flexit, manus suas iunctas tenendo inter manus ipsius Domini, eiusque pollices osculando.* That is: *For, and in consideration of all which Landes, Goods, and Possessions; hee maketh himselfe a Liege Man in homage, to the said Lord of Luriac. So that, vsually, vpon his bended knees, and his hands ioyntly vpheld, between the hands of the said Lord, he kisse his Fingers.*

For two reasons, we say, I kisse your hand.

The Authors coniecture of the originall of this courtesie.

Proofe by a president of his owne.

CHAP. V.

Of the deuision of the yeare, and diuersitie thereof among the Romaines. Who first found out the Houres, and made Clockes and Dyals. What is meant by the Bissextile; by a Month; by a day naturall; a weeke, fortnight, houre, point, minute, ounce, and Atome.

Most certaine it is (as *Iosephus* writeth, in the first and fourth Bookes of his *Iewish Antiquities*) that the *Hebrues* deuided the yeare into twelue moneths, and so ordained it afterward in Ægypt: for the auncient *Ægyptians* made the yeare to consist of

Ioseph. in lib. de Iudaic. Antiquit. lib. 1. et 4.

The *Hebrues* deuided the yeare into 12. months.

The *Romaines* conformable with the Greeks.

Iulius Cæsar his ordination of the yeare.

Dies intercalares, the odde day of the leap yeare, which falleth euery fourth yeare.

* *L. Quum Bissextus F. derer. signif.*

Iulius Cæsar his deuisions of the yeare, moneths, weeks, daies, houres, &c.

Degrees of the Solary yeare by deuision.

Of the beginning of the yeare among the Romains.

of two moneths, and afterward of foure. The *Arcadians* of three; the *Carians* and *Arcananians*, of sixe. The Greekes accounted their yeare, to bee three hundred fifty foure daies: And the *Romaines*, from the time of *Romulus*, finished their yeare in as many daies as the Greekes did; comprehending it in ten months, and beginning it in March, though it disagreed with the course of the Sunne and Moone, to the circumference whereof *Numa Pompilius* brought it, by addition of fifty six daies. And yet the yeare being not fully sufficient, *Iulius Cæsar* made it apt to the course of the Sunne, making it to containe 365. daies, and in taking away the *Dies intercalares*, said he did it; because that a day might be added to the month of February, which then was the last of the yeare, and that day wanted to make the yeare compleate. Whereupon hee concluded, that from foure to foure yeares, one day should be added to the month of February, which was called *Bissextilis Annus*, the Leape yeare. And the reason of this name, was, that two daies of equall degree, were tearmed the sixt of the Calends of March, euen as now we find it to be,* and therefore do account two daies for one.

The same *Cæsar* deuided the yeare into twelue months; the month into foure weeks, and some odde daies: each weeke into seauen daies; the day into foure partes, and to each part hee appointed sixe houres. And to euerie houre, foure points or quarters; to the point or quarter, ten moments or minuts; to a moment, two and twentie ounces; and to an ounce, forty seauen Atomes, that is to say, numbers indiuisible; for ἄτομος in *Greeke*, is as much to say, as *without diuision*. The month is part of the Solary yeare: the Weeke, foure partes of the month: the naturall weeke day, part of the weeke; the Quadrant, foure parts of the day; the hour, the sixt part of the quadrant; the point, the fourth part of the houre: the moment or minute, the tenth part of the point; the ounce, the twelfth part of the minute; and the Atome, the fourth part of the ounce.

The ancient *Romaines* hauing dedicated the Moneth of March to their God *Mars*; began the yeare with that month. Afterward they tooke Ianuary for the first month of the yeare, as *Plutarch* writeth: because that after the Kinges were expulsed, the first Consuls were created in the Calends of Ianuary. Wherefore, this they did, in memorie of their liberties recouery, and vtter abolition of tyranny. They obserued also the great yeare (called by some the *Platonicall* yeare) which they saide was to bee ended, when all the Planets should haue made their intire reuolution, and were returned to the same place againe. And concerning this yeare, Authours haue not well accorded. For some say, that it finisheth in 2484. yeares; and others in 5552. Some doe hold, that it cannot be concluded, but in 49000. *Romaine* yeares; and others say, in 36000. *Iosephus* hath left written, that the great yeare consisteth of 1000. yeares. Our ancients began the yeare diuerslie. The Greekes (in the first place) making their glory in the destruction of *Troy*, began their yeare at that time. The *Romains* counted from the building of *Rome*. The *Mahometanes* counted, and yet doe, their time, from the daies of the false Prophet, and imposture *Mahomet*. And we Christians do deriue our date, from the Natiuitie of our Lord Iesus Christ, the true Son of the euer-liuing God, or else from his Incarnation, which we hold to bee the truest course.

Platoes great and wonderfull yeare, about which the Authours much varry.

The *Grecians*.

The *Romaines*.

The Turkes & *Mahometans*

Christians.

The houres tooke their name of the Sun, which in the *Ægipcian* language is cald *Horus*. *Hermes Trismegistus* hauing obserued in *Ægipt*, that a certaine Beast (consecrated to * *Serapis*) pissed twelue times in a day, keeping euermore equal space of time: deuised, to part the day into twelue houres, and this number of houres, was long time obserued, and afterward deuided into 24. The Sun dyal, whereof the shaddow (which is called *Gnomon*, that is to say, *Measure*) demonstrateth the houres: was first inuented at *Lacedemon*, by *Anaximenes* the *Milesian*, and he called it *Sciathericon*, ἀπὸ τῆς σκιᾶς, that is to say, *Of the shaddow*. *Ctesippus Alexandrinus*, inuented the *Clepsydra*, or water dyall, to discouer the passage of hours, by drops of water falling from a vessell, expressely made for the purpose, like to a Garden watring pot, whereof *Cicero* maketh mention.

How the houres tooke their name. *Vide Macrob Saturnal Lib. 1 Cap 21*

* A God in forme of an Oxe among the *Egyptians*.

The inuenter of the dayes deuision into houres.

Of the Sun-dyall.

Of the water dyall.

Vitruuius in lib 9 de Architect. Cicero in Lib. 2 de natur. Deor. & 2. Tuscul.

The vſuall Dyall.

Of Clockes.

Afterward, by diuine and ingenious cunning, the Horologe or dyall of mettall or Iron, was found out, euen ſuch as we now make vſe of in theſe daies; with toothed Wheeles and counterpoiſes, which declared the houres, partly by ſhew; and partly by the ſound of Belles. Theſe did ſo naturally repreſent (by the ſame artefice) the courſe of all the Planets, Sunne and Moone: as it would ſeem to ye, that ye diſcerned the very ſame heauen. Like vnto that which is at *Venice*, on the place before Saint *Marke*, all richly guilded, & made with infinite coſt.

CHAP. VI.

Vpon what occaſion, and wherefore the daies of the week were called Feriæ, Holidaies, or Feſtiuall daies.

Pope *Syluester* the firſt, altered the daies of the weeke from the *Gentiles* cuſtome.

POpe *Syluester*, the firſt of that name, labouring to extirpate the memory of vaine and falſe Gods: ordaind, that the daies of the weeke, which before did beare name of the Gods of the Gentiles, & Idolaters, ſhould be otherwiſe altered and tearmed. For wheras our Sabbath day bare the name of the Sun; Munday, of the Moone; Tueſday, of *Mars*; Wedneſday, of *Mercury*; Thurſday, of *Ione* or *Iupiter*; Friday, of *Venus*; and Saturday, of *Saturne*: they were deuided to the number of *Feriæ*, or Holy-daies, and called the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fift, and ſixt *Feria*, after the ſame manner as the *Hebrues* had diſtinguiſhed their daies, by the name of Sabbats, or Sabaoths. He called the day of *Saturne*, Sabaoth, according to the ancient vocable of the Law, which is interpreted *Reſt*, or *Repoſe*; and impoſed the name of *Dies Dominicus*, which we call Sunday, on the firſt *Feria*, as a day ſacred to the Lord, and which before had carried the name of the Sunne. This he did (as is ſaid) at the requeſt of the Emperour *Conſtantine*; albeit the Apoſtles had dedicated this day to God: becauſe vpon the like or ſame day, our Lord and Redeemer aroſe from the dead.

Feria prima, Sunday. *Feria ſecunda*, Munday, and ſo of the reſt, not intending Holy-dayes only, but any day of the weeke.

The Apoſtles dedication.

Yet ſo it is, that this name of *Feria*, hath not, nor is obſerued, but in matters Diuine and Eccleſiaſticall; onely the daies of Sunday & Saturday excepted, which are not to be called *Feriæ*. Likewiſe, the other fiue (among the *Layicks*) haue recouered their ancient names: a matter (queſtionleſſe) much to be moaned, and whereat wee may bluſh with ſhame, becauſe no more care was had in former times, to giue other Chriſtian names to al thoſe daies, to the end, that all memory of the *Gentiles* Gods might be loſt among vs. Theſe *Feriæ* (among our ancients) were ſuch daies, as it was not lawfull to trauaile on them, & were ſo named, *à feriendis victimis, Of ſmiting the beaſts in the ſacrifices*: Or elſe, *à ferendis epulis, Of bringing victuals*, which then were principally giuen to be eaten. The *Romains* ſollemnized infinite feaſts, cauſing them to be publiſhed by a common Cryer to the people, to the end, that they ſhould not bee tranſgreſſed. Moreouer, they would haue no worke to be done on thoſe daies; for hee that gaine-ſaied, was grieuouſly puniſhed.

Of the ordinary fiue daies in the weeke.

The *Feriæ* in elder times were Feſtiual daies.

Feaſts of the Romaines.

CHAP. VII.

How, and by what meanes, Phiſitions learned to take blood from diſeaſed perſons: And who it was that firſt wrote concerning Hearbes.

Plin. in Lib. 8. Cap. 26.

PHiſition learned to recouer ſickly people (by that which is tearmed *Phlebotomy*, or blood-letting) of the **Hippopotamus*, which is called the Horſe of the Riuer. It is a Beaſt of *Nylus*, who when hee feeleth himſelfe filled with ouer-much meate, and to bee immeaſurably fat or foggy: he commeth forth vpon the banck, ſeeking for new cut Canes and Reedes. And when he feeleth any that are verie ſharpe indeed, preſſing downe his body vpon them; he pierceth a veine, whence blood immediatly iſſueth, and by this meanes, his body is diſcharged of the former ſickneſſe, and he cloſeth the wound againe with his owne Dung.

A beaſt liuing in the Riuer *Nilus*, hauing feete like to an Oxe, his backe & mane like a Horſe, with a winding taile, and tusked like a Boare.

There

There is likewise a Bird in the same *Ægipt*, called * *Ibis*, somewhat like to the Storke, which Bird doth wash that part with her crooked Bill, where all Fowles doe annoyd their Excrements; and thereby (saith *Polydore Virgile*) came Phisitions to the knowledge of giuing Glisters. *Orpheus* was the first, that of all other (bearing memory) wrote carefully concerning Hearbs, and (after him) *Museus*: albeit, some are of the mind, that they both liued in one and the same time. *Dioscorides* came after them, and *Pompeius Lænus Libertinus*; who being enfranchised by *Pompey* the great, traduced the Bookes of *Mithridates* out of Greeke into Latine, which concerned the property and nature of of Hearbs.

* A Bird in Egypt that killeth Serpents.

Polid. Virgil. in Lib. 1. cap. 21.

CHAP. VIII.

A true and admirable History, of a Maiden in Poictu, who for the space of three years, and more, liued without receiuing eyther meat or drinke.

Euripides desired, *that either we might liue dumb, in perpetuall silence, or else, that dumbe thinges (without any Ambiguitie of wordes) might speake to vs.* As for my selfe, I could wish, that eyther wee were like those *Indian* people called *Astomi*, whom *Pliny* describeth to liue without mouthes: or else, contented like them, with the sole benefit of ayre, we might heere spend our time without eating or drinking. For, by this meanes, it might come to passe, that our Spirit, (which with a firme eye, cannot contemplate naturall things, no more then the Owle is able to looke on the bright raies of the Sunne) beeing freed from those Mistes and thicke Vapours, occasioned by the vse of msates; would comprehend with one looke, the *Ideas* and formes of things nakedly, & according as they are indeede. *Chrisippus* then should not neede to take *Helleborus* with such obseruance, for the purging of his vnderstanding; to the end, he might the more subtilly see the strength of his Arguments. Our soule (against her nature) would be no heauy burden at all vnto vs, for she should not serue as salt to our body, to keepe it from corrupting: But rather she would be there like to a *Pharos*, which (in our Diuine Nauigation) would discouer the way, for our attaining to the Land of Heauen.

The wish of *Euripides.*

Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 1.

The disability of the spirit in naturall things.

Heracl.

But in regard, that our life is maintained by the bodies nourishment, and that (by one mutuall assistance) both together do conserue themselues, euen while wee our selues doe study how to support this life, by continuall care for furnishing it with foodes: It ensueth, that thereby we altogether abase, and cast downe that part of the soule to the earth, which otherwise (of it selfe) wold couet nothing more, then to eleuate it selfe to high and heauenly things. Notwithstanding, *Plato* was perswaded, that Man is prouided of store of repletion, & cloying for the entrails or intestnies: to shew thereby, that God created him a Creature full of reason, without which, as Plantes are continually tyed to their Rootes, for their feeding; so should he alwaies haue meate in his mouth, or else (like the beasts) his mind would be perpetually labouring, in seeking after nothing but fresh pasture. You may see it thus verified. While the food doth conuay it selfe by the passages of the belly, the Spirit naturallie sendeth hir strength vegetatiue and nutritiue thorow the body; and by this commixture, life, and the motion of the body is maintained so well, that this more sublime part of Nature would passe on much further, to declare the effects of her power and vertue: if (after food hath sustained the body) the Spirit were not called to the desire of new meats, and compelled to yeelde it selfe to the bellies appetite. For there is nothing (saith *Pliny*) more painefull to a man, then his belly; for contentment whereof, the most part of Men haue imployed their whole life time.

Life preserued by feeding the body

Plato in his *Timæus*, concerning mans prouision.

A very apt comparison in this case.

Plin in lib. 26. cap. 8.

This importuning vessell of the body, is euermore at hand with vs, like to a greedy Creditor, summoning vs many times in the day to his attendance: but he must not be listned alwaies when he calleth, if he haue had his due paid him, no more then the young Scholler, who would not allow his Tutor the charges

The appetite of the belly is neuer satisfied.

of his feeding, as if hee liued on winde, hauing bin neuertheleſſe with him, and fed on his purſſe. But whoſoeuer ſhall, or doth deale ſo, the Emperour adiudged him not receiueable, but let him go ſeeke his dyet elſe-where. Notwithſtanding, it is ſo, that the bellies neceſſity is ſo borne with vs; as the *Stoickes* themſelues, who excluding all the ſenſe of mã, were conſtrained to feel the bellies gripings and murmuring, and did eate, but how? To the end, they might ſhun eating Quite contrary to many Gourmands and Gluttons, who eat & drinke, only becauſe they would encreaſe their eating and drinking; hauing no other God but their bellie, whereon they beſtow whatſoeuer ſerues to excite their luxury: for maintenance whereof, the Seas are trauerſed, euen ſo far as the Riuer * *Phaſis*, ranſacked her entrailes, for contention agreeing with an infatiable appetite. And this is that part, wherein we come the neereſt to brute beaſts, who (by their proper nature) are led to deſire whatſoeuer their belly demands, and with whom we haue (in common) this neceſſity of eating & drinking. For Nature hath giuen one Inſtrument of life to all Creatures, which is naturall heat, that (euen as our wood in the fire) hath his Seate in the triple ſubſtance of our body; to wit, ſolide, humorall and ſpirituous, which (without intermiſſion) heruinates and conſumeth. So that in a very ſmall while, all would bee quite waſted, if it were not maintained by a freſh ſupply of Meats and drinkes; neyther more or leſſe, then as the flame of a Lampe, which extinguiſheth it ſelfe, ſo ſoone as the Oyle is conſumed, if no more bee put thereinto, for longer laſting. And hereupon, *Hippocrates*, the Prince of Phiſitions ſaid; *That the bodies of young Men haue neede of more nouriſhment, then others: becauſe they haue more heate then they*; *For otherwiſe* (ſaith he) *their bodies would conſume themſelues*. Contrariwiſe, the bodyes of old men, becauſe they haue but little ſtore of heate; they neede therefore as little nouriſhing.

Hence may we draw a confirmed argument, by that which *Hippocrates* himſelfe hath ſaid: *That old men very eaſily endure Faſting; next to them, ſuch as are in the ſtrength of their age, yet much leſſe then they that are in youth-hood; and Infants leaſt of all other, eſpecially ſuch as are liueliest, and readieſt in their bodily functions.* For the ſmalneſſe of heat, the tenacitie of the primitiue moyſture, and the denſity or thickneſſe of the body hindereth in old men, that the triple ſubſtance cannot waſt it ſelfe at all. From whence it proceedeth, that they haue not ſuch great need of meate, and deſire or appetite after food (if I may ſo ſay) which is hunger; is in them much languiſhing. As contrariwiſe, in young men it is ſo much the more ardent; as the naturall heate is ſuper-aboundant, the vitall humor more fluxible, and the compoſition of the body more thin, and leſſe heaped together. Which three things, as they cauſe the receiued food to conſume: euen ſo (by little and little) they repaire any defect there ariſing.

To approue the truth heereof; *The ſubſtance of euery Creature diſſolues it ſelfe into the ayre, by the pores of the skin which enuirons it*, ſaith *Galen*. It followeth then of neceſſity, that the very neereſt parts of the skinne, ſhould bee firſt deſtitute of nourriture, and that by their owne force and vertue, they ſhould draw nouriſhment from other neighbouring partes, to reſtore that which (through want of ſuſtentation) is impaired: thoſe there, from the veines; theſe heere, from the Liuer; the Liuer, from the inteſtnies and ventricle (by the meſentery veines) calling what is moſt conuenable to their nature. Then the ventricle, ſeeing her ſelfe empty; by a meer naturall vnderſtanding which ſhee hath of her owne want, is incited to deſire meates, where-with ſhe may be ſuſtained.

But if there be ſome bodie, which hath ſmall ſtore of heat, and more of the radical moiſture, wherto the pores and Reſpiracles of the skinne do giue place: there cannot be made any great Euacuation of the triple ſubſtance, and ſo conſequentlie, there is no neede at all of great nouriſhment. Neither is it altogether neceſſary (as *Galen* teſtifieth) in thoſe places, where (beſide that alreadie ſaide) the Ayre which encompaſſeth vs, is cold, and the body heauy, benummed, and without motion: becauſe the little troughes or openings in

The Stoickes did eate, to auoid eating.

*A very great Riuer in Colchis

Old men haue not ſuch need of food, as young mẽ.

Galen. de Simptom. 1. Cauſ. 7.

The perticular parts of ſupply.

Concerning ſome particular bodies.

Galen de vẽnæ ſect. aduerſ. Eraſ.

Tit. Dexim. pup. præſt. C.

Hypocrat. in lib. 1. Aphoriſm. 14

Hippocrat. in lib. 1. Aphoriſm. 13.

One Inſtrument of life, giuen to all Creatures naturall heat.

The triple ſubſtance of the body.

Aproued examples in diuers Beastes, which keepe their Dens al Winter.

in the skin, are as mouths, and yet litle or nothing at all passeth out at them. This he giueth to vnderstand, by the example of sauage Beasts, which (in all the time of winter) will not forsake their Dens and Cauernes: in regard whereof, he calleth them φωλεύοντα ζῶα, such as are Beares, Bats, or Dormice, Serpents, Lizards, and diuers other. Al which, hauing at spring time (by warmth and heat) the conuoies of their bodies released & opened: when they finde that the inward warmth is resolued, and they beginne to bee hungry, they come foorth (by their owne proper motion) out of their prisons, and (guided by Nature only) do seeke in al parts, such feeding as is apteſt for them. From whence he gathereth, that assiduate blowing or breathing, which is performed by respiration, causeth this defect, and it also prouoketh the appetite and desire of eating. For Nature hath giuen this property to the empty part, that it shold demand to be re-filled. So that, if the causes ceased, for which the body hath need of nourishment, it would ensue as necessarily, that euen penury it selfe, & meere vnderstanding what hunger is, by little and little would cease also: and that for this reason, the Beasts which are hidden in dennes of the earth, may liue without the vse of food.

The guifte of nature to the empty parte, to require sustentation.

In like manner, by the report of notable men, and well worthy credence, there haue beene found in the Lanthornes and Boxes of Pixes, of Altars and aged Sepulchres, burning Lampes, which the inscriptions (on the saide Tombes & places) haue witnessed, that they were put thereinto almost infinite yeares before the finding of them. As that wherof *Lodouicus Viues* speaketh, discouered about the yeare, 1500. which *Hermolaus Barbarus* saith, was found in the Territories of *Pauia*, without date of day, or of Consull indeede: but yet notwithstanding, it hath beene there enclosed aboue eight hundered yeares, as *P. Appianus* gathered by the inscription. Such Lampes then were preserued or maintained, so long a time, with little or no supply, because the very moisture of the places, doth strongly enable them, and they perish but very little. Whether it may bee thought by the humidity (which the Alchimistes tearme Radicall) of Gold, which only among all naturall bodies, is beleeued to suffer no diminution of his substance, or of something else, neere enclining to his Nature, I am not able to censure. But so it plainly appeared, by the Testification engrauen on a Vessell of earth, which *Barbarus* (before mentioned) hath written downe in these words:

S. August de Ciuit. Dei lib. 21. Cap 6.

Lodouicus Viues.

Hermolaus Barbarus.

P. Appianus.

A Lamp lasted burning aboue 800. yeares, without any supply.

Plutoni sacrum munus ne attingite fures,
Ignotum est vobis hoc quod in orbe latet
Namq; elemẽta graui clausit digesta labore,
Vase sub hoc modico maximus Olybius.
Adsit fœcundo custos sibi copia cornu,
Ne pretium tanti depereat laticis.

Hermolaus Barbarus his Latine Verses.

And these lines which follow, were written or earued on another vessell of earth, and enclosed within the former in this manner:

ABITE. HINC. PESSVMI. FVRES.
VOS. QVID. VOLITIS. CVM. VOSTRIS. OCVLIS. EMISSITIIS.
ABITE. HINC. VOSTRO. CVM. MERCVRIO. PETASATO. CADVCEATOQVE.
MAXVMVS. MAXVMVM. DONVM. PLVTONI HOC SACRVM. FACIT.

Other Latine lines founde on another earthen vessel

In this Earthen Vessell, was and had beene kept this Lampe, placed betweene two Flagons or Bottels, the one of gold, the other of Siluer, and these were imagined, to haue giuen nutriment vnto the Lampe, that continued burning for so many ages. The same *Barbarus*, called this Licquor, *Heauenly Water*, or rather, the *Alchimists Diuine water*, which he also noteth to haue beene called (by *Democritus* and *Mercurius Trismegistus*) sometimes *Diuine Water*, sometimes the *Scythian Drinke*; sometimes *Spirituall*, that is to say, a spirite drawne from the Celestiall Nature, and * *Fifte Essence* of thinges, whereof *Aurum Potabile* is composed, and the Phylosophers stone or sand; in search whereof, so many people haue vainly consumed themselues. To this Diuine Licquor of Golde, I knowe not whether I may attribute, or no, the mernaile of a Lampe continually burning, whereof *Cedrenus* speaketh, which from the time of the Emperour *Iustinian*, was found in the Cittie of * *Edessa*, with an Image

How the Lampe was placed in the Tombe.

Heauenly Water.

The Alchymists Diuine water.

Scithian Drinke.

*Or Quintessence. *Aurum Potabile.*

Cedrenus in the Abridgement of his Histories.

* A Citty of *Syria*, beyond *Euphrates*.

Image of our Sauiour Christ. It had bin inclosed or hidden ouer a certaine Gate, immediately after the pasion of Christ: and yet neuertheless, it had also remayned there fiue hundred yeares, without extinguishing.

A Lamp burning 500. yeares.

Moreouer, some of the Oyle which was found in the saide Lampe, being cast into the neerest fire to that place: it burned (intirely) all the warlicke troopes of *Chosroes*, King of the *Persians*, who was an enemy to the Christians. But bee it howsoeuer, neither this, or any thing els before alledged, do I account to bee so straunge, as an example now to be apparantly seene; a matter rare, and almost incredible, but that both our eyes and iudgements haue beene witnesses thereof, happening within our owne quarters of *Poictu*, to wit, the wonderfull Faste or abstinence from foode, of a Mayden of *Confolans* or *Conflans*, in *France*, who for the space of three yeares hath liued, and as yet dooth liue without receiuing anie bodily food or sustenance.

A matter of great meruel

This was written in the yeare, 1602.

This Maiden is about fourteen years of age, and is named *Iane Balan*, her Father *Iohn Balan*, a Lockesmith by profession, and her Mother, *Laurencia Chambella*. Her stature is answerable to her age, she beeing somewhat Countrey-like of behauiour, a Native of the Towne of *Confolans*, vppon the Riuer of *Vienna*, in the Confines of *Limosin*, and also of *Poictu*.

The Maid of *Confolans*, and her Parents.

In the eleauenth yeare of hir age, beeing seized on by a continuall Feauer, the 16 day of February, 1599. she hath since then, beene assayled with the excesse of many other sicknesses, and (beyond all the rest) with a continnall casting or Vomitting, for the space of twenty daies together. The Feauer hauing somwhat left her, she grew to be speechlesse, & so continued eight and twentie dayes, without the deliuery of any one word. At the end of which time, shee came to her-selfe againe, and spake as she had done before, sauing that her words were full of feare, and void of good sence. Then came a weakenesse vpon her, and a benumming of all her sences & bodily motions, from beneath the head, in such sort, that *Oesophagus* it selfe (being that part of the stomack, which serues as a conduct for passage of meate and drinke, into that which we terme the little belly) being dissolued, it lost the power attractiue. Since which time, not any one coulde perswade this Maiden (in any manner) to eate: albeit they made triall to haue her but sucke, or to licke delicate meates, fruits, and sweet things agreeable to one of so yong years. Neuertheless, the vse and motion of her members, came to her againe, about sixe months after, only one hip excepted, on which side, she yet goes with some difficulty. And one onely impotency remayneth to her, that shee cannot swallow or let downe any thing: for both meats and drinkes, she altogether loaths, and mightily abhorreth.

A Feauer seizing on her body.

Speechles 28. dayes.

A benumming of al hir sences.

Oesophagus.

Recouerie of her sences againe.

Loathing of meates and drinkes.

In this time (a thing most straunge) the inferiour part of her belly, by little & little grew leane in such manner, and so dried vp, that downe from her sides, and along from her Nauill, there remayneth nothing of the belly which he hadde before. There is only in this place, or insted thereof (to wit, vnder the auncient belly, where we may say it hath beene) a Cartilage or Gristle, hanging pointed downe (from **Thorax*, or *Sternum*) after the manner of an Eaues or Pent-house, which throwes off from the building, all the water that falles on the top or couerture. Heere-hence, and from the points of these Bastard-sides, the skinne (vnderneath) doth suffer great pain and feeling, both of extension and divulsion, as may easily be perceiued, by the moanes which the Maid her selfe maketh. And hence it ensueth, that all the Muscles, Intestines, Bowelles, and other parts of the belly, being withdrawne and annihiled by want of foode, one would iudge, that they had been rackt or rent away; for there remaineth nothing else but Lappings and Filaments; for, all the Fleshie substaunce which filled those partes, is perished and gone.

Her bellie dried vp.

*That part of the Breast, wher the ribs meet & ioyne together.

Shewes of moane made by her selfe.

As concerning the other parts of her bodie, it would bee thought conuenient, that there should be likewise an answerable diminution: and yet she hath a large Breast, her pappes prettie and round, her armes and thighs fleshy, her face also indifferent round, but browniish. Her Lips (indeede) are drawne inward a little; and yet her words are prompt and ready, her head couered with haire of good length: for her haire and nailes doo keepe their due encrease, in each beseeming parte. There comes no excrement from hir, hir belly

The other parts of her body.

No auoydance of Excrements.

belly yeelds no Ordure, neyther doth any Vrine at all passe from her body, or is the matrix impeached by her Menstruall Flowers. Her head is not charged with Scurfe or Dandriffe, but sheweth it selfe very sound and well, as well in the exteriour part of the skin, as in the inwarde Organes of sence. For, neither doo her nose or eares yeeld any excrements; but only from her mouth comes a little spettle, and sometimes from her eies issueth a little moisture, or few teares.

The bodie yeil des no sweat.

The whol bodie ouer, yeelds no sweat at all, but we (and such as haue touched her) do find all her skin to bee colde and drie, and not heated or chafed by anie motion (except the arme-pits, and those parts which Neighbor neer to the hart.) Yet shee doth trauaile about the house, go to the Market for Victualles, sweepe the house, spin at her Wheele, Reele off her Quill; and giues her selfe to all seruiceable Offices in a family, and seemes as if she were not defectiue in any part of sence, or motion of her body.

When the bodie receiueth encrease, it hath most neede of nourishment.

By all which thinges, we may gather the rarity and meruailous nouelty of this example. For, the accident hapneth in such an age, when as the bodie receyues encreasing, and those things which doo encrease haue need of good store of nouriture: but especially, in bodies of such Constitution, as this Maidens is, slender, thinne, and colde, where the internall parts are accustomed to bee most hote. Hence comes it, that our Ancients haue saide: *Our Bellies in Winter are more hot, then at other times*, with causeth a much readier concoction, and an hunger lesse tollerable, especially when it is prouoked by exercises, whereof this Mayden maketh no spare, especially such as her age is capeable off, the ayre and soyle also wherein she liueth, affoordes the people to be verie hungry. All which occasions of appetite and hunger, were taken from her by the accident of her continual Feauer: and in the end, all her naturall functions became asswaged, and seized on by a kind of dead palsie.

Hippocrat. lib. 1. Aphor. 15.

The exercises of the Maide.

Of the little belly or maw. *Hermocrates* in *Hippocrates*.

And now to begin with the first and principall, the little belly or maw (which otherwise is the receptacle of foode, and Officer for the first Concoction) beeing lagde and rent by the Ordure of Crude & raw humors, hath languished in such sort, as it had no power either to retaine the meats therein enclosed, or to receiue in any other. Euen so in *Hippocrates*, *Hermocrates* being surprized with an extream burning Feauer, did euermore cast the Food he receiued, because this facultie had lost his strength, and that was quenched in him (saith *Galē* in the same place) whereof the Office was, to feele lacke in health, and to desire what was familiar for him.

Opinion conceiued of an Apple giuen to the Maide.

Many woulde attribute the cause of this Symptome, or passion ensuing sicknesse, to some wicked power in an Apple, which an old Woman had giuen to this young Maiden, two or three months before; because when he had eaten it, she had a distast of her meats, and felte some alteration of her spirits. But in regarde, that (besides this) nothing hath hapned to her, which outwardly hath impeached her health, or her naturall functions, vntill shee became surprized by the aforementioned Feauer: I see no reason at al, that yeelds any subiect to beleeue, how the euill power in the Apple, could remaine so long time hidden, without yelding any effect. Her vomiting ceasing, shee became dumbe, by reason of those Nerues resolution, which we call recurrent (that happened to her soone after, thorow all her bodie) the Flegme colde and raw, being licquified by the heate of the Feauer, which (by this means) wrought a debilitie in the Braine, and caused that she could not be sound or well in spirite. Heere-hence it necessarily ensued, that she must needs loose the sense of tast and sucking, and likewise the vse of swallowing meate and drinke; which onely hath procured abolition of the animall appetite, and by little and little, it hath beene followed by a total priuation of the naturall appetite, which *Hippocrates* noteth by these words, γίνεσθαι δὲ ἐκ ἠδυπάτο, if we may giue credit to his most graue Interpreter *Galen*. And hee casts the cause of this passion, vpon some blame in the Liuer; who being the beginning of the Vegetant and Natural soule, so soone as she is wounded, shee is constrained, that her auxiliary or succouring faculties (to wit; the Attractrice, the Retentrice, the Assimiliatrice, & the Expulsatrice, in whom lies al the power of norishing) must needs sinke and fall, and so consequently, the appetite which cannot be compleat and perfect, but by attraction. The same

Answer to that obiection.

The Nerues tearmed recurrent.

The reason of loosing her tast and vse of meats.

Galen his coniecture of the passions cause

The helping faculties four in number.

Au-

Galen. 1. Epid. Sect. 3.

Author gathers it to be the sickenesse of the liuer in *Hermocrates*, by this, that the sixt day of his sickenesse, he was noted to looke yellow: and yet notwithstanding, in all the course of his disease (which was for 27. dayes) this yellownesse neuer left him, as it had don in *Heraclides*, to whom the selfesame passion happened, and on the very same day, neither by sweating, neither by the voyding of much choller, nor by the conuoy of his belly, nor by Vrine, nor yet by vomitting. And therefore, it was easie to be seene, that the naturall faculty (whereof the Liuer is the Fountaine) was ouerthrowne in verie strange manner. Which being so, all the strength of appetite doth becom so weakened, saith *Galen*, that sicke folkes desire rather to die, then to receiue in anie thing at their mouths, or haue it so much as but to touch their lips.

Heraclides his sickuesse.

The Liuer is the fountaine of the Naturall facultie.

Galen. 5. Deloc. affec. Cap. 1.

In the Maid, of whom we speak at this present (who hath not bin dealt with, by any cunning or helpes to Nature) the Liuer hath beene so besiedged with the the burthen of hurtfull humors, that her Naturall heate being broken, and hauing no more force, it hath (by little and little) dried quite vp, with all the neather parts of the Belly, yea & so, as there is nothing indeed to be wondered at, when we perceiue the functions of the naturall Oeconomy to be also abolished. This then is one of the causes of this distast of meats, and of the Fast or abstinence thereon ensuing, that this drying vp of the Liuer, and of all those parts seruing to nourishment; from whence attraction beeing taken, it hath bin followed, with a priuation of sucking or swallowing, which is the beginning of hunger.

Her naturall heate quite dried vp.

A reason for this Fast and abstinence from meates.

Galen 1. De loc. affect. 1.

In this opinion, I haue *Galen* for my warrant, who saith; *By reason of the liuers debility, the bodie can receiue no nourishment.* And yet notwithstanding, it may subsist a long time, to wit; so long as the heart remaineth sound. Neuertheless, *Hermocrates* died at 27. dayes end, because the corruption of humors had gained the substance of the hart, which likewise the quality of the Feauers heate (by altering) had consumed, after it had chased away the Naturall heate. But this Maide hath beene preserued, in regarde, that the Feauers fire beeing extinct, the Naturall heate which remayned, beeing but weake, hath beene detained in a bodie fast locked vp, couered with a wrinkled colde and drie skinne. By making but small decay of this heate in her, shee hath not much neede of maintaining it; and this may serue for a second and third reason, of this defect in appetite.

The reason of the Maides preseruing in this maner.

For all that shee exhaleth by the meanes of respiration, as breath and Naturall heate, the same is still supplyed and repaired, first of all, by the ayre drawne as well by inspiration, and receyued at the heart, by the Pipes and Organes of the Lunges and Lights: as by this insensible transpiration, which (according as I can iudge by her disposition, is almost vtterly wasted in her) receiued in the whole bodye, by the Arteries. After this, Nature (thus lagde, and scantly vigorous) delights her selfe with this crude rhumie Humour, which cannot otherwise in this young bodie, but must needs (of it selfe) much abounde and encrease, according to the qualitie of her sexe and age.

Her exhaling by respiration

Natures delighting her selfe.

And the same more especiallie may be now discerned, by some little Decadence of her bodie thorough the palsie, which is not (as yet) perfectly cured. Now this Humour (in time) doth seeth it selfe, and conuerts into foode, proper and apteſt for nouriſhing of the bodie. And there is no want of manie other thinges, which haue their maintenance in our bodies, wherewith Nature may serue her selfe; when (pressed by Hunger) shee pleaseth to vse them for sustenaunce: As Fat, Marrowe in the Bones, and Phlegme; all which thinges, the despoyled partes of the bodie dooth drawe to their Naturall seatings, to furnish well their owne expences withall, and they receiue them (like a dispersed Dew) thorow their whole substances.

The Maide troubled with the Palsie.

Many things in the body to supply nature withall.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A further Discourse on Fasting, approuing that manie Creatures do fast in verie strange maner.

PRoceeding on further in this Argument, concerning Fasting, I finde one that saith, *Snailes in the Ayre, hauing drought, if no dew fal to them from Heauen, they liue by sucking of themselues.* And hence grew it, that *Plautus* said:

Symmach. lib. 1 Epist. 33.

Plaut in Capti.

Quasi, cum caletur, cochleæ in occulto latẽt, Suo sibi succo viuunt, ros si non cadit.

Arist. in Hist. Au. l. 8. Cap. 13

And so the Snailes on the earth, when they will defend themselues against the sharpe cold of Winter, they make a certaine white couering before their shelles entrance, hard like Plaister, and liue so within (sixe months together) vnder the ground, neere to the rootes of Herbes; sustained only by the internall humour; which redoundeth from themselues. And diuers other kinds of creatures, do the same; such as are accustomed to decline from the rigour of Winter; by withdrawing into Dennes: As Serpents, Frogges, Flies, Wormes, Dormice, Rats of the Mountaines, Turtle Doues, Swallowes, &c.

Creatures that do inwardly sustain themselues.

As concerning Serpents, almost al of them (shunning the colde) doo remaine all Winter hid within the earth, as *Aristotle* saith. From whom, albeit *Plinie* hath borrowed that which he saith concerning Serpents, he hath (neuertheless) against reason, taken *Aristotles* intent contrary to sense, there where hee saieth; *That of all Serpents, the Viper only seeketh places vnder ground: and the other, the hollowes of Trees, and of Rockes.* Whereas (quite contrarie) *Aristotle* hath written truely; *That the Viper is well nigh alone, that during the Winter, withdrawes himselfe vnder stones or Rockes, and the other vnderground; for then sleepe serues them instead of foode.* Nay, and much more, Vipers do endure a whole yeares hunger together, without counting the time of Winters cold, so saith *Pliny*. Which we haue knowne by experience, wee that haue aboundance of them heere: of whom, we haue kept some (a yeare) enclosed in Bottles of Glasse, without anie Foode at all.

Of Serpents.

Arist. in Hist. Animal. lib. 8. Cap. 15.

Plin. in hist. nat Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

Pliny reproued.

Pli. in hist. Nat Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

As for Frogges, whom *Pliny* thinkes (after a life of sixe moneths) to resolue themselues into slime and mud, and reuiue again at the Spring times comming Waters, they are soundly deaded with colde, but yet not reduced to nothing, as *Pliny* holdeth. For, they remaine in the Cauernes on the Coasts, where not only they abstaine from al nourishment: but are likewise halfe dead, and they may be seene in this estate, in your Fennes on the Sea-coasts (which are not subiect to Freezing) at all seasons of the yeate. So likewise in the Ditches, whether they are retired; where you shal not only see their young ones, but also the Frogges of the other yeare.

Pli. in hist. Nat. Lib. 8. Cap. 40. Of Frogges.

Your Flies benummed with the colde of Winter, remaine hidden in Riftes of Planchers, and pieces of Woode; and come not out, but by Fire Artificiall, or by the renewing heate of the Spring or Summer. During this numnesse, they liue not so much by reason of their Bodies smalnesse, or littlenesse (as *Aristotle* argueth) as by the cold which is in them. For that which is hot, desireth Foode, and digests it verie soone: Contrariwise, that which is cold, doth very easilie let it alone.

Of Flies.

Ari. de part Anim. lib. 4. ca. 5.

Among Flies, they that make Hony, do forbeare to come foorth in the same time, and abide close in their litle Hiues, yet without eating: whereof we may easily make proofe, in that, if one bring food, and set it before them, they wil not so much as touch it. And if it chaunce, that any one gets forth, you shall see the same to haue a transparant bodie, vtterlie emptie of all nourishment. From the heart of Winter, vntill the yeares renewing, they liue in sleepe, without any nouriture, so saith *Pliny*.

Arist. Lib. 8. cap. 14. Of Bees.

Pli. in hist. Nat. lib. 11. Cap. 16.

Aboue all other Creatures, the Grashopper doth fast the longest: for the moisture (which is super-aboundant in their bodies) doth sufficiently furnish them with store of nourishment.

Grashoppers *Arist. lib. 4 cap. 5. de part Anim*

Wormes, growing to bee olde, their skin

Of Wormes.

skinne doth outwardly waxe very harde, and becauſe (that skinne) then lookes of Gold or yellow colour, the Greeks were wont to call them *Chryſalides*, and the Latines named them *Aureliæ*. After they haue once taken this forme, they will receiue nothing more into their bodies, neither doe they voide or caſt anie thing forth.

Chryſalides. Aureliæ.

Among theſe, the Silke-worm ſheweth a Myracle in Nature about the midſt of Summer, for being then faſt cloſed vp within her huske of Silk, ſhe liues (at the leaſt) for fortie dayes together, not onely without eating; but imployeth beſides, verie much of hir ſubſtance, in making of ſilke. And comming forth of her ſhell or couerture, ſhee becommeth a Butter fly; & yet this liberty maketh her not to ſeeke any nouriſhment.

Of the Silke-Worme.

The Bat or Dormouſe, remaines hidden (all Winter) in a perpetuall ſleepe: and during all this time, ſhee hath no other nouriſhment then ſleepe.

Of the Bat or Dormouſe. *Ariſt. lib. 8. c. 7. Plin. lib. 8. c. 57*

The Rattes of the Mountains, like vnto Dormice, do ſleep hidden al the winter, and for ſixe moneths together, in full continuance, they are buſied in ſuch a profound ſleepe, as being caſt vp out of the grounde, by digging, or otherwiſe, they will not awake at all, vntil ſuch time as they be brought into the ſunne, or laid before the fire, and they beginne to feele heat. They carrie Hay, Chaffe, & ſuch like other things into their Cauerns, only to keepe them from colde: but yet all this, hinders them not from ſleeping ſoundly.

Of the Mountain Rattes. *Ariſt. lib. 8. cap. 17.*

Prouiſion to keepe them from cold.

The Tortoiſe of the earth, lieth al winter within the earth, and ther paſſeth that ſeaſon, like as the other creatures doo. And *Rondeletius* witneſſes, that not only in Winter, but likewiſe at all times, ſhee can liue longeſt without any foode, yea, albeit ſhee haue her head cleft or cut off, and this is by the power of the cold moiſture within her ſelfe.

Of the earth Tortoiſe.

Rondelet in lib. de Amphib.

The Loriot, a kind of Bird hauing this Nature, that if a man ſee her, when he is ſicke of the Iaundiſe, the man ſhall wex whole, and the Bird die immediately: lyeth all the Winter hidden in the earth, and ſheweth not her ſelfe, till about the Solſtice of Summer.

Of the Loriot *Ariſt. in Lib. 9. Cap. 29. Plin. in lib. 10. Cap. 24.*

Your Swallowes, as well thoſe of houſes, as they that are wilde, to ſhunne the ſharpeneſſe of Winter, when it draweth neere, do retire themſelues to ſecret places in the Neighbouring Mountaines, where you ſhall finde them Naked, and without any Feathers on them. And you may ſee them (almoſt) in the ſame condition, euen at the Spring time. As for them which are called Swallowes of the Sea-coaſts, they withdraw themſelues to the ſides of Riuers, Lakes, Mariſhes, and of the Seas, where the Rockes doe ſerue them for a retirement: There ſhall you ſee them in multitudes together, as newly aſſembled to chaſe one another. In ſuch ſort, that (as *Agricola* ſaith) the Fiſhermen many times, take them out of the Waters, ſo faſt tied and ioyned together, that our New Phyloſophers, may ceaſe henceforward, to fordge their new Colonies in *Affrick*, and other places beyond the Seas.

Of Swallows. *Ariſt. in lib. 8. Cap. 16. Plin. l. 10. c. 24.*

Swallowes of the Seacoaſts

Agricola.

Turtle-Doues, they beginne to hide themſelues when they are fatte; and although they leaue their Feathers in their holes, yet notwithſtanding, they keepe their fatneſſe.

Of Turtle-Doues. *Ariſt. in lib. 8. cap. 16. Hiſt.*

Some one peraduenture (beeing a more diligent ſearcher into natural thinges) may diſcouer a great number of other Birds, which might be thought to be ſtrangers, becauſe (in Winter time) they hide themſelues thus; and yet neuertheleſſe are of our country; As Kites, Stock-Doues, Black-birds, Stares, Hoops, Backs Gripes, Owles, and others; which are ſuſtained and fed by the fat within themſelues; in all which time, the courſe and office of the belly ceaſeth. For *Galen* holdeth; *That when hunger is not thoroughlie contented, the fat, Marrow, and Flegme, do giue nouriſhment to the Naturall heate.* Whence alſo we may relieue a doubt, ariſing from that which *Hippocrates* hath written; and maiutaineth, that a man can hardly liue out the ſeauenth day, without eating; which day, although he chaunce to ouer-paſſe; yet notwithſtanding, hee will die ſoone after. For, albeit it may be true, and that which hee hath Written might haue been manifeſted in this maid of *Confolans*, the Inteſtine receyuing no foode at all, did during this time, ſo ſhut vp it ſelfe, that it could not afterward admit the receipt of any, yet notwithſtanding, it is not altogether ſo conſtrayned, that by this reſtriction of the Entrayles, death ſhould follow thereon ſo readilie. For, it is recorded of the *Scythians*, that if

Other Foules of like nature

Galen. 4. vſu-pert. & Com. 2. de rat. vict. acut

Hippocrat. in lib. de carn.

Compariſon with the Faſting Maide.

Long fasting endured by the *Scythians*.

A Maide of *Spire*, that fasted 3. yeares

Obseruations concerning the Maide of *Spire*.

A lerned Phisition in Frãce writingon the Maid of *Spire*.

Plat. in Lib. de Repub.

Herus Pamphilius.

Plin. lib. 11. Cap. 54.

Diog. Laertius. ex test. Dicaeac.

if by any occasion happening them, they are to endure long Fasting, they wil bind vp their bellies strictly with large bands, to the end, that hunger may not charge them so soone, because they haue lefte little or no space at al, for the bellies conuoy. Moreouer, the maid of *Spire*, of whõ ran such great report, that she had beene three yeares without eating: yet, after the superabounding humor in her was consumed, she returned (according as they report that wrote thereof) euen as one from banishment, to hir first right course and vse of feeding, beginning (as it is very likely) with Pottages and licquid thinges, if it bee true which those Authours haue recorded. Or rather, if the mother of the Maid, did not impose this on the honest people (as the rumor ran) therefore, there hath bin some occasion of remaining in doubt, by their owne proper writing. For, it might be noted, that hir Nose voided much filth, her ears wanted no part of their Ordure, and that she deliuered aboundance of teares at her eyes: which sheweth, that the languishing powers haue bin often releeued with some food, albeit not solid, whereby these Excrements (by a secret posier in Nature) were sent into proper Organs.

Nor dooth this make any thing at all, against the Paradox, which *M. Ioubert* hath in the second Booke of the first Decade, where (among many other examples, of long fasting and abstinence) hee produceth, as an *Hypothesis* or argument disputed, that Historie of the Mayde of *Spire*. For, beside a great number of obseruations of the same qualitie, which he placeth before, & that haue bin approud by the auouching of manie graue Authors, we haue also notable confirmations, as well by experience of elder ages, as of our moderne, newer, and later. *Plato* in his Commonwealth, maketh report of a certaine man, named *Herus Pamphilius*, who remained ten dayes together, among the dead bodies of thẽ which had bin slaine in a battell. And two daies after that he was brought thence, as hee was laying on the pile of wood to bee burned among other dead bodies, he was found to be aliue. As for *Pliny*, he is not perswadeable, that thorow lacke of foode, a man should yeild to death at the 7. daies end. *Diogenes Laertius* declareth by the testimony of *Dicearchus*, that *Pythagoras* the chief master of abstinence continued 40. daies togither without drinking: by whose doctrine also, *Apollonius Thyaneus* lerned (out of long vse & custome) to endure fasting for many daies. *Pliny* assures vs, that drought or thirst may be surmounted by constant perseuerance, and that the *Romã* noble Knight, *Iulius Viator*, hauing had warning (in his yong years) by Physitians not to drink any water at all, by reason of an indisposition in him, leaning to the dropsie, so turned the custom of Nature, that he passed al his age without drinking.

Apollon. Thyaneus. Plin. lib. 7. cap: 18.

Iulius Viator a famous *Roman* Knight, drank not in all his age.

Fresh yet in our memory, & all *France* hath seene the same in the person of the Lord Marquesse of *Pisani*, who is a man of such merit, as the K. himselfe employes his seruice in matters of great importãce. There are many Books of deuout enstructions, which do recount meruails of diuers frequent and voluntary abstinences, as of *P. Alcantara*, a Monk in *Spaine*, and that for 8. daies & more in euery month. But beyond all others, there is a historie verie famous, of a certaine Maid, named *Catharine*, a Native in the land of *Colberberg*, who hath bin known to liue 7. years togither, without drinking or eating any thing whatsoeuer. She was carefully tended by *Henry Smetius*, at this time Professor in *Heildeberge*, & *Iohn Iac. Theod.* Physitions, till the 24. of Nouember, 1584. by the commandement of *Iohn Casimir*, Count *Palatine*. And since then also, four graue Matrons were appointed to keepe hir company, who haue acknowledged with the Physitions, that this fast or abstinence, is most true. Three yeares after, this History was traduced into *French*, & printed at *Frankford*, by *Iohn Wechel*, in the yeare, 1587. with an aduertisement in the end, that the maide then liued still in that maner, without drinking, eating, sleeping, or deliuering any excrements. Beside all those, *Ioubert* (concerning this argument) hath set downe such pregnant & necessary reasons, as I cannot thinke, that any one needs to make doubt thereof.

P. Alcantara a Spanish monk

Catherine of *Colberberg* fasted 7. yeares.

Proose made of the truth in this case, by diuers Physitions of great credit.

Nerthelesse, being my self afterward to discourse on the same subiect, I happned (being in a Booke-sellers Shoppe) as mine eyes wandered ouer viewe of the Bookes, to light on a little Treatise, bearing this Title in the forehead: *Fieri non posse, vt quis sine cibo & potu plures dies & annos transigat*. I tooke the book, which in regarde it was Written by *I. Haruet*,

The Authors discoursing on the same Argument.

a Doctor of Phyſick, of the ſame condition with vs, and as we are;) I read it verie ſeriouſly from the one end to the other. But comming to the place, where he argues on the negligence of the Authours of ſo manie notable examples, who (hee ſaith) haue beene ſomewhat deceyued, by the inueterate beleefe of this extraordinary faſting, I thought good that hee ſhould be ſatisfied in this point; and paſſed my promiſe thereon, in the name of our Maide of *Confolans*. Albeit during ſo many months and yeares, I could not giue my ſelfe to conſider all her actions and motions: Neuertheleſſe, it is verie likely, by that which in all places is ſayde of her, to approue the three yeares Faſte now in queſtion. And yet ſuch as haue ſeene her naked, as we haue done, could coniecture no otherwiſe, if ſhee bee not chaunged ſince the laſt time I ſawe her, which was in the moneth of Iulie laſt, 1602.

I. Haruet, Doctor of Phyſicke.

In Pagina 174.

The reaſon of his further purſuit in this point, to ſatiſfie D. *Haruet*.

Some ſay, that ſhe is a little more full of fleſh, and yet ſhe hath neuer receiued any foode at all, that could poſsiblie bee knowne. Beſide, this truth ought to receiue credite generally, by the faithfull report of ſo many perſons of honor and goodly quality, who (for trials ſake) haue kept her in their Houſes amongeſt their Maids and Children, ſome for three, others for foure months and more. If anie one bee further deſirous, and would willingly ſee her, he hath free liberty, & the Maide her ſelfe will not contradict, what other proofes he or ſhe can make of her. But in my minde, *Ioubert* would haue receiued no meane contentment, by the ſight of an accident ſo ſtrange: For, if to ſo many pertinent reaſons he could haue had but an eye-experience he ſhould not nowe (perhaps) haue had *Haruet* for his aduerſary. Who being in the humour to combate both againſt ſence and reaſon, it may bee, it would then bee the harder for him, to vndergoe the demonſtration of *Ioubert*. For they are vnder-propped with principles ſoundly aſſured, & drawn from the Oracles, euen of the great Dictator of Nature.

Triall made by perſons of Honour and reſpect.

Eye-experience is an vndoubted perſwaſion.

The validitie of *Iouberts* writing.

CHAP. X.

The matter and manner of ſo ſtraunge Faſting, diſputed betweene Ioubert *and* Haruet, *with many excellent and approued examples, tending thereto.*

FIrſt of all, *Ariſtotle* enſtructeth vs, that al kinds of creatures, haue a certaine naturall heate in them, which is combined to the ſoule with ſo ſtrict a Bond, as the one cannot bee without the other, and thoſe Creatures (while they liue) haue this heat, but death approaching, they are cold immediatly. In another place, *There is* (ſaith he) *in the ſeede of all Creatures, the thing that cauſeth fecunditie*, and that it is it which wee call heate. Further he ſaith; *In the earth, and in the Waters, the Creatures and plantes doe ingender*, becauſe in the earth there is a moiſture, and in the moiſture is a ſpirite; and in this great ſubſtance is the animall heat, to the end, that all things ſhould be ſomwhat ful of ſoule. Thus he doth hold that all things are made by heat, and that all functions are performed thereby. *Galen* alſo is of the ſame opinion, and ſayth; *That heate is either the ſubſtance of the faculties, or at leaſt, the moſt chiefe and neceſſarie Inſtrument of them.*

Ariſt in lib. de vita & mors, & reſp.

Ariſt in lib. 2. de gen. Anim. Cap. 3.

The animall heate which performeth all things.

Galen in lib. ad Glauc. & in lib 4. de vſu par.

It is no meruaile then, if *Haruet* think it ſtrange, that *Ioubert* ſaieth (according to *Ariſtotle*) *That life dependeth vpon heat only*. For that it muſt needes be ſo, life is nothing elſe, but an abiding and attendance of the ſoule with heate, according to the ſame *Ariſtotles* iudgement. And wee cannot in this obſcuritie of thinges, finde any more aſſurance of this preſent life, then by the functions thereof: of all which, heate (as the eſpecial inſtrument, and without other means,) is the author, the motiue cauſe and effecter.

What life is. *Ariſt. in lib. de reſp.*

Nor hath *Ioubert* (vnaduiſedly) defined life by heate, when *Ariſtotle* hath dedeſigned death by the extinction of the ſame heate: for *Ioubert* groundeth on this Axiom, that of two contraries, the con-

Ioubert defineth life by heate.

consequents are contrary. And *Galen* himselfe (who holdeth death to arriue then, when heate, beeing weakened and broken by frequent action, beeoms faint, and that the temper of the Elementarie qualities, which are in vs (beeing out of square) comes to yeelde it selfe vnder the tiranny of one alone) giues thereby reasonably to vnderstand, that the course of life keepes it selfe for so long time, as naturall heate doth aboundantly disperse it selfe aboue the radicall humor, and that the Elementarie qualitie do hold a good simpathie amongst themselues, in their harmonie and kinde accorde, which we call temperature. And therefore, it is blameles to define life by these two causes, Heate and Temperature; because it behoueth to take the definition, from and by the cause which is most neere. Now, heate is the most neere Instrument of the soule, and temperature next vnto that of Naturall heate, which disposeth and accommodates it vnto diuerse actions. Then this causeall definition, is well deriued from the chiefe and principall occasion of Life, which heere we haue alledged by the Authoritie of *Aristotle*.

How long the course of life keepeth it selfe.

How to take a definition in his right form

Neuertheless, *Haruet* goes after another fashion, he defineth the life of man, to bee an action of the reasonable soule, producted into the bodie of man: but this definition is not subtle enough. For first and formost, life is no action of the soule, otherwise it should bee the soule that liueth, and not the bodie. But, as it hath beene saide alreadie, life is an abyding, or an Vnion of the soule with the bodie, according as *Aristotle* describeth in another of his Bookes, whereof action proceedeth afterward. Heereto I adde, that the actions of life beeing to vnderstand, to smell, to mooue, and to norish: if life were an action, why then it should be an action of action, which is most absurd. Or else, if life bee an action of the reasonable soule; insomuch as she is reasonable, the corporeall parts should bee driuen to performe their operations, as receiuing food for nourishment, and to beget hir like, only by reason of the intellect, and not by any natural sence. But per aduenture, *Haruet* hauing drawn his definition from others, hath read, that life is an act of the reasonable soul; which word of act, hee hath conuerted into action.

After what maner *Haruet* defineth the life of man.

Ari. lib. 8. Met.

The actions of life.

The bodily parts in their operations.

Now let me tell ye, Act is that which the *Greeks* call ἐντελέχεα, which is a perfection, energy, & mouing power of it selfe, far enough diffring from that which they terme ἔργον. And so one may (to some purpose) define life: an Act of the soul in the body, that is to say, a power & vertue of the soule, by the vnion therof with the body. Whence is easily vnderstood, that taking life generally, it should rather bee imputed to naturall heate, as to the Organ of the soul, then vnto reason. In case notwithstanding, that this heate doe still abide vnited with the radicall Moysture; which although it be (day by day) consumed by this heate: yet nature prouideth a daily subrogation of new, which shee borrows from the noritures we receyue, as hath bin said already heeretofore.

Act insted of action.

Life an act of the soul in the body.

Heat abyding with the radicall moisture.

But *Haruet* imagineth, that these nourishments doo yet serue to another vse, which is (saith he) to releeue and fortifye the spirits; the which *Ioubert* hath omitted: as if vnder this name of radical moysture, we should comprehend only moysture by it selfe, & not the spirits likewise. And what is hee, who will deny, that the spirits are not restored and strengthened, both by eating and drinking? But to speak truly, many thinges are piled and heaped vp in the body, very vnprofitably, and to small purpose. Moreouer, that which he proposeth against *Hippocrates*, in the 14. Aphorisme of his second Booke, is altogether Paradoxicall, to wit; That hee in whom heate is most languishing, hath the more neede of nourishment: which he proueth by example of a fortie yeares aged man, who (sayeth hee) receyueth more Foode, then an Infant of two or three dayes: in whom notwithstanding, there is greater aduantage of this heate, according to *Hippocrates*.

The vse of nourishments.

The spirites restored by eating and drinking.

Hippo. in Lib. 2. Aphor. 14.

Comparison of an Infant, and a man of fortie yeares.

Beholde (in my iudgement) a verie feeble Argument, if all should be alledged that he failes in; and also, if we shold oppose the Organes of both kindes, the one against the other. For, to the ende, that vnder this worde Infant, no cauillation may be couered, I call all them Infants, which are vnder foureteene yeares of Age, in the verie same manner as the Greekes do vnderstand the word παιδίον. They, I say, that according to the proportion of their Mawe or little Bellie, do take more foode then men of middle and perfect age: as well by reason of

Cauillation auoyded about the word Infant.

the power of the facultie, which ſeeths or boyles the foode (whence proceedeth a ſpeedie riddance thereof) as by their frequent exerciſes: during which time, good ſtore of their ſubſtaunce, glides it ſelfe thorow the pores of the skinne. Heere alſo I may bee ſilent, in thoſe two neceſsities alledged by *Hippocrates*, which Infants haue of eating, to witte; for Nouriſhing, and to giue encreaſing to the bodie.

The two neceſsities in Infants in feeding.

Nowe, the ſtrength of the facultie which boiles the meate in our ſtomacke, dependeth much vpon temperature and moderation, but that is, when it is excited and prouoked on by naturall heate; which, albeit that after one foode bee digeſted, ſhe introduceth not any other noriture of her ſelfe, as *Haruet* ſayeth; yet notwithſtanding, in regard that this firſt foode is digeſted by heate, there growes immediately, a feeling of penury & want of foode, at the mouth of the Ventricle, which we call hunger. For this cauſe, *Ioubert* referreth onely to heate (as the principall Agent) the quantitie of thoſe meates, which are afterward receyued, and gouerned by the appetite of hunger. *The facility of ſupporting hunger* (ſayth *Galen*) *acknowledgeth it ſelfe, when ane one hath no appetite to meate; and yet neuertheleſſe, feeleth not thereby ſome endamagement or defect.* Which *Haruet* brings in thus, that ſuch as are reſtored from ſickeneſſe, haue a good appetite; and yet notwithſtanding, no ſuch meates, are giuen them, as their appetites doo deſire: but when aduiſe is giuen for reſtoring their powers, it behoueth alſo to haue regard to the infirmitie of Naturall heat, which muſt not be ouerthrowne, but ſtill ſupported. This is thus doone, becauſe that the temperature, beeing not (as yet thoroughly recouered, and the naturall Faculties feeling themſelues (as yet) diſeaſed: the Organs cannot boile the meates receiued in too great a quantitie. Now *Ioubert* in his demonſtration, is vnderſtoode to ſpeake of the healthfull, not of the ſicke, or elſe of them that are neutral. And therefore he concludeth, that olde men haue not neede of meate often, becauſe they do not deſire or apetite often, principally conſidering, that they haue cold bodies: whereto *Haruet* in no wiſe wil agree, for he ſaith; That al the action of mixed bodies, cõmeth from that qualitie, which wins the vpper hand in the Elements aſſembling. Now, ſo it is, that in liuing bodies, heate ruleth ouer the other qualities; of which heate, euery action hath his originall, and not of colde. I willingly admit the propoſition with *Ariſtotle*, as concerning mixt inanimat things, and which acknoledge the ſimple forms of the elements for their principles. But in animate bodies, which haue a more noble forme, and wherein are contained thoſe other more ignoble (euen as the Triangle within the Quadrangle) it is not a thing ſo eaſie. For, they acknowledge, (as principall of their functions) that nature, which I ſay is properly called the ſoule, that is; the moouing vertue of the body naturall and organicall, liuing by power.

Of the facultie that boyleth the food in the ſtomak.

Galen. in Com. 2. Aphor. 13.

For reſtoreement of the powers, and maintenance of the temperature.

Old mẽ haue not neede of often feeding

The action of mixed bodies

Ariſt. in Lib 2. de gen. anim. c. 5

Of bodies that haue ſoules, and their forme.

As concerning that which *Haruet* placeth in the aſſumption of his argument, to wit; that heate (in the liuing bodie) ſurmounteth the other elementarie qualities, I cannot allow thereof, except hee will haue vnderſtood by this heate, that it (being diffuſed thorow the bodie) gouerneth and moderateth the whol Oeconomy therof; and ſo long as it is in eſſence, maintaineth life; but approaching neere quenching, then death of neceſsity muſt follow. This alſo ſurmounteth and ſubiecteth to it ſelfe, not only the cold, moyſt, and drie elementary quality, but euen the hot elementarie Nature alſo, as beeing (in it ſelfe) truly celeſtiall. For, if hee meane the predominant heate of the Elementary heate, as it ſeemeth to enſue by his Sylogiſme: then let me ſet the Salamander before him, which (in his mixtion) is compoſed of ſo colde a temperament, as his verie touch doth quench the fire, euen as if it wer ice. He liueth neuertheleſſe, yet not by the heat mixed or elementary, which being weak in it ſelf, cannot exceed the power of this cold. It followeth then, that it muſt needs be by celeſtiall heate, which likewiſe maintaineth life in Serpentes, and euery one knowes them to be temperately cold.

Of heate, ſurmounting the other elemẽtary qualities and the power thereof.

The predominating heat of the Elementary heat

How the Salamander liueth by celeſtiall heate.

This then which hath beene ſaid, that cold (in Olde men) maketh them to hate the abounding of Foode; it muſt bee, that *Haruet* meanes it in ſuch ſorte, as that cold hath no Dominion or ſuperioritie ouer human bodies, neither that actually it can haue. But for the cold of *Hippocrates*, it is the ſame which *Galen*, & all Phy-

Hip. in Com. 1. Aphor. 14. Galen Com. 3. Aphor. 15.

Physitions (by comparison) do call a soft heate: and therefore, their weak and feeble heate, hath need of some small helpe. Euen as the slender flame of a Lampe is maintained, by putting in Oyle by little and little, but it is easily extinguished, in being smothered by a superaboundant effusion.

Natural heat the primitiue Agent.

Hitherto we haue spoken of Naturall heate, as beeing the Primitiue Agent; wherein wee haue defended for M. *Ioubert*, that according to the aboundaunce or tenuitie thereof, the bodye hath neede of much or little nourishment. Let vs now speake of the Primitiue humor patient, and of his Nature, and how it is subiected to this heat.

Repetition of what hath formerly bin said

With consent of all Physitians, wee haue constituted heate, to bee the first essentiall cause of our life, and haue sayde; that thee cannot product any effect of her Functions, without a proper aliment or foode, which is the radicall moysture and primitiue abounding, mingled with her heate in the seede and Menstruall blood, the principles of our generation. But by the swift flight of yeares, it greatly decayeth and diminisheth it selfe, to our harme, by continuall embracement of her heate: for retardment whereof, as we do warily renew the Oyle in the burning Lampe, euen so do we as diligently giue feeding to this heate; feeding, I say, which serueth to restore this humiditie, & deliuer it from so strict an embracing. So that, if in the bodie there be some superabounding humour, which the partes cannot any way disperse, *Galen* calles the same πόαπερ ὑστολήπλυνος, and the Schooles, *An vnprofitable excrement*. As that, saith he, which remaineth within the little hollow places of the Bones; like the froathy humidity in the Lunges, the Glewy humour in the ioyntes, the seede in the Testicles, and Pipes whereby it is voided forth, or as spettle vppon the tongue, and Milke in the Breastes: euen so this holdeth a place of Foode, and serueth the fomentation and kindling of naturall heate, as *Ioubert* hath verie amplie Written in his Paradoxe, and wee our selues haue heeretofore declared. Therefore, so long as this humour remayneth in the body, there is no neede of meat or drinke; and yet it is all this while, nourished, and liueth. Which *Haruet* verie obstinately denieth, and reiecteth al the reasons of this demonstration. But for our owne credite and respect, without further amusing our selues, to cul out his writings by parcels, where himselfe both maketh and faigneth Obiection, answering also to them, as any newe Apprentize in Physicke might doo the like: wee will confound those reasons, which seem to bee best furnished with apparaunce: albeit, wee cannot endure any errour, how little soeuer it be, in matters of such moment.

Swifte course of yeares decayeth the life of men.

Galen in Lib. 5 Aphor: 39.

The superabounding humour, and in what manner it abideth in the body.

Haruets obstinate denial against apparant truth.

Haru in pag. 47

In the beginning of this propositiõn, hee imposeth on *Ioubert*, who hath Written, that not onely the smallest heat helpeth, to make abstinence or Fasting the more easye, but also in this regarde, that the superfluous humor, and which holdeth the place of Natural heat, might be more aboundant.

This dooth *Haruet* interprete in his sence, as if *Ioubert* hadde sayde, that the sole smallest heate, not only helpeth vnto render abstinence the more easie: but also causeth, that the superfluous humour, which holds the place of Naturall heate, should bee the more plentifull. From whence hee deriueth this following proposition, that the least heate causeth the superfluous Humours abounding. Against which proposition, he so distilleth out his owne Spirite, and Tormentes it so tediously, euen as if it were on *Ioubert* himselfe.

Iouberts words not truly interpreted by *Haruet*, but wrested to his own purpose.

Next, hee makes it a great case, and thinkes hee hath attempted an acte beseeming another *Hercules*, in shewing; that the Excrement dooth sometime supplie the place of Foode, and that Nature serues her selfe with vse thereof, and it can repaire that, which is impaired by the power of heate. In trueth, the Excrements do not fall vnder one and the same consideration. For, there be some which are quite against Nature, and vtterly vnprofitable, & which haue no resemblace at all with vs: and theefore, can neuer conuert themselues to our vse, to bee incorporated with vs. The Greekes call them by an apt name πόαπερώματα, as the Ordure, Vrine, sweat, &c.

In pagina 52.

The Excrements not all vnder one cõsideration.

There bee others more according to nature, which are profitable to som part of the bodie: and yet are excrements, not in regard of the whol body, but for some

Excrements that are answercable to nature, and profitable to some parts of the body.

part thereof only. Like as the *Chylus*, or white iuyce, proceeding of the meat digested in the stomacke, whereof blood is engendred, after that the Ventricle is satisfied, it is sent to the Intestines, as an excrement and vnprofitable charge. When it is drawne by the Liuer, then that which was an excrement of the ventricle, is made an aliment vnto the liuer. There while blood is made of the *Chylus*, the Spleene and the bladder of the Gall or Choller, do attract gall both from the one and other, being their familiar nourishment, and yet the excrements of the Liuer. Hauing receiued their conuenable portion, they send away the rest as an excrement, which can doe no more Seruice, nor yeeld contentment to anie one part. The Spleene sends that which shee holds superfluous, by a little Vessel at the bottome of the Ventricle; and somtimes by the Hemorrodes, and from thence to the Intestines. The Vessell of the Gall or Choller, sends it by the *Parancholidocum*, to *Duodenum*, or *Intestinum primũ*, and other parts. By which demonstration, *Galen* induceth, that all these two parts of blood (to wit, the thick and earthy, which the Spleene draweth, and the most subtle of all, drawne by the bladder of the Gall or choller, which hauing past the examen of heat, conuerts it selfe into choller) are according to nature, and do serue her to some vse, because their proper vessels were ordained for them, and to be receiued thereinto.

But as concerning the sundrie kinds of choller, and all the sorts of Serosities (being the warterishnesse, or thinner partes of the masse of bloode, like to Whay in Milke, which floats vpon it, after it hath bin let out of a Vaine) because they are things vnprofitable, and out of Nature, there is not any vessell allowed to them. Only to Flegme or Rhume, nature fayled in allowing it a perticuler receptacle, although it be beneficial: but rather hath lodged it in the vaines with the bloode, there to bee boyled, and made capeable for nourishing the bodie. *Haruet* obiecteth, that this Rume or Flegme, holdes no part of an excrement, but is Naturall and Elementarie, to wit; a fourth humor of blood: I answere, that by conference of other humors, which are of the nature of Excrements, it appeareth manifestly, that by that place of *Galen*, excrementall Flegme, is meerely vnderstoode. For thus hee compareth all the excrements. As (saith he) among the diuers kindes of Gall, one is profitable and Naturall in the Creature, the other vnprofitable and out of Nature: Euen so, in Flegme, that which is sweete, is healthfull and Naturall in the liuing creature; but that which is salt, is out of Nature.

Moreouer, to approoue this, in euery concoction, there is some excrement seperated from the blood, which then shal bee the excrement of the Elementarie Flegme. For example, the Melancholy iuyce hath his excrement; the billious or Chollericke hath also his, and yet it is not that which is lodged in the stomack, and in the Intestines: for it hath not (as yet) attained so farre as the Liuer, which is the Shop or Work-house of this concoction.

In briefe, Flegme is not held to haue any perticuler Instrument, because, that if somtimes thorow want of eating, there shall be a defect of bloode, the same turning it selfe on the blood side, shall serue as nutriment to those parts. For naturall Flegme it nourisheth and maintaineth continually, not by power and want of Food only, but the parts colde and moist actually.

It is then an excrement, but profitable, which *Galen* in the place before alledged, saith; *That abyding in the bodie it may be changed.* And he doth not any way contradict the same, in the first of his Prognostickes, where hee calleth it (not as he doth heere) *Nourishment halfe boyled*, but an *Excrement of the nourishment halfe boyled*, whereof the bodie being filled, men may (so saieth *Hippocrates*) not only bide from eating once a day, but also much more easily, endure an extraordinary hunger.

Haruet obiecteth two things. The first in the Dropsie, named **Anasarcha* (which the Latines call *Intercus*) all the parts of the body being swoln with flegm or Rheume; and yet notwithstanding, the patient must haue food giuen him at all times, whereof if there be any want, he seemeth readie euery houre, to giue vp the Ghost. I answere, that all Flegme is not proper to nourish the body, but only that which is sweete. Now, that of the Dropsy is salt, by reason whereof, it putrifieth and sendeth noisom sauors to the

Of the *Chylus* or white iuice conuerted into blood.

The Spleene, and her superfluous euacuation.

Gal. 2. de fact. nat.

The two partes of bloode.

Of the diuers kinds of choller, and the Serosities.

H ruet obiection of rhume or Flegme.

The answere. *Galen. De fact. nat. 2.*

Galens comparisons.

Proofe of concoctions, by euident example.

Flegme hath anie perticuler instrumẽt.

Of Naturall Flegme.

Galen vbi sup.

Galen. in 1. de Prog.

Hippocrat. 2. de acut. ec.

*A Dropsye vniuersallie spred ouer the body, betweene the skin, and the flesh.

The answere to *Haruets* obiection.

the parts which it toucheth. And *Galen* calleth it earthy, or deadly, because, beeing commixed with some other humours: he not only changeth his true and naturall colour (as *Galen* saith in the same place) but also his temperature. So that, both by *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, it is more often designed by the word Water, then of the Phlegme or Rhume. Vpon which occasion, *Serenus* calleth it *Aquosus languor*. And *Horace* tearmeth it, *Aquosus albo corpore languor*.

Gal in 1. de Prog. Hippoc. in Aphor. 6. 14. & sect. 2. Galen Aphor. 482 coac. Serenus. Aur. in Od. Lib. 2. pagi. 65.

This solution may also satisfie the obiection which he makes soone after, concerning the excrements of sick persons, which (saith he) if they haue power to nourish during the disease, wherefore then (they being consumed) doth not the sickenesse it selfe cease also? And if the sickenesse cease, why then are all the parts in the body depressed? Alas (good man) those excrements are wholly contrary to Nature, and the body desires nothing more, then to be deliuered of them, as *Galen* speaketh of the Sereons wateriſh humour. That is more strong, which hee alleadgeth a little before; that *Ioubert* doth not conclude well, saying; that if the ventricle (being filled with the Phlematicke humour) hath no appetite: in like maner, all the partes of the body (being filled) can haue no desire or hunger. For the appetite of the ventricle (now in question) is animall appetite, which being not in the other partes, this Phlegme cannot communicate it selfe vnto them in the same kind.

Concerning men in time of sickenesse.

Gal. 2. De nat. fac.

The appetite of the ventricle.

I answere, that there are two sortes of appetites in the ventricle, the animall, and the naturall. The Animall appetite is a certaine molestation and anguish of the ventricle, proceeding from the sucking, or compression of the food; whereby (being made angry or offended) it desireth meate. But the naturall appetite, is a power, bred and borne in all parts of the body, which continually desireth what it wanteth, and is thereto agreeable. The one is appeased by vapour of the meats receiued, and by (how little soeuer) it be of substance; the other, by the only application of foode. The Animall appetite is perticuler to the sole-ventricle: the naturall is common, as well to the ventricle, as to all the other parts, whereby (being carried to the Superiour Orifice of the same Ventricle; he exciteth the Animall appetite, which serues vs as a Spurre for the taking of our meats. So long then, as the raw and Phlegmatick humour remaineth at the ventricle, and that there (by naturall strength thereof) it is boyled and brought into good estate: the tunicles (which make the body of the ventricle, in taking their competent portion; yea, and the very best thereof) doe conuert the same to their owne profit. So, the naturall appetite being contented, the animall appetite is not offended, neither complaines at entrance of the ventricle. If all the body were full of one and the same humour, all the parts (whereto this appetite is common, and communicateth the strength of this emotion) would borow thereof, and draw thence what should be seruiceable for them.

Two appetites, animall and naturall.

The appeasing of both the appetites.

The superior Orifice of the ventricle.

The Coat-armours of the ventricle.

The body is not filld with one humour.

These are the Arguments, wherewith the learned *Ioubert* hath fortified his opinion: Arguments, which (in my iudgement) vntill this instant houre, there could be no man found, that did know (deseruedly) how to stand against them. Whereto there are adioyned many examples, both of Plants and other Creatures: that not onely preserue themselues many daies, but many yeares also, without any nourishment outwardly taken. As in Plants; the Onion and the Garlike, &c. In Graine, Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Millet, and others. In and among Beasts, Serpents, Lizards, Dormise, Beares, Crocodiles, and Camelions. The authority of which examples, *Harnet* laboureth to eneruate, by opposition of dissimilitude, and great disproportion, which is betweene the life of brute beasts (yea much more of Plants) and that of man: because his principall is referred to the reasonable soule, and theirs to the soule irrationall. Beside, that heat (the instrument of both) is much more noble in man, then in the vnreasonable Soule; and yet is more in the vnreasonable soule, then in the Plant. Whereto I aunswere, that the similitude of these examples doe very well agree together in that kind of life, whereof we speake in this place; which is, *The faculty of feeding, and nourishing the body; and which is equally*

The strength of *Ioubert's* Arguments.

Examples of Plants, Grain and beasts.

Dissimilitude of life in men and brute beasts.

The similitude of life defended.

Ariſt. in Lib. de Gen. 2. Cap. 5.

In Pagina. 78.

equally diſtributed, as well in beaſtes as in Plantes, ſaith *Ariſtotle*. Moreouer, that they agree in kind of the cauſe, to wit, the raw and Phlegmaticke humour; where-with their bodies are as well filled, as thoſe of men. But who can, (ſaith *Haruet*) ſupport ſuch a great aboundance of Phlegme in *Diaphragma*, without a palpitation of the heart, ſickneſſe of the ſtomacke, and paine of the collicke and raines? And who can retaine them in the head, without an Apoplexie? I anſwere, that this humour, doth there ſeeth it ſelfe in the body, and yet not corrupt it ſelfe. For, beeing according to nature, it cannot create any accidents or diſeaſes againſt nature. Perhaps he will obiect, that the very abounding of Phlegme, cauſeth an Apoplexie.

The humour abounding in crudity.

Abounding of Phlegme to to cauſe the Apoplexie.

But (I ſay) that it is an Excrement properly of the braine, which hath not beene wont to goe lodge it ſelfe at the ventricles thereof, neither doth, except it be driuen by the ſpirit, or the vapour. He may ſay, that in theſe Natures, the Spirits are more languiſhing, and haue not power ſufficient, to make an impetuoſity ſo violent. Whereto I reply, that albeit (otherwiſe) exerciſe of the body is healthfull, according to *Galen*: yet notwithſtanding, if ye will exerciſe a Man full of Phlegme, or ſubiect to one and the other choller, or elſe full of blood; ye ſhall forward him (by ſuch exerciſe) either to an Epilepſie, or Apoplexie.

Gal. in Com. 3. Aphor. 20.

Concerning life.

Ariſt. in Lib. de gen. 2. Cap. 9.

A vegetatiue ſoule in man.

Ariſt. vbi ſupra.

Now, whereas he ſaith, that our life is differing from that of Plants and beaſts, and that her principle (which is the ſoul) is much more noble thē theirs: what is he that will deny it? Seeing *Ariſtotle* himſelfe beleiued, that ſhe onely was diuine, and came from ſomewhere elſe abroad, to lodge within our body. But becauſe he encloſeth within his obiection, the vegetatiue Soule of Plants, and the ſenſitiue of beaſts: it behoueth to let him know, that our body hath a vegetatiue Soule, and nouriſheth it ſelfe as a Plant; ſenſeth or ſenteth as as brute beaſt, and hath diſcourſe of reaſon, of which it maketh vſe like to a man. Marke but his beginning, ſaith the ſame *Ariſtotle*; he liueth as the Plant, and hath onely then the vegetatiue Soule. Afterward (in time) hee gaines the ſenſitiue; and at length, comes to the intellectuall and reaſonable, which bringeth all perfections with it. For he is not wholly (at one time) both animall and man, neyther an Animall and an Horſe (though this kind of reaſoning is ſcant ſeemely, in the mouth of a Chriſtian Philoſopher.) He muſt bee firſt of all an Hearbe, as a Beete or Lettiſe; afterward a Dogge, Horſe, or the like thing; and laſt of all he comes to be *Cæſar* or *Cato*.

Of mans being both animall and man

But *Haruet* holdes on yet, and proueth by *Hippocrates*, that our fore-fathers would neuer haue ſought out a proper manner of feeding for man; if one ſelfe-ſame eating and drinking had beene ſufficient, for the nouriſhment both of men and beaſts. Neuertheleſſe, he omitteth that which *Hippocrates* addeth; that in the firſt age, men vſed one and the ſame kind of food, as other Creatures did, becauſe the inuention of ſowing and planting was (as yet) vnknowne to them. Then they fed on ſuch Fruites, as nature (in her owne kindneſſe) produced, without any tillage. Howbeit, the omnipotent Creator of man, had a will from the beginning, that he ſhould not liue onely by the fruits of the earth; but alſo that he ſhould vſe the vnreaſonable Creatures for his nouriſhment. What would he haue *Hippocr.* more to ſay? That which our ancients did, declared a wil, to prouide for the infirmity of our naturall heat, which being vnable (ſometimes) to digeſt meats of ſuch crudity; is much better ſupplyed and maintained, by thoſe that are prepared and corrected by art and experience, in doing whereof, the health of man is the leſſe ſubiect to perrill. Otherwiſe, a man (if he had been vſed thereto) might feed on Hemlocke (dangerleſſe) with the Stare; and on Helleborus with the Quaile; or vſe poyſons (as *Mithridates* did) and not be poiſoned: for man being invred to ſuch a cuſtome, they would be to him as naturall viands.

Hippocrat. de priſca. Med.

Mens food in the firſt age, before tillage was knowne.

The care of our elders in the firſt age, for naturall heat.

What meats a man might eate in ſome kinds.

In like manner, an old Woman of *Athens* (recorded by *Galen*) vſed familiarly to eate Hemlocke; as *Thraſias* did *Helleborus*, by report of *Theophraſtus*: A maide being ſent by the King of the *Indiaes* to *Alexander*, did (for long time) feede in the ſight of all beholders, on *Napellus*,

Gal. in lib. 3. de ſimpl. fact. Theophraſt. in lib. 9. Hiſt. plant Cap. 18. Ariſt. de reg. pri.

Napellus, commonly called Woolfesbane, without any preiudice vnto her health.

Our Mother the earths care for our maintenance.

But without all these, hath not our good Mother the Earth, yeilded (out of her bosome) many other things necessary to maintaine life? Yes truelie hath she, and euen in such estate as shee receiued vs, when wee arriued in the Inne of this World; in the very same manner shee doth both entertaine and sustaine vs: shewing her selfe euermore benigne, sweete, indulgent, and readie to doe (whatsoeuer she can deuise) to serue our vse. When she is tilled and husbanded, what diuersity of foodes doth shee produce, apt and proper for our nourishing? How plentiously is she furnished without Tillage? What Odours? What Sauours? What Iuyces? What Colours? And yet (all this while) we will needes exercise our cruelty vpon brute beasts. We will keepe those Creatures imprisoned, on whom Nature hath freely bestowed, the large and spacious Pallace of Heauen Why are not we more curious, to make banquets in simplicity, and without Butchery (after the manner of *Pythagoras*) rather then warre in the Ayre; aduenture life on the Seas and Riuers, and rauage ouer the Earth, as wee doe? Our Elders report, the age which we tearm the Golden Age, was happy in this; that it sullied not her mouth with the blood of Creatures.

The earths plenty without tillage.

The freedom bestowed on Creatures by nature.

Ouid. 1. Metam

The Philosopher *Appolonius Thyaueus*, being demaunded by the Emperour *Domitian*, why he kept not the common manner of feeding, which consisted in the vse of Flesh; but rather fed on Roots and Fruites, such as the earth yeilded? Returned this answer. *All that the Earth bringeth forth to vs, is wholsome and healthfull. I neede not then goe seeke after the Fowles of the Riuer Phasis, or the Francolines in Ionia. Alasse, with me (as with Countrey Horace) much better agreeeth the O'iue, gathered from the Trees fat Braunches, or Sorrell, growing in the field, or Mallowes, wholesome for wearied bodies.*

Domitian his demaund of *Appolonius Thyaneus.*

The Philosophers answer.

In Pagin. 67. 68. 69.

Haruet pursueth, to confute the alleadged examples, saying; That that which is reported of Serpents, Dormise, &c. is meerelie fabulous. For, as concerning Serpents, that abide all the Winter in their Dennes: they nourish themselues with Earth. Bears and Dormise, they make their prouision of food in Autumne, whereon they liue like vnto the Ant. The Camelion feedes himselfe with Flyes. The Crocodile cannot liue long out of the Water, according to *Aristotle*, &c. Whereto I answere. That the Serpent should nourish himselfe with earth onely, the reason of the same Philosopher doth repugne. For, he saith; *A mixed body cannot be nourished, with one sole and simple Element*; whereto also, the succesle in thinges is conformable. For we haue many times obserued, that as among Fishes, the great ones eate vp the smaller Fry: the selfe-same is in practise among Vipers, Adders, Snakes, and such like. But that Serpents can liue very long without foode, *Aristotle* shewes the same, by experience of such as haue beene kept by Apothecaries, whereof we haue spoken heeretofore. And as concerning that which was said to the Serpent, in the third of *Genesis*; *Thou shalt eate earth all the daies of thy life*; this nothing at all concerneth our earthly Serpents, but onely the ancient Enemy to mankind, whose slauish Seruants doe eate earth, that is to say; they can rellish nothing but earthly things, according as our learned Diuines haue expounded it.

Of Serpents. Of Beares & Dormise.

The Camelio The Crocodile. *Arist in lib. 2. de gener. Anim*

A comparison of Fishes with Vipers, &c.

Arist. Anim. lib 8. cap. 4.

Gen. 3, 14.

D. Aug. in Gen.

Aristotle writes, that the Dormouse (in Winter) is not onely hid in the Caues of the earth, but also in the hollowes of Trees, and that (during this season) he fattens by sleeping. *Haruet* thinkes, that he eates the prouision he hath hidden, and labours himselfe against *Aristotle*, saying: That sleep euacuates the body, when as the ventricle is emptied, by reason of heat, which euermore consumeth moysture. But behold heere the Aphorisme of *Hippocrates*, which is flatly against him. *They* (saith *Hippocrates*) *which in the night time doe become altered in body, and thirsty; it is best for them to sleepe, although they bee neuer so dry. For sleepe (aboue all thinges else, doth keepe the body moyst, very pleasingly: yet not that body which is wholelie empty and dry, but that which is filled with foode, or with crude moysture. For the naturall faculty (all this while) bestoweth her vttermost power, in concoction of the meats and*

Arist. in lib. 8. Hist. cap. 17.

Hippo. in lib. 5. Aphor. 27.

How necessary sleepe is for the body.

and raw humours. Who will make any doubt then, that a sloathfull Creature, and full of cruditie, may not fatten himselfe by sleeping? *Pliny* saith; *It is best making concoction in the time of sleepe, for gathering corpulence*, that is to say, for fatning of the body. And *Martiall*, willing to waken those Students, which sleepe away (as one saith) the fat of the morning, hath addressed these two verses to them.

Plin. in Lib. 11. Cap. penult.

Dormitis nimium, glires, vitulíq; marini,
Nil mirum si vos crassa Minerua premit.

Martiall.

We see many beasts, which (at Spring-time) comming forth of their dens; are fatter then other, because they haue found the time fauourable to thē. And *Galen* saith, *Women are more fat then men; by reason that they are more cold, and greater sitters in the house, then vsually men are*. *Aristotle* prooueth by two reasons, that Bears do not eat any thing, during the time of their winter retirement: the one, because they come not forth at all; the other, in regard their bellies are restrict, and their intestines empty. But *Haruet* wrangleth against the first; because (saith he) they haue wherewith to feed on. But a beast of such greatnesse, what store (I pray ye) needes there, of Roots, apples, or such like, for all those daies, and all those months? As for the second reason, *Aristotle* iustifyeth the same by eye-experience. For one saith, that their intestines (thorow lack of eating) do close vp in such sort, that they almost touch or cling together. And therefore, when they come abroad againe, they feed on a certaine hearb, called * *Aron*, onely to get loose their entrailes. The first seauen daies that they lie hidden in their Caues, they are so soundly ouercome with sleepe, that although one smite vpon them, yet they awake not; so saith *Pliny* & *Olaus*. They say both, that they fatten wondrously by this heauy sleep; and principally, by licking their right foot. Which is to be vnderstood in this manner, that after they haue past 14. daies in sleepe; they arise and sit on their buttocks, & liue by licking their foremost feete, vntill such time as the Spring comes againe, and then they issue forth. As concerning the Male Beares, they are very fat: but not the Females, because (at this time) they nourish their whelps. Nor are they any such masse or lumpe, of white and deformed flesh, which by little and litle (in licking) they bring to a forme, as ignorantly hath bin credited of antiquity: but a young little Beare, well formed, such as great *Scaliger* witnesseth, to haue been found (not long since) in the belly of a She-Bear, which one rent in pieces.

Gal. in lib. 2. de Temp.

Arist. in Hist. Anim. Cap. 17. Lib. 8.

Of the Bears feeding in Winter.

* Wake-wort to vnloose the Beares entrailes.

Plin. in hist. nat. lib. 8. Cap. 26. Olaus in Hist. Septentr. lib. 18

The Male Beares very fat, but not the females.

Scalig. Exerc. 615.

The same *Scaliger*, first (before *Haruet*) declareth, that the Lord *Iohn des Landes*, when he was in *Syria*, bought a Camelion. And it was noted, that by prompt mouing of his tongue (which he can cast and recast (in an Infant) out of his mouth) hee tooke a Fly that was on his breast. This was newes to them, who supposed it onely (among all others Creatures) to liue without foode or drinking: and onely to nourish himselfe by the Ayre, euermore fasting, without enduring any languishment, as *Tertullian* saith. Neuertheless; it is not altogether from the purpose, to imagine, that he should liue by the aire: because he hath beene obserued to passe a whole yeare together, without eating any thing, as the same *Scaliger* testifieth. Also, that after he hath yawnd or gapt, and taken ayre: hee hath shut his lawes, & then his belly became blowne full (like a bladder) with this ayry substance. There be some, that say, that turning himselfe to the Sun; he seemes to swallow downe his beames, and so pursues them (yawning) all about. *Tertullian* hath auouched as much, when (speaking of the Camelion) he saith, *He nourisheth himselfe by yausking and yawning, he chawes, and blows vp himselfe like a foot ball, the wind is all his food.*

Exercit. 196. 4.

That the Camelion can catch Flies.

Tertul. De pal.

Scalig. vbi sup.

Tertul. in Lib. de Mant.

The Crocodile, by the testimony of *Aristotle*, and (after him) *Pliny*, passeth alwaies sixe moneths of Winter in his Caue, without eating. *Ælianus* saith, that he remaineth threescore daies only so hidden, during which time he eateth nothing. *Symmachus*, one of a Consuls quality among the *Romaines*, caused Crocodiles to be broght into the Theater before the people, after hee had made them to fast fifty daies. Long time afterward, he kept two, without giuing them any foode: reseruing them, to haue them seene at the arriuall of certaine friends of his. *Albeit* (saith hee) *they*

Arist. in Hist. An. lib. 2. ca. 13. Plin. in Hist. Nat. lib. 8. Cap. 25.

they made shew, not to liue long time without eating. As for that which *Haruet* alleadgeth from *Aristotle*, that the Crocodile, beeing out of the Water, cannot liue any long time: It receiueth interpretation by the very same place, where he writes. *Albeit the Crocodile delights her selfe in the Water, and that in such sort, as she cannot liue, being enclosed out of watry places: Neuertheless, shee dyes, if she receiue not Ayre, as she is wont to doe, and nourishing her young ones out of the Water.* For as much then, as she is a Creature partly watery, and partly earthy; he holds, that she is to be ranked among those Creatures, called * *Amphibij*, which are not of a staied Nature, whom he calleth ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα. Otherwise hee should contrary himselfe hauing written before: *That she spendes the day on the Land, and the night in the Water:* both the one and other shee affecteth, by reason of the warme moisture she loueth. Which he would haue to be vnderstood, of the time when shee doth not hide her selfe, because cold is so contrary to her: as when it is faire seasonable weather, she must needes be on the Land in the day time, and in the water all the night.

I might here auouch the *Indian* Birds without feere, which the Sacrificers to Mahomet, did somtime make the King of the *Molucques* to beleeue, that it dropt downe out of Paradise: because she is not found but in vnknowne places, separated from resort of the world; in regard whereof, they of that Countrey call it, the Bird of Paradise. She liues continually in the Ayre, and neuer at any time toucheth the earth, till after she be dead: whereon then she lyeth, and preserueth her selfe (long time) without corrupting. This Bird dooth not nourish her selfe on Mushromes, & other insect thinges, as Sparrowes and Swallowes doe. For she liueth in the middle Region of the Ayre, where are no Creatures (knowne to men) whereon she may feede: but vppon the Ayre onely, or on the vapour arising from the Isles of *Molucques*, which doe send foorth (on all sides) a very sweete and Aromaticall sauour. *Cardanus* holdeth, that shee cannot liue of the ayre alone, and perfectly, because it is very subtile in those Countries. But he that gaue her the Ayre for food, hath power likewise so to thicken the aire: as to render it selfe apt enough for her nourishment.

And no lesse admirable is the Bird, which *Plutarch* calleth *Rhintaces*, verie common in *Persia*; which hath nothing emptie in her body, but is all full of fat within (as are the * *Benericks* in *Languedoc.*) And yet notwithstanding, this Authour saith, that she liues not but of the Ayre, and of the dew therein. *Aristotle* the Prince of truth, writes, that in the Furnaces in *Cypres*, where the Melters and Casters of Copper are, they haue a little Creature, of the bignesse of a great Fly, which they call *Pyrausta*, that hath Winges and foure feet. So long as there is fire in the Furnace, this worme or Fly liueth: but let it be neuer so little off from it, it dyes presently. And yet notwithstanding, this Creature is most cold, hauing no other maintenance, then the heat of the Fire onely.

But why should I dwell on these examples, whereof *Haruet* (in euery place) holds, that (by them) wee can draw no consequent to men. Peraduenture then, some examples (deduced from men themselues) may make him to acknowledge a truth. And therefore I will produce one, which is out of all scruple, and whereof Princes (worthy of beliefe) made recitall to King *Henry* the third, being in *Poland*. He had there many great Lords of *France*, Councellers, beside Phisitions, &c. And among others, *Monsieur Piduxius*, our Deane; skilfull not onely in the Phisicke, but likewise in whatsoeuer concerned knowledge of the naturall Historie. He was then Phisition to my Lord the Duke of *Neuers*, and called to Counsell with the Kings owne Phisitions. From him was it, that we verbally heard this Historie, which also is written by *Alexander Guaguinus* of *Verona*, Captaine of the Foot-men in the Cittadell of *Vitebcka*, on the Limits of *Moscouia*, and in his description of the said Country.

He saith, that there are certaine people in *Lucomoria* (which is a Region, in the vtmost Confines of the *Sarmates*, towards the North) which dye (or rather remaine entranced, like Frogges and Swallowes) euery yeare, the twentie

Symmach. in lib 8 Epist. 44.

Arist. in Hist. An. m. lib. 8. cap 2.

* That liue as well on Land, as in the water. *Lib. 2. cap. 20.*

Of the Bird of Paradise.

How the Bird of Paradise nourisheth her selfe in the Ayre.

Cardan. in lib. 9 cap. 20.

Plutarch. in vit. Artoxer.

* The little Blacke-Bird, called a Gnat snapper.

Arist. in hist. Anim lib. 5. ca. 19 Plin. in lib. 11. cap 36.

Examples concerning men.

Manifested to *Henry* the the third, K. of France.

Alexand. Guaguig. Veronens.

People in *Lucomoria*, neere the *Sarmates*, that dye, or are entranced

ty seauen day of the month of Nouember, by reason of the extreame cold in that part of the Country. Afterward, at the Spring-times returne, the twenty foure day of Aprill, they come to life againe.

People called *Grustintzians & Sperponomptzians.*

These people make their Commercers with their Neighbours, who are the *Grustintzians* and *Sperponomptzians*, after this manner. When they feele the time of their entrancing to draw nere; they then locke vp their Merchandises in certaine places, and the *Grustintzians* and *Sperponomptzians* doe there take them, and leaue other (in their stead) of answerable value. The time beeing come of their reuiuing, they take the Merchandises left in exchange, if they perceiue they may make profit of them: if not, they demaund backe their owne againe, whereby ariseth (oftentimes) quarrels and warres betweene them. By this sleepy trance, the naturall heat in these bodies (which otherwise are accustomed to this Ayre, and boyled againe, (as *Albertus Crantzius* saith) is no whit extinct: because all the pores, places, passages, and conuoies (beeing lockt vp and stopt) it gathers it selfe about the entrailes, and by this *Antiperistasis*, or repulsion of euery part; shee encreaseth her selfe, and makes her power the more vigorous for the Spring time ensuing.

The reason of this sleepy trance in this people.

Aboue all other parts of the body, the daunger lyeth principally in the braine; which hath great store of large openings, and (among others) the nostrils: were it not, that when they beginne to waxe-stiffe with cold; a tart rhume or moisture distilleth from the Nosthrils, which (by report of the said Lord *Piduxius*) euen as it flowes, congealeth it selfe, no lesse then the spettle doth, and so it waxeth hard, before they fall to the ground, according as *Sigismond de Herbestein* describeth in the Historie of *Moscouia*. By meanes whereof, the Nostrils and other parts beeing so lockt vp; the mallice of the ayre cannot so easily pierce vp into the braine. And if any one of them, to shunne this cold vnfriendlinesse of the Ayre, doe thinke (by couering himselfe with skins and other things) to forestal the Isicles hanging at the Nosthrils and mouth, &c. immediatly the Ayre (being excessiuely cold) steppes vp into the braine, and there extinguisheth the naturall heate. So that these *Lucomorians*, in stead of a temporall entrauncing, doe then fall into one perpetuall and endlesse. But the time being come, that the Sunne gaineth rule ouer the world, and brings againe the sweetnesse of the Spring season: the Icie moysture (at the parts fore-named) melting it selfe; heate (by little and little) insinuateth into the bones; feeling and vigour creepeth againe into all the members, and then hath the body the same Oeconomy, which it had before.

The greatest danger in the braine.

Their eyes, eares, nostrils, and mouthes, are softly frozen vp, before they fall into this trance. *Sigis. Herb. in Hist. Moscoui.*

Daunger in seeking to preuent this cold.

The manner of the peoples recouery.

Haruet concludeth this whole discourse, with the fasting of *Moyses*, *Helias*, and our blessed Sauiour, which (saith he) would be held as no Miracles; if (according to Nature) so long an abstinence might be endured. *Ioubert* hath aunswered, that in sicke persons, and such as are subiect to much sicknesse; long Fasting or abstinence is naturall: but supernaturall in such bodies, as are otherwise perfectlie well, and of good temperature.

Haruets conclusion of his discourse.

And *Haruets* obiecting the place of *Auicenne*, cited by *Ioubert: That the same might also happen to healthfull Men.* For our selues, wee will embrace *Iouberts* opinion in such sort, as we holde the accident heere happening among vs, occasioned by a sicknesse against Nature, and yet (in time) may be recouered. But as for men of such rare sanctitie, we are not so deuilliſh; as to thinke, that their Fasting should ensue by any sicknesse: but onely by the especiall will of God, and that naturall appetite is returnable againe, at such time as is limited by his prouidence.

Auicenne his opinion of healthful mē.

Last of all, where he exhorteth euery one, to imitate a certaine Gentleman, who (by care and dilligence) discouered the impoſture of an Hermit in *Sauoy*, that (by feigned Fastings) had long time deceiued the peoples opinion: For our selues, not knowing how to goe against authoritie, of so many rare and cleare sighted Phisitions, nor how to steale into our eyes, the credence of what they haue seene: wee loue rather to referre the causes of such extraordinary workes in nature, euen to the most curious Enquisitour, then (like to the companions of *Vlisses*) charmed

Haruets finall exhortation.

An Hermit impoſture in *Sauoy.*

charmed with the Fruit of the * *Aliſier*, or Lot-tree; to ſerue or know no other Gods, then *Eduſa* and *Potina*.

* A Tree in Affrick, cald the Lot-tree.

CHAP. XI.

Of the authority giuen to the Germaines, to make election of the Emperour: What and who the Electors are. Alſo, of the manner which the ancient Romaines obſerued, in conſecrating their Emperors, and ranking them in number with the Gods after their death.

The Electors of the Emperor, were created by Pope *Gregory* the fift

POpe *Gregory* the fift, a Natiue of the Countrey of *Saxony* in *Germany*, & Kinſman to the Emp. *Otho*, to the end, that the Empire might remain in their hands, who wer of his nation, made a law (but with conſent of the ſaid *Otho*) as concerning the election of the Emperor: which afterward was obſerued, euen to our time, and ſo is (as yet) maintained. Whereby it was lawfull, and permitted to the *Germaines* onely; to elect the Prince, that ſhould be called *Cæſar*, and King of the *Romaines*. Alſo, to be ſtiled the Emperour *Auguſtus*; when the Byſhop of *Rome* had approued and confirmed the election. The ſaid Pope likewiſe giue authourity, to be elected by three Eccleſiaſticall, and foure Lay perſons, to wit: To the Arch-Byſhops of *Magonce*, *Treuers*, and *Colongne*: And to the Marqueſſe of *Brandenbourg*; to the Count-*Palatine* of *Rhine*; to the Duke of *Saxony*; and to the King of *Bohemia*; and to their Succeſſours in all thoſe dignities. And the ſaide King of *Bohemia*, was added as the ſeauenth Electour, to take away all differences, which might happen in the election, and to iudge aboue them all.

This Law was made in the yeare 1002.

The ſeauen Princes Electors by their ſeuerall names.

Now I hold it very conuenient, being in a matter of this Argument; that I ſhould alſo ſay ſomwhat in this place, concerning the maner obſerued by the ancient *Romaines*, of inſerting their Emperors in number with the Gods, after they were dead. They buried the deceaſed body with ſumptuous Funerall pomp, making an Effigy or Image of Waxe, ſo neere reſembling the dead Corps as poſſibly might bee, wan and pale, like to a ſicke perſon. This Image was laide in an high and ſtately Bed of Iuory, at the entrance of the Imperiall Pallace. About this Bed (for the more part of the day) were ſeated in this order: firſt, all thoſe of the Senate on the left ſide, cloathed in mourning; then on the right ſide, the Noble Matrones, all in white Robes, but wearing neither Chaines nor Iewels. This order was continued ſeauen daies together, and euery day the Phiſitions came to the bed ſide, ſaying (after they had ſeen the Image) that he daily waxed worſe and worſe. The ſeauen daies being ended, and he reputed to be dead, the youngeſt Noble-men (choſen among the orders of Knights and Senators) carried the Bed vpon their ſhoulders; firſt, to the old Market place; then to *Campo Martio* without the Citty, where a Tabernacle was prepared, after the faſhion of a Tower, on that ſide where the fielde was moſt ſpacious. This Tabernacle was filled within, with old dry Logges and Faggots, and a great quantity of ſweet ſauours: without, it was adorned with rich Cloath of Gold, faire Images of Iuory, and ſundry ſortes of beautifull Pictures. The Bed, and the Image in it, was ſhut vp within this goodly Tabernacle, and when the accuſtomed Ceremonies (in ſuch caſes) were finiſhed: he who was the neereſt to ſucceede in the Empire, hauing a lighted Torch in his hand, firſt began to giue fire to it, and conſequently all the other, fiering it on all ſides: ſo that, in ſhort time it was wholy burned. Then from ſome high place, ſuddenly was an Eagle let looſe, by which Bird the people verily beleeued, that their Princes Soule was carried to Heauen: And by theſe means, the Emperours were honoured among the other Goddes. Whoſoeuer is deſirous, to be further acquainted, with all the ceremonies touching this caſe: let him read *Herodian*, at the beginning of the fourth Booke of his Hiſtories.

The Imperial Bed, and the attendants about it.

The carying of the Imperiall bed.

The burning of the Imperiall Bed and Image, & the Eagles flight.

How the ancient *Romains* defied their Emperours after death.

CHAP. XII.

Who first found out the Art of Nauigation; deuising Ships, Gallies, Oares, Sayles, Ankers, Rudders: And who first of al fought vpon the Sea.

NEptune inuented the Art of Nauigation, if wee may credit *Diodorus*, speaking thus. *Neptune* (as the *Candians* say) *hauing found out the Art of sayling; leuied an Army, whereof he made Saturne chiefe Commaunder.* Which hath bin the occasion, that such as succeeded him, did verily beleeue, that *Neptune* had full power on the Seas. The men of *Misia*, and the *Troyans*, found Skiffes, made of many pieces of wood fastned together, like to a Raft or Float-boat of Timber; whereon they began to Nauigate, passing on the *Hellespont* to encounter the *Thracians*. Some others doe giue assurance, that such vessels were first seene in the *Brittain* Ocean, which were made of Leather. The *Sydonians* builded some such of Oziers and Reeds, and with thē went not onely a Fishing; but made no doubt of sayling in them on the chiefest Seas. In a long space of time after, the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Coronta*, aduentured to build Gondolots of wood onely, without any Oziers or Leather skins. *Pliny* saith, that the *Nasselles* or Skiffes were first put in vse vpon the red Sea, and that King *Erytheus* first sayled with them among the Islands. Thus, from the beginning, men frequented the Seas. But afterward, hauing left these small Boats, wherein (at first) they had practised nauigation: they began to builde ships as great as houses, therein to trauerse all the Seas. *Iason* was the first that made vse of a long Ship; and the inuention thereof is (by *Diodorus*) attributed to *Sesostris*, King of Ægypt. The *Erythræans* deuised the Galliot, called the light-Galliot, with two Oares. The Gally (according to the opinion of *Eusebius*) had original by the *Samothracians*, or (as *Clemens* will haue it) of *Atlas*: but *Pliny* saith, that *Danaus* brought it out of Ægipt into *Greece*. The *Trireme*, or Gallie with three Oares on a banck, was inuented by *Aminocles* the *Corinthian*. The *Quadrireme*, or for 4. Oares at a banke, was the *Carthagenians* inuention, as it is affirmed by *Aristotle*. That of fiue Oares for a banke, called by the *Grecians* πεντήρης: was first of al made by *Nesichron* of *Salamina*, and such kinde of Gallies did the *Romaines* build in *Italie*, in the time of their first wars in *Affrica*. The Gally of six orders, or of six Oares for a bank (which the Latines knew not how to expresse in one word, and *Titus Liuius* was constrained, to call it by the *Greeke* name *Hexeres*) was deuised by *Zenagoras of Syracusa*. The said *Titus Liuius*, maketh mention also, of Gallies of 7. and of eight oares for a banke; which he tearmed *Hepteres*, and *Octeres*. *Nesegiton* was the deuiser of them of tenne Oares for a banke. The *Enneres*, of eleauen Oares, were much vsed be *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, who had a great number of Gallies: as some of 13. Oares, some of 14. others of 20. yea, and of thirty orders, according as *Atheneus* writeth. *Alexander* the Great, deuised the Gally of 12. orders, to wit, of twelue oares for a bank. *Ptolomeus Soter* inuented the Gally of fifteene Oares. *Ptolomeus Philopater*, that of forty Oares; and it was two hundred and fourscore cubits in length, and in height to the top, about eight and forty cubits.

Hippias the *Tyrean*, was the Inuenter of ships of burden, or Merchants boats, which vulgarly in *Flemish*, are called *Hulques*; and by *Appian* and *Thucidides*, they are tearmed *Holcades*: of which kind were the Wine-Boates, the verie greatest whereof, we tearme Bottomes or Lighters, carying sometimes fifteen hundred Tuns, and the least, which are called *Lusandes*, doe carry but three hundred. *Vlpian* calleth them Vintners Shippes. Of the same kind are the wodden Boats, for carrying of Sand, Hay, & Coales. Such Ships of burden as these, are those for the transportation of Soldiours, which *Thucidides* (in his eyght Book) plainely calleth στρατιώτιδα, of carying Souldiours, that the *Grecians* named τοὺς στρατιώτας, which name our vulgar hath retained to this day, in taking away onely one letter: for he cals *Stradiot* a man at Armes, armed for lightnesse. The *Hippagines* or *Hippagoges*, were certaine

Diod. in lib. 6.

Skiffes founded by the *Mysians* and *Troyans*.

Skiffes of leather on the Brittish Ocean.

Gondolot is a Venetian wherry.

Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 3.

Leauing smal Boats, they builded tall Ships.

Diod. in lib. 6.

The Light Galliot.

The Gally. *Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 56.*

Plin. vbi sup.

Arist. in lib. 6.

Polib. in Lib. 2. Tit. Liuius in Lib. 7. Deca. 4.

Tit. Liu. in Lib. 7. Deca. 5.

Athenens in lib 5. Cap. 4.

Plin. in Lib. 9.

Plutar. in vit. Demetr.

Appian de Bel. Ciuil. Lib. 5. Thuci. in Lib. 6.

Vlpian in Lib. Vulgar. F. de furt.

Thuci. in Lib. 8.

Tit. Liu. Deca. 5 Lib. 4.

certaine Ships among the *Greekes*, for cariage of Horſes, as well on Riuers, as on the Seas, being imployed for the ſeruice of warre: which were inuented by them of *Salamina*, and in our language are cald Paſſe-horſes. There is another ſort of Ships, which the *Latines* named *Actuarias naues*, and *Cæſar* calleth them *Victoria nauigia*. Theſe comprehend all kinds of light Foyſts, as *Brigandines* and others: which onely were inuented for pleaſure, and with the ſwifteſt legerity, to cut through the Seas. Theſe Foyſtes were not ordained for any war-ſeruice, but to be as Seruitors to other Veſſels: and for this reaſon, they were named by the *Greeks* ὑπηρέτικα, as Seruants.

Cæſar in Com.

Foyſts and Brigandines.

There are many kindes of Actuary Ships, among which, are the Explorators and Speculators, which we tearme ſpies or ſcouts, being very ſwift of ſaile, and are vſually ſent to diſcouer the enemies forces. Two of theſe ſpeculatory Galliots, which were ſent forth by thē of *Marſeilles*: brought tidings back, that the Punicke Army was at the mouth of the Riuers entrance. The *Lembus* is likewiſe in number of the Actuary Veſſels, and was inuented by the *Cyrenenſes*. So is the Cymba or Barke, which the *Phœnicians* firſt made vſe of. The *Celox*, ſo called for her ſwiftneſſe, was firſt deuiſed by the *Rhodians*. The *Cypriots* doe attribute vnto themſelues, the inuention of the *Cercuron*, which is ranked in number of the Actuary veſſels: albeit *Nonius Marcellus* ſaith, that it ſhould be a very great Ship. The *Illirians* firſt founded the Squiffe, called in Latine *Scapha*, ἀπὸ τοῦ σκάπτειν, *ab excauando*; becauſe firſt of all, they began to hew them out of very great trees. The *Germains* which dwell about *Danubius*, inuented little Boats, made of hollow trees: which the neighboring Riuers made vſe of, in ſted of Ferry-Boats. The people of *Copæ*, inuented Oares and Skuls; and *Icarus* deuiſed Sailes, though *Diodorus* doth ſay, that *Æolus* firſt found them out. *Dedalus* deuiſed the Maſt and Croſſeyards, with their fit furniture belonging to them. *Piſeus* inuented the Stem or Beak-head of the ſhip: And the *Tyrrenians* the Anker, which *Eupalmus* firſt made with two fangs or teeth. *Anacharſis* found out the grapling hooks or Irons for ſhips; And *Typhis* the Rudder, or Inſtrument to gouerne Shippes or Gallies. What elſe the Reader would further bee enformed in, concerning theſe matters, he may more amply ſee ſet downe in the Book, which *Lazarus de Baif* hath written of Nauall affaires. *Minos* was the firſt that made war on the Sea, as *Pliny* hath confirmed.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 44.

Tit. Liu. Deca. 3. Lib. 3.

Diſcouerie of the Punick Army at *Marſeilles.*

Plin in lib. 7. Cap. 56.

The *Germains* nere *Danubie.*

* A Citty of *Beotia*, neere *Cephiſus.*

Diodor. in lib. 6.

Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 57.

CHAP. XIII.

Whence the cuſtome came, of giuing New-yeares gifts. The originall of Maſques and Mommeries: As alſo of our Shroue-tide.

THe cuſtome of giuing new-yeares Gift, to wit, the Guift whereof a preſent is made at the beginning of the yeare; came firſt from the ancient *Romaines*. For the Knights vſed euerie yeare, on the firſt day of Ianuary, to offer new-yeares guifts in the *Capitole*, to *Cæſar Auguſtus*; although he were then abſent: which maner of behauior, hath ſince thoſe daies deſcended to vs, albeit in ſundry kinds of vſes. For in *Italy*, the greateſt perſons doe giue to the meaneſt: And in England, Subiects giue to their Princes, and Princes to the King, who returneth thē ſome Gift in recompence. We imitate thoſe Ancients, in the repreſentation of ſpectacles, plaies, huntings, Iouſts, running of Horſes, & likewiſe in the reciting of Comedies, euen in the ſame manner as they did during their ſollemnities of the *Quinquatria*, certaine daies dedicated to *Minerua*. Alſo of the *Megaleſian* Playes, done in honoor of the great Mother of the Gods: going Masked, wearing falſe vizages through the Citty. So haue wee learned a cuſtome, to make Maskes or Maſqueradoes, not for a day or two, as they did in their Sacrifices; but euen for two months together before Lent: which giuing the greater licence to ſin, hath beene the occaſion of many miſchiefes each day committed, yet paſſing without any puniſhment. As if it were lawful (by theſe meanes) to be vicious, or elſe, as if men imagined that they did not ſin, becauſe their faces could not be ſeene: And as God ſaw nothing at all, who is wholly iuſt, in recompencing both vices and vertues, aſſigning paines to the wicked, and praiſes to the good.

New-yeares guifts came from the old Romaines.

Of *Italy* and *England.*

Other imitations of our Elders.

Quinquatria.

Megaleſian Playes.

Of Maskes & Maſqueradoes.

Maskes haue bin the cauſe of many miſchiefes.

* *Ops* and *Terra*, *Rhea*, *Berecynthia*, and *Peßinuntia*.

* I haue read, that the *Corybants*, Priests belonging to the Goddesse *Cybele*, first inuented Masques and Mommeries, & sullied their faces with blacke: from whence grew the name of smearing, which is tearmed in *Italian Mascarati*, a Masqued face. *Varro* writeth, that one of *Æneas* cõpanions, which he brought with him into *Italy*, brought likewise Mommeries first into vse, which the Peazants and Country Boores only exercised, dancing in the Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, wearing false vizards, made of the barcks of trees. Then the Mimicks, that is to say, Scoffers and Iesters in Playes and Enterludes, vsed such Masques and counterfeited vizards: to the end, they might the more boldly reprehend and mocke at men, and make countenances both apish and ridiculous. For the Maske could not blush, euen as yet the *Italian Commedians* doe obserue in their *Zanies*. And this name of Mommer, came of the Latine word *Momus*; that is, a Mocker; a very conuenable name for such masked men, who come to no mans house but to mocke, although themselues doe better deserue to bee mocked. According as *Suetonius* exprobrated to *Nero*, who by often masking himselfe, sullied the pure glory of royal Maiesty. And the very truth is, Maskes, Mommeries, & such floutings, do iustly carry infamy with them. For I haue haue heard a witnes reproched in iudgment, for hauing plaid in publike vpon a Stage, the part or person of a masked Bawd. And as concerning Maskes and Mommeries, they are nothing else, but to shew a man otherwise then he is indeed: quite contrary to the intention of *Socrates*, who said. *Nature failed greatly, by not making windowes in our breastes, or Lattices at the least; to the end, that by those meanes, the courage, thought, and disposition of vs all, might be discerned*. But nowadaies, men study how to hide vnder these false vizards, the small iudgement which can bee gathered, either of the goodnesse or badnesse of men, by plaine appearance of their reall face; & which (in truth of nature) they know not how to dissemble so deeply, as by the aduantageable helpe and cunning of these counterfeited Masks. I speak not of the robberies and assassiuates, which vnder the shaddow of these vizzards are committed. I speak not of the obscenity procured by these Masks; occasioning many times, that good women shall be solicited, and pursued in quest of their honor; yea, and in the end debauched. Some hold opinion, that ther is no better meanes of making loue to a woman, then by beeing thus masked: for then they hold thẽselues vnder safe defence, to giue Rings, Iewels, Letters, &c. to Ladies, which cannot bee free from an immodest signification. If a man would but well consider, the power and preuailance in *Gyges* ring, which made men to walke inuisible, and wherein was suspition of nothing else but liberty. But if to the girdles of Ladies such rings were fastned, as whilome was to the Ceston or girdle of *Venus*; Husbands would (by no meanes) suffer their wiues to receiue of Maskers such Girdles, which manie times are too liberally giuen them, and wherewith they are ouer-readie in girding themselues, because they thereby oblige and tie themselues to the giuers.

Here I may not forget to tell ye, that such disguisings and changings of habits, are highly reproued by the holie Scriptures. For God menaceth maledi-ction, against all such as vse them, speaking thus by his Prophet *Sophony*: *I will visit all such as are clothed with strange apparrell*. And in *Deuteronomy* he maketh this prohibition. *The woman shal not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shal a man put on womans raiment: For all that doe so, are an abhomination vnto the Lord thy God*. But we doe very badly obserue the commaundements of God. And herein, England stands exempted only, for euer hauing there vsed any such maskings, or euer will admit them. And the *English-men* haue a law, which forbiddeth any man so to maske himselfe, vpon the paine of life.

Now, because Lent followeth so suddenly after Shrouetide; we Christians are then very curious, in eating dainty meates, beeing ouer-much addicted to care for the belly, eating immeasurably without any necessity: euen as if wee would supply abstinence before hand, with that which ought to follow, after we haue gluttonously deuoured flesh, like brute beasts. For Shrouetide is held but for a kind of little ceremony, yet to too great abuse, by hauing all thinges then

Of Mommeries.

Mimicke scoffers and Plaiers.

How the name of Mommer first rose.

Sutton. in lib. 4.

A witnesse reproued for being a Player.

The meaning of *Socrates*.

Knowledge of mens dispositions veiled vnder maskes

The great hurt and villainy committed vnder this colour, in pretending loue to women, &c

Example of the Ring of *Gyges*.

Venus her Ceston or girdle.

Disguising of apparrell reproued by the Scriptures.

Sophon. cap. 1. 8

Deut. 22. 5.

England only exempted from such Masquings.

Of Shrouetide and Lent among vs Christians.

The extream exceſſe of Shrouetide, more then at any other time.

then in extreamity of exceſſe, feeding and conſuming, as if they then made a celebration for the burſting of their own guts; according as one hath very well ſaid. This is ſo much the worſe, in that it is done among Chriſtians, and that they ſhould make ſuch ſlender eſteeme of Lent: without any feare of God; in meere contempt of the Magiſtrate, and tranſgreſſing the ordinances of the Church, at ſuch time as good and religious lawes are appointed, for a fit and conuenient ſeaſon of Faſting.

CHAP. XIIII.

When, and what time it was, that Hereſies had their Originall and beginning: And who was the firſt Heretick & Schiſmatick.

Vnity & concord broken by diuerſity in opinion.

NO Citty, no people, no Commonweale, did euer continue in ſuch vnion and concord: but the Cittizens (about ſome occaſion) haue been deuided into diuerſity of opinions; a matter ſo euident and notorious, to ſuch as are skilfull in Hiſtories, as there needeth no further ſpeech thereof. From hence (then) did Sects deriue their ſourſe and originall, which made deuiſion both in Citties, and in Religion, and was tearmed by the *Greeks*, *Hereſies of choiſe*: becauſe euery one made election of his maner of life, and which was beſt to his own liking, as among the variable ſects of the Philoſophers. The people of the *Iewes* in like maner, albeit they held one and the ſame Law: yet were they deuided into diuers ſects, as much to ſay; as Hereſies, to wit; the *Phariſies*, *Eſſeans*, *Sadduces*, *Samaritaines*, *Nazarians*, and *Herodians*. But be it howſoeuer, we haue the Apoſtles of God Authours of our Religion, who made no election or choiſe of any, to be receiued or embraced after their fantaſie: but faithfullie taught all people and Nations, the Doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt, truely God and Man. It is not then lawfull for vs, to introduce or elect any nouell things: but to follow thoſe, which haue bin ordained by the holy Apoſtles, & confirmed by councels of learned Biſhops and Fathers. Wherefore, and in this reſpect, the vocable *Hereſie*, is eſteemed among vs impious. And therefore our Diuines or Theologians, do tearme that Chriſtian an Hereticke, that ſhall deuiſe or follow any Sect, contrary to the foundation of Chriſtian Religion. Of which accurſed impiety, to wit, of all Hereſie, *Symon* the * *Samaritaine*, called the Sorcerer; was chiefe Authour, with his immodeſt Wife *Selena*, his companion in all wickedneſſe, and whom he had taken out of the common Stewes.

* He was of a village in *Samaria*, called *Triton*, according to *Tertullian in lib. 1. de Hereſ.*

This *Symon Magus*, cauſing himſelfe to be baptized in *Samaria*, by *Philip*, one of the ſeauen Deacons; was the firſt of all that endeuored himſelfe, to corrupt the Chriſtian faith. And of him, al ſuppoſts and counterfeits, were tearmed *Symoniacques*, who would ſell the grace of the holy Ghoſt, and preached, that our nature proceeded not from God; but of (I know not what) power from aboue, and ſupernaturall vertue. In this maner, *Symon* (from the beginning) ſowed a deadly poyſon, only to kill the roots of encreaſing Religion. Againſt which hurt, the Apoſtles could make no better reſiſtance, then by rooting vp & diſanulling it altogether: becauſe, that continually there would bee falſe Prophets, of whom we ſhould be well adviſed, and ſtand vpon our guard; *Being ſuch as come vnto vs in the habit of ſheepe, but inwardly are rauenous wolues.* This *Simon* well perceiuing, that the Apoſtles gaue the bleſſed Spirit to ſuch as they touched, who were ſound of hart, and had a good zeale to be conuerted: eſſaied to obtain that of S. *Peter* by the price of Mony, which was not to be purchaſed but by faith and piety. But the Apoſtle ſaid vnto him. *Thy Mony periſh with thee, becauſe thou thinkeſt, that the guift of God may be obtained with Mony. Thou haſt not any part in this faith: for thine heart is not right before God.* *Simon* being thus expulſed from S. *Peter*, hee remained (alwaies after) his ſworne enemy. Comming frō *Samaria* to *Rome*, in the raigne of the Emp. *Claudius*: he began there to exerciſe his works of Magicke, becomming thereby very famous, and much renowned. Within a while after, in the time of the Emp. *Nero*, he made himſelf better knowne and reuerenced: ſo that he was reputed as a God in the Citty of *Rome*, and a Statue was erected in his honour, beeing placed ouer *Tyber*, between two Bridges, bearing this inſcrip-

Chriſts admonition of falſe Prophets. Math. 19. 34.

Symons dealing with S. Peter.

Acts 8. 18. 21.

Symon Magus his going frō Samaria to Rome.

Hereſies of choiſe.

Sects among the Iewes.

The Apoſtles of God.

Election of nouelties vterly prohibited.

Definition of an Hereticke.

Read *Iuſtine Martir* in his Apologies.

tion aloft: TO SYMON THE HOLY GOD. In the end, he grew to ſo great and audacious folly, that hee dared to contend with S. *Peter*, in working of Miracles. And as he imployed his Art, to raiſe a dead Childe to life,

Symon contended with S. *Peter* in working Miracles

which was neere of kinne to *Nero*: he made it to ſtirre a little, but the bodie budged not a iot from the place, being ſtiffe, and ſtretched out long. But S. *Peter*, after he had called on the name of Chriſt: raiſed the dead child to life. For which Miracle, *Symon* (moued with no mean fury) made an offer, that he would flye in preſence of all the people, from *Mons Capitolinus*, to *Mons Auentinus*: prouided, that S. *Peter* would follow him, and that this piece of worke ſhould declare, which of them two was beſt beloued of God. Thus *Symon* (by his diabolicall Art) did put forth himſelfe to

Symon Magus flyeth in the Ayre.

fly, and Saint *Peter* exalting his hands to Heauen, deſired of God, that he would not permit ſo famous a people to be abuſed, and deceiued by ſuch Magicall charmes. His prayer being ended, the

S. *Peter* prayeth to God.

Magitiō hauing fled halfe way between the two Mountaines: fell downe to the ground, and brake one of his Legs, and through the pain thereof, he died ſoone after in *Affrica*, whither hee was caried by his owne followers, after he had receiued ſo great a ſhame. He held horrible propoſitions, which are particularly declared in *Ireneus*, *Epiphanius*, *Philaſter*, and *Theodoret*; and therefore, to auoyd prolixity, I ſpare but onely to ſpeake of them heere. But very true it is, that *Ireneus*, in the Preface before his third Booke of Hereſies, ſaith. *That Symon was the Father of all Heretickes*. And in another place he writeth: *That all Hereſies came of him.*

Symon falleth, and died ſoon after in *Affrica*.

Ireu. in Præfat. lib. 1. de Hereſ. & in cap. 20.

Many ſorts of Sects iſſued from this Monſter, to wit; the *Doſitheans*; the *Cleobanians*; the *Georthenians*; the *Masbothenians*; the *Adrianiſts*; the *Eutychiſts*; and the *Caniſts*: all which ſeuerall ſects (hauing forged ſome peruerſe mutations of this one wicked deuiſer) could haue no long continuance, but ſoon fel into vtter obliuion. There was alſo in the Iſle of *Paphos*, a falſe Prophet, a *Iew* Magitian, and a Diſciple to *Symon Magus*, named *Elymas Bar-Iehu*, who deceiued many perſons by his illuſions and enchantments, and reſiſted againſt the

Sects that enſued *Symon Magus* by ſeuerall forgeries.

Elymas the Sorcerer in the Iſle of of *Paphos*.

Doctrine of the Goſpell; when he perceiued that the Proconſull *Sergius*, leaned ſomewhat to the Doctrine which *Paul* preached. Who being a man led by the ſpirit of God, expreſſing grauity in his countenance, and fixing his eyes ſtedfaſtly on *Elymas*, thus reproued him ſaying. *O man, ful of al fraud and miſchiefe, child of the Deuill, and enemy of all righteouſneſſe: wilt thou not ceaſe to peruert the ſtrait waies of the Lord? Now therefore behold, the hand of the Lord is vpon thee, and thou ſhalt be blind, and not ſee the Sun for a ſeaſon. And immediatly there fell on him a miſt and darkneſſe, and he went about, ſeeking ſome to lead him by the hand.*

Act. 13. 10. 11.

After *Symon Magus*, ſucceeded a certaine *Samaritain*, named *Menander*, who in the time of *Titus* ruling the Empire, abuſed many people with falſe doctrins: going beyond his Maiſter in malice and deuilliſh Arts, making very admirable enchantments. He made his vant, that the Angels were vanquiſhed by his Magick. He tearmed himſelfe to be the Sauiour, that deſcended from Heauen for mens ſaluation; and no man could conquer Deuils, without beeing armed by him in Magick art, and made immortall by his Baptiſme, which he deliuered after a contrary maner. *Euſebius* writeth, that the maine end of his Hereſie, tended to obſcure the merits of the Son of God Chriſt Ieſus, and the doctrine concerning the peoples ſaluation, and the Reſurrection.

Menander, diſciple to *Symon Magus*, excelling his Maiſter in deuilliſh Arts.

Euſeb. in lib. 3. Cap. 26.

It is ſaid, that the Hereſie of the *Nicholaitaines*, had his beginning from *Nicholas* the Proſelite of *Antioche*, one of the ſeuen Deacons, which were inſtituted with S. *Stephen* by the Apoſtles: vnder the Empire of *Domitian*, and Pontificacy of *Anacletus*, about the yeare of our Lord, 83. This man beeing iealous of his Wife, was reproued by the Apoſtles, before whom he brought her, and there forſooke her, to him that would haue her. And hence it came, that ſuch as (inconſiderately) followed his Act, and embraced his Hereſie: did repute it lawfull, to haue their wiues common, and to paillardiſe impudently. And yet, according as *Euſebius* declareth, *Nicholas* neuer thought to do any ſuch deed, neither euer had conuerſation with any other Woman, but her to whom hee was eſpouſed. But as honeſt a man as he

Nicholas the Proſolite of *Antioche*, of whom came the *Nicholaitaines*. Acts 6. 5.

Euſeb. in lib. 3. Cap. 29.

was,

was, and full of pietie, being very obedient to the Apoſtles: he brought his wife in publicke before the Apoſtles, to reiect the crime impoſed on him, and to purge himſelfe, becauſe it was ſaid, that he was iealous of hir. It was alſo to demonſtrate, that carnall delectation was more to bee contemned, then followed. This Hereſy then proceeded of a falſe immitation.

Clemens in lib.3

Nicephorus in lib.3.Cap. 15.

Theſe *Nicholaitans* were in *Aſia*, and S. *Iohn* maketh mention of them in his Apocalipſe, where ſpeaking of the Church of *Pergamus*, hee ſaith: *Thou haſt them that hold the Doctrine of the Nicholaitans.* ſaint *Ignatius*, in his Epiſtle to the *Trallyans*, ſpeaketh thus: *Flye from thoſe moſt foule Nicholaitaines, louers of voluptuouſneſſe, wicked Calumniators.* Read *Rupertus* alſo vpon the Apocalipſe, what mention there he maketh of them.

Apoc.2,15.

S.Ignat:in Epi. ad Tral.

Rupert.ſup Apoca lib:4.cap:9

Cerinthus, another Hereticke, well inured to wicked manners, affirmed, that it behoued to obſerue Circumciſion, contrary to the precept of Saint *Paule* to the *Galathians*, where he ſaith; *If you bee circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profite you nothing.* And in the matter of Baptiſme alſo, wher it is ſaid, *God is not pleaſed that wee ſhoulde fall into this damnable Hereſie, which falſly affirmeth, that wee muſt obſerue the Lawe with the Goſpel; and Circumciſion with Baptiſme; and that (neceſſarily) we muſt keepe the Law of Moiſes.* This *Cerinthus* ſayde, that the God of the Iewes was not God, but an Angell: And that Chriſt was the naturall ſonne of *Ioſeph*, and of *Mary*; & man only, hauing in him nothing more then other men, onely he ſurpaſſed them in Wiſedome and Vertue.

Cerinthus the Hereticke, of whom came the *Cerinthians* Galath. 5,2.

Extrauag. Bap. Cap. Maiores:

Tertul.in lib:2 cont.Heref.

The Hereſies of *Cerinthus* in his doctrin.

Hee taught moreouer, that the Kingdome of Chriſt ſhould be earthlie, after the reſurrection, wherein the Saints ſhold liue at *Ieruſalem*, with iouiſſance of all delights, aboundance of meats, women, and all temporall commodities: in which eſtate (he ſaide) they ſhould continue the ſpace of a thouſand yeares. And for this cauſe, the Diſciples and followers of this *Cerinthus* (who were in their full power in the raigne of the Emperor *Adrian*, and Pope *Xixtus*, firſt of that name, & about the yeare of our Lord, 130.) were called *Chiliaſtes*, that is to ſay, *Millenarias*. Saint *Marke* in the twelfth Chapter of his goſpell, reproued the foreſaide Sect, ſaying; *In the Kingdome of Heauen, neyther Men marry, nor wiues are married, but are like vnto Angels.*

The Diſciples of *Cerinthus*, at what time they floriſhed

Thouſand-yeares-men.

Marke 12,25

It ſhould appeare, that the Mother to the Sons of *Zebedeus*, was attainted with this Hereſy of *Cerinthus*, to wit; that the Kingdome of Ieſus Chriſt was earthlie: when ſhe deſired, that her two Sonnes might ſit, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, in his kingdom. Hiſtorians haue left no memory, of what Countrey or Nation he was. I thinke notwithſtanding, that he was a Iewe and in the number of them; who (as it is ſaid in the Acts of the Apoſtles) deſcending from *Iudea*, taught the Brethren, ſaying; *Except ye be circumciſed after the maner of Moſes, ye cannot be ſaued*; about whoſe diſſention, the firſt Counſell was Celebrated by the Apoſtles.

The Mother of Zebedeus children ſuppoſed to be a *Cerinthian.*

Cerinthus imagined to be a Iew.

Acts 15,2.

It appeareth, that this *Cerinthus* liued in the time of Saint *Iohn* the Euangeliſt, by that which is teſtified by S. *Ireneus*, when ſpeaking of S. *Polycarpus*, he ſayth; That S. *Iohn*, comming once to the Bathes, found there the Heretick *Cerinthus* in company of his followers, diſputing verie vehemently, and like a bolde Blaſphemer, impudently denied Ieſus Chriſt to be God. Saint *Iohn* ariſing, admoniſhed ſuch friends of his as were there, to depart out of that place with him, for God would no longer ſuffer ſuch impudent blaſphemies. And ſo ſoone as they were gone out of the doors ſuddenly the houſe fell to the ground, and ſlew *Cerinthus* with his adherents: which was a manifeſt example of the Diuine vengeaunce againſt them, who being full of impietie, blaſphemed the name of God, and his Holie Doctrine, which the iuſt wrath of God woulde not permit to paſſe vnpuniſhed.

S. Iren.in lib. 3 Cont.Her.cap.3

Cerinthus an horrible blaſphemer.

The death of *Cerinthus*, and ſome of his followers.

The *Ebionites* began about the eight yeare of Ieſus Chriſt, vnder the Empire of *Titus*, & Prelacie of *Anacletus*. A certaine man, named *Ebion*, was Authour of that Hereſie, which proceeded of a commixture with the Iewiſh Religion. *Nicephorus* ſaith, that they were called Beggers, according to the word *Ebion*, which by interpretation is a Begger, beecauſe they were poore, beggerly, and deſtitute of true faith. They maintained, that Ieſus Chriſt was not before his Mother. To confound and deſtroy ſuch an erroneous opinion, Saint *Iohn* who wrot his goſpell laſt of all, being deſired by the Prieſts of *Aſia*, and willing to declare the Diuine Nature

The *Ebionites* came of *Ebion* the Heretick.

Niceph. in lib.3. Cap.13.

The Hereſie of the *Ebionits*

Nature of Chriſt, began to ſpeake aloud thereof, in this manner; *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word.* They wold receiue no more of the New Teſtament, but the Goſpell according to Saint *Mathew*, and reiected the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*, whom they tearmed an Apoſtat, becauſe he reuolted from the Law of *Moyſes*. Theſe members of Sathan preached alſo, that men ought to keepe the Lawes and manners of the Iewes. This Sect began acording to the teſtimony of *Epiphanius*, in the Village of *Cocaba*, and ſpread it ſelfe thorough the Region of the *Biſanites*, after that *Ieruſalem* was deſtroyed.

Afterward, about the year of our Saluation, one hundered and nine, in the time of *Theleſphorus*, Byſhop of Rome, and firſt of that name, *Martion*, a Stoycall Phyloſopher, a Natiue of *Pontus*, & Sonne to the Biſhop of the ſaid country, ſowed his Hereſie, and followed the Errors and Blaſphemies of *Cerdon* and *Valentine*, who liued in the time of *Martion*. And ſome ſay, that they were all three together in the Cittie of Rome: Albeit ſome others do hold, that they came thither one after other. But *Euſebius* ſayeth, that all of them came thither vnder *Higinus*, in the yeare of our Lord, one hundered forty three.

Martion held the ſame opinion, as the *Gnoſticques* did, and made profeſsion of *Cerdons* Hereſie, from whoſe hand hee receiued it: but hee added ſomething thereto, out of his owne craftie Braine. *Cerdon* and *Martion* were ſo bolde in folly, as to ſay: That there were two beginnings, and two Gods; one good, and the other bad: the good God did perfourme good thinges, and the bad God, wicked thinges.

Moreouer (as *Ireneus* ſayeth) *Cerdon* maintained, that one of thoſe Gods was iuſt, and the other euill. And, that that God, which was fore-told by the Lawe and the Prophets, was not the Father of Ieſus Chriſt: and that the God which made and created Heauen was knowne, but the Father of Ieſus Chriſt was vnknowne. And the cauſe which mooued *Cerdon* to ſay, that one of the Gods was good and iuſt, was: That the iuſt GOD had commaunded in the Law, that an eie ſhould be taken from him, who did put out another mans eye, and a tooth taken for loſſe of anothers tooth. But the God which he called good, had commanded in the Goſpell, that a man ſhoulde turne his right Cheek, to him that had ſmitten his left: And to him that had taken away his Coate, he ſhould giue him his cloak alſo.

Beſides, the iuſt God had appointed men to loue their Friends, and hate their enemies: but the good God had enioyned them to loue their enemies. *Martion* agreed heerein with *Cerdon*. But *Epiphanius* addeth, that *Martion* had ſet downe three beginninges, to wit; the firſt inuiſible, the ſecond viſible, or the worker; the thirde, a meanes betweene the inuiſible and viſible, which was the Deuill. *Theodoret* the Byſhop affirmeth, that *Martion* had forged foure increate ſubſtances, and taught his Diſciples (ſaith *Iuſtin* Martir) to deny God the Creator, and that they muſt belieue in another God much greater then the Creator.

It is further auouched, that he forged two Chriſtes: One that was reuealed in the time of *Tyberius*, for ſaluation of the Gentiles: the other, he whom the Creatour had deſtinied, and ſhould one day come to re-eſtabliſh the ſtate of the Iews. This Hereticke, affirmed Chriſt to bee borne, and had endured only by opinion and imagination, and onely in the ſhape of a ſeruant, but not in verie deede. And his reaſon was (as himſelfe ſaide) that Nature would neuer ſuffer, that a Virgine ſhould bring forth a Childe. For which blaſphemies, and other deteſtable propoſitions, held by this wicked *Martion*, *Ireneus* called him, *The Mouth of the Deuill*. The *Martionites* his followers, dared to maintaine, that the Serpent was better, and more excellent then the Creator, becauſe the Creator did forbidde to participate of the Tree of knowing good and Euill, and the Serpent freelie did permit it.

As concerning the Hereſye of *Valentine*, a *Platoniſt*, and the imitater of *Baſilides*, *Carpocrates* and *Prodicus*, hereticks; it had beginning in the ſixte yeare of the Empire of *Antoninus Pius*, and in the yeare of our Lord, an hundred forty ſixe. This wicked man ſaide, that there were many Gods, becauſe the Prophets hadde tearmed God by diuers names, to witte; *Eloy*, *Sabbahot*, *Adonay*, and others. He laboured to prooue, that God the Creator

Iohn 1, 1.

Tertul. in lib. de Preſcr. de hereſ.

Ireneus in lib. 2 Cap. 26.

Of *Martion* the Heretick.

Cerdon and *Valentine*, Heretickes.

Euſ. in l. 4. c. 30.

The *Gnoſticks*.

The Hereſie of *Cerdon* and *Martion*.

Ireneus in lib. 1 Cap. 26.

The reaſon of *Cerdons* opinion of the iuſt God.

His reaſon for the good God

Epiphan. lib. 4. Three beginninges maintaind by *Martion*.

Foure increaſed ſubſtances.

Tertul. in lib. 4. cont. Martion.

His blaſphemous opinion concerning Chriſt.

Iren. in lib. 3. cap. 14.

Volentine the Hereticke.

Hereſy of many Goddes.

tor of the world, was another God, then he that was the Father of Chriſt. And becauſe it is ſaid in the Goſpell: No man hath knowne the Father, but the Sonne; by this place, he ſaide, it was very likely, that the God knowne of the Prophets, and declared by them; was not the Father of Ieſus Chriſt. He ſaid moreouer, that the Sonne of God brought his fleſh downe from heauen with him, and receiued nothing of the Virgin *Mary*: but paſſed thorow her, as water dooth in a Brooke or Chanell. And therefore he vſed to ſay in this manner: Ieſus, borne by the Virgin, but not of the Virgin. He was of opinion, with one *Marke*, a Sorcerer and an Heretique, that mens ſoules onely were ſaued, and not their bodies. And his reaſon was, becauſe Saint *Paule* ſaid, *That fleſh and bloud could not inherite the Kingdome of heauen*. Before ſuch time as *Valentine* came to *Rome*, he had declared his peruerſe Doctrine, and left ſome ſeedes thereof in ſundry partes of *Egypt*, to wit: in *Atrepatia*, *Proſopatia*, *Arſenoria*, and *Thebais*, which are the inferior partes of the maritime Region, and vnder the gouernment of the *Alexandrianopolites*. He and his ſectaries vſed all thinges in common, and at free liberty, hauing their wiues common, and addicted themſelues inordinately, to all kinds of villainies, Whordomes, Addulteries, and Inceſts. His ſucceſſours were *Ptolomeus*, *Secundus*, *Heracleon*, *Baſſus*, *Colarbaſus*; and many ſects (of very ſtrange Names) yſſued out of this Schoole of *Valentine*: As the *Barbeliotes* or *Borboriarians*, *Naaſinians*, *Stratonitaines*, *Phemionitains*, *Sethianiains*, otherwiſe called, *Ophites*, *Cainnians*, who commended *Caine* and *Iudas*, *Antitactes*, and *Perates*.

In the time of Pope *Pius*, firſt of that name, the hereſie of the *Cataphrygians* beganne and encreaſed, in the ſeauenth yeare of the Emperour *Commodus*, and after the incarnation of our Lord, one hundred, eighty fiue yeares. The hereſie of *Apolinarius*, was the occaſion and entrance thereof. And theſe *Cataphrygians* enſued the heretike *Montanus*, who became Frantique and diſtracted in his ſences, by hauing ſeene ſome viſion; and admitted mad women into his company, namely; *Priſcilla*, and *Maximilla*, that ſtiled themſelues by the Title of *Propheteſſes*, the more eaſily to allure men into their errours. Theſe were called *Montaniſts*, who held a ſtrong opinion, that the Holy-Ghoſt was not giuen to the Apoſtles, but only to them.

At the verie ſame, a man named *Tatian*, a *Syrian* by Nation, and very learned, who had read Rhetoricke at Rome, with great honor and grauitie, puffed vp by a fooliſh perſwaſion of eloquence and ambition; ſeperated himſelfe from the Church, and became the chiefe of the *Encratites* hereſie. A name but badly agreeing with their actions; and which is as much to ſay, as men of abſtinence. They would drinke no Wine, and abſtained from eating fleſh, and all other things that had a ſoule. Neuertheles, they would giue Licenſe to all filthie ſinnes; and ſhaddowing themſelues vnder this modeſt and honeſt name, condemned Marriage, ſaying; that it was an inuention of the Deuill, and that a woman was the Workemanſhippe of the Deuill, or Sathan.

By a verie ridiculous reaſon, theſe *Encrates* ſaide they, were followers of Ieſus Chriſt, becauſe hee was neuer married. There were other Heretickes that deſcended of this *Tatian*, and hee was the author likewiſe of their Sect, who were named *Hydoparaſtes*, becauſe they preſented water in ſtead of Wine, in celebrating the Supper. And ſome others were of this band, in the quarters of the higher Eaſterne Countreyes, who were named *Seuerians*; of a certaine man called *Seuerus*, that helde all the opinions of *Tatian* and of the *Encarites*.

They beleeued no part of the Olde-Teſtament, nor the reſurrection of all Fleſh, neyther would they drinke anie Wine, becauſe they were fooliſhly perſwaded, that the Deuill and the earth had brought foorth the Vine. They helde Opinion, that man was compoſed of two parts: One by God, and the other by the Deuil (to wit;) that part from the Nauill vpward, was the work of God; and that part thence downward, the worke of Sathan.

Florinus and *Blaſtus*, two other Heretickes, continued on the Hereſy of *Valentine*, about the time of the Prelacy of *Eleutherius* the firſt. *Ireneus* Wrote againſt them both, to wit; againſt *Blaſtus*, in an Epiſtle bearing Title of Schiſme: and againſt *Florinius*, in another Epiſtle of

Math. 12, 17.

His Hereſie concerning Chriſt, & the bleſſed virgin

Marke a Magitian and an Hereticke.

The ſpreading of his hereſies.

The ſucceſſors of *Valentine*, & Sectes iſſuing out of his Schoole.

The *Cataphrygian* Hereticks.

Apolinarius the Hereticke.

Montanus the Hereticke.

Priſcilla and *Maximilla* feigned Propheteſſes.

Tatian the chiefe of the *Encratites*. *Ireneus in lib. 2 de hereſ. ca. 30. Hier. ſup. Amos & Epiphanius in lib 1. con. 30 Hæreſ.*

Falſe imitaters of Ieſus Chriſt.

Hereticks called *Hydroparaſtes*.

Seuerians Hereticks.

Nicephorus in lib. 4. cap. 4.

Man compoſed of two parts.

Florinus and *Blaſtus*, two Hereticks.

Euſeb. in lib. 5. Cap. 15.

of the Monarchy. Wherein hee declared, that the opinion which he helde of God (to be the worker of euill) was falſe. For *Florinus* and *Blaſtus* both held, that God was the Author of euill things, contrarie to this ſaying; *GOD hath made all things good.*

The *Helcheſaites*, ſo named of a falſe Prophet, called *Helcheſaus*, divulged their Hereſie, in the time of Pope *Fabian* the firſt. Theſe men did altogether reproue the Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, renewing the errors of *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, and of the *Nazarians*, ſaying; It was no ſin to denie Ieſus Chriſt in the time of perſecution, becauſe it was a matter of no importance; prouided, that a man had a good and ſound heart, with a willing intention to continue in faith. And for proofe heereof (ſaide they) God hath more regard to the heart, then to the tongue. *Origen* confounded their errors, as likewiſe he did thoſe of ſome others, who affirmed, that the ſoules of men died ſo ſoon as their bodies: and yet afterward, ſhould newly be raiſed againe with thoſe bodies, in the generall reſurrection.

From ſuch priuate and perticuler opinions in men, which wee call Hereſye, came thoſe publick diſcords, called Sciſmes in the Greeke Language, whereof *Nouatus* (a Romaine Prieſt) was the Author. This man, ſeeing himſelfe fruſtrated in the attempt of a Byſhoppricke, which hee vnder hand laboured for, and being verie much offended, that he could not attaine to ſuch a dignity (albeit hee faigned another matter which hee hadde then in his heart) raiſed vp a new hereſie, drawing vnto him ſome honeſt meaning Prieſts, to aſsiſt him with their ayde and fauour. But they, hauing well perceiued the ambition, periuries, deceipts, & lies of this afronter, ſeperted themſelus from him, and returned againe to the church, only ſuch excepted, as found themſelues euery way equal to him. He would needs enforce, that all ſuch as followed his ſect, ſhould be called *Catharians*, that is to ſay, pure and cleane perſons. He condemned ſecond Marriages, and ſaide moreouer, that ſuch men ought no more to be receiued into the Church, as had once falne, or were in Apoſtaſie, althogh they were repentant therefore. And by this place of Scripture, *I will diſclaime ſuch as ſhall diſclaime me*, hee made his foundation, to proue, that the repentance of ſuch as had falne, was vaine, and of no value. Vpon this occaſion, a Counſell was celebrated at *Rome*, of ſeauenty Byſhops, and of as many Prieſts, beſide many deacons: by whom, the hereſie of *Nouatus*, and of *Nouatian* his Diſciple, was reprooued as falſe: becauſe (according to the example of Ieſus Chriſt, al repentants ought to be pardoned, and then were all of that Sect condemned as Schiſmatickes and Heretickes.

Thus *Nouatus*, in the yeare two hundered fifty fiue, was Authour of the firſt Schiſm, as Saint *Cyprian* witneſſeth, writing to *Cornelius*, where after he had ſpoken many things, he addeth; *This is the ſame Nouatus, that kindled the fire of Diſcord and Schiſme. Socrates* in the 4. Book of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, Writeth; *That Nouatus was executed to death, in the time of the Emperor Valerian.* And yet not withſtanding, his hereſie extended verie farre, and laſted a long time, before it could be laid to ſleepe.

In the time when *Sixtus* held the See of Rome, neere to *Ptolomais* there aroſe a falſe Doctrine, full of blaſphemies, againſt God the Father, and Ieſus Chriſt, denying him to be the Sonne of God, & begotten before all other Creatures, and taking away alſo the intellect of the bleſſed Spirit. The Sectaries of this doctrine were tearmed *Sabellians*, of *Sabellius*, the Scholler to one *Noetus*: and it had been debated in *Affrica*, by *Praxeus* and *Hermogenes*, before there was any ſpeech of *Sabellius*. He held, that the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy-Ghoſt, were onelie one ſubſiſtance, and one perſon, hauing three Names. And to approoue this, he tooke his reaſons out of the Olde and New Teſtament, though ill vnderſtoode, and worſe applied, as theſe that enſue. *I am God, and there is none other then I: I & my Father are one: Heare Iſrael, the Lorde thy God is only God, I am the God of your fathers: I am the firſt, and wil be hereafter. Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods before mee. They ſhal worſhip in thee, and make prayers in thee: for there is no other but God. I am in my Father, and my Father in me.* Saint *Baſile* writing to the *Neoceſarians*, reporteth another reaſon and foundation, of this peruerſe opinion in *Sabellius*, which is this: Becauſe our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt had ſaide; *Go, teach all Nations, baptizing them*

The *Helcheſaits*, hereticks

Theſe men were in the yeare, 230. *Euſeb. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. ca. 28 Nicephorus in lib. 5. cap. 24.*

Nouatus a Romaine Prieſt, the author of Schiſme.

Nouatus his ambition and lewdnes perceiued, and therefore forſaken by ſom of his followers.

Catharians, vnſpotted people, and their errors.

A Counſell holden at *Rome* againſt *Nouatus*, & his ſcholler *Nouation.*

S. Cypr. in Epiſt. ad Cornel.

Socrat. in lib. 4. de Hiſt. Eccleſ. Anno 247.

Sabellius the Hereticke, of whom came the *Sabellians.*

The Hereſie held by *Sabellius.*

S. Hillar. in lib. de Trinit.

S. Baſil in Epi. ad Neoceſ.

them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy-ghoſt. Hauing ſaid (quoth he) in the Name, and not in the Names; it is not therefore conuenient, that there ſhould be three perſons. Was not this a goodly Conſequence?

Nepos a Byſh. of Egypt, an Hereticke.

There was likewiſe, one of the Byſhops of Egypt, named *Nepos*; who fel into the error of the *Chiliaſtes*, determining certaine thouſands of yeares, for pleaſures and voluptuous delights, and ſaying, that the Saints ſhoulde raigne on earth with Ieſus Chriſt, in all kinds of Delectations. Which he ſuppoſed, to haue well approued by the Apocalipſe of S. *Iohn*, and dared alſo to write a Booke, which hee entitled of *Allegoriſtes*. This hereſy was long time much debated in the Citty of *Arſenoria* in Egypt, and the Sectaries thereof were called *Nepotians*, according to the name of the Author.

This was in the yeare of Ieſus Chriſt, 264.

Paulus Samoſatenus reuiued the hereſy of *Artemon*.

At the ſame time, *Paulus Samoſatenus*, a Byſhop of *Antioche*, began to renew the hereſie of *Artemon*, to gratifye *Zenobia*, Queen of the *Palmyrians*, whom the *Perſians* after their victorie, obtained againſt the *Romaines*, had eſtabliſhed as their Regent in *Syria*. He was of the ſame opinion with the Iews, who reiected not the hereſie of *Arteman*.

Paulus Samoſatenus conuinced, and his Hereſy condemned.

The Byſhoppes were aſſembled many times in *Antioche*, to refute the errors of this *Paulus*. And in the laſt Counſell congregated againſt him, being in the yeare, 273. He was publickly conuinced, & his hereſie condemned: he was named *Samoſatenus*, in regard of *Samoſata*, a City in *Meſopotamia* of *Syria*, ſcituate on the Riuer of *Euphrates*, whereof he was a Natiue.

The Hereſye of *Manes* the Perſian, of whom came the *Manicheans*.

In the fourth yeare of the Emperour *Aureleanus*, the error of the *Manicheans* did ſpread it ſelfe in the world. Of which hereſie, one *Manes* a *Perſian*, was the author, and of him, S. *Auguſtine* (almoſt in euery place) maketh mention, and in ſted of *Manes*, calleth him *Manichean*, a word that ſignifies one out of hit wits. For this *Manes* was a Demoniacke, and a madde man, and I am of the minde, that thereof came the word *Maniacus*. The ſame reuerend Father addeth further, that the diſciples of *Manes*, had formerly chaunged the name into Greeke, and called the author of their opinion *Manicheus*, that is to ſay (quoth they) *A Diſtributer or Diſperſer of Manna*, only thereby to auoyde the other Title of madneſſe. This wicked man (as *Epiphanius* reporteth) called into his Companie, twentie two Diſciples. *Euſebius* ſpeaketh but of twelue, after the imitation of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour: among which number, three of them wer named *Thomas*, *Hermas*, and *Abdas*, and they helde the moſt falſe and monſtrous Opinions, as euer were heard of. Afterward, the King of *Perſia* cauſed him to be flayed aliue, with a Reede or Cane, becauſe his Sonne died in his cuſtodie, hauing taken him foorth of the Phyſitians hands, with an abſolute promiſe to cure him. When he had beene thus flayed, his skinne was ſtuffed with Straw: and it is kept (as yet to this day) in *Perſia*, according as *Suidas* for credit affirmeth.

Epiph. in l. cont. 80. Hereſ.

Euſeb. in lib. 4. cap. 12.

Manes the hereticke was flayed aliue.

After *Manes*, aroſe vp *Hierax* in *Leontis* of *Egipt*, who promulgated another hereſie: hee was a man exceedingly well learned, and perfectly ſeene in the Sciences of the Egyptians; as alſo, in the Documents of the Grecians, with the addition of Phyſicke and Aſtrologie; which he had not only read, but made profeſſion of Magicke alſo: he was admitted into Chriſtian Religion, but in the end he forſooke it, to deale in thoſe nouell Errors, and dyed aged about ninety yeares.

Hierax the Hereticke of *Leontis* in Egypt.

Arrius the hereticke of Alexandria,

In the time of great *Conſtantine*, and when *Siluester* was Pope, *Arrius* the Prieſt raiſed a great hereſy in *Alexandria*, which verie mightily afflicted the Catholicke Church, and endured a long time. This man, beeing more adorned with outward apparance, and comly ſtature, then any inward Vertue, began to ſow diſcorde in the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, and laboured by his damnable opinion, to ſeperate the ſonne of the eternall and ineffable ſubſtance from the Father, not beleeuing the Sonne to be togither with the Father, in one ſelfeſame ſubſtance & equalitie of dignitie. Which peſtifferous conceite, was condemned in the Counſell of *Nice*.

The Hereſie of *Arrius*.

Afterward, during the Prelacy of *Iulius* the firſt, the Emperour *Conſtantine* (fauouring *Arrius* and his Sect, and compelling his owne people to like thereof,) appointed a Counſell in *Laodicia*, a City of *Syria* (or as ſome others ſay) in the city of *Tyre*, where met a great company of Catholicke Fathers, and Arrians alſo, diſputing there daily, whither Ieſus chriſt ought to be conſubſtantiall with the Father,

This was in the year, 315. *Conſtantius* being Emperor.

A ſpreader abroad of *Manna*.

ther, or not.

Athanaſius By-ſhop of *Alexandria*.

Athanaſius Byſhop of *Alexandria* (a man of great and profounde Learning) maintained the Son to be conſubſtantiall with the Father, which he approoued by good Reaſons, and ſtrong Arguments. But *Arrius* beeing vnable to make any auailing anſwere (ore-lying only vpon impudent and villanous Calumnies), *Athanaſius* was accuſed by him to be a Sorcerer. In regard whereof, the holy and Religious Father was condemned by *Conſtantius*, and being conſtrained to flight, remained hidden (for the ſpace of ſeauen yeares) in a Ciſterne that had no Water in it. And yet *Iohn Carion* ſpeaketh nothing heereof, but only ſaith; *That Athanaſius being proſcribed by Conſtantius, came out of* Egypt *to* Treuers. *And albeit, the flight was very long, yet was hee compelled to continue baniſhed, and lay hidden verie ſecretly, for the ſpace of eight yeares.* Yet was he repealed afterward by *Conſtantine* the Brother to *Conſtantius*. And this holy Byſhop made the worthy Symbole & Song, which beginneth thus; *Quicunque vult ſaluus eſſe, &c.* Whereby he taught the Son of God to bee ὁμοτίμος with the Father, that is to ſay, of one ſelfſame ſubſtance, and equall with him that begotte him. While matter thus continued, *Alexander*, Byſhop of *Alexandria*, was to diſpute with *Arrius*, vpon a day appointed by the Emperor. The Byſhop ſpent the whole night before in Prayer, deſiring of God ſo to ſhew his power in the Temple, that he would permit the poiſon of *Arrius* to ſpread it ſelfe no further. On the Morrow morning, when the hour of diſputation was come, as *Arrius* entered among the Auditory, a ſudden pain in the belly began to ſeize him, in preſence of a great multitude of Byſhops, & the common people. So that, beeing conſtrained to go to ſome ſecret place, to diſcharge the burthen of his belly, his bowelles and entrailes fell from him, into the Priuy, & there he died ſuddenly. Vndoubtedly, a death well befitting ſo wicked a man; and yet notwithſtanding, the Hereſy of *Arrius* ceaſed not, but continued verie long time after.

Athanaſius accuſed by *Arrius* to be a Magitian.

Ioan. Carion in Chronol.

Athaniſius repeald from baniſhment.

The Byſhops praier againſt *Arrius*.

The iuſt and deſerud deth of *Arrius*.

There were many other Hereticks & Schiſmatickes, as the *Pelagians*, *Donatiſts*, *Albigeois*, & others, which I ouer paſſe, becauſe I would not make a Volume of them, rather then a Chapter. It remayneth now to report, what penalties ſuch Authors of Hereſies is to vndergo. Saint *Paule*, writing to *Titus*, ſayth; *Reiect the man that is the Author of Sectes, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, knowing, that he that is ſuch, is peruerted and ſinneth, being damned of his owne ſelfe.* *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, Emperours, ordained, that Hereticks ſhould be punniſhed by ignominies, ſtripes, baniſhment, and death: as is contained in the *Code*, titled, *De Hæretic. l. Arriani*, where the Lawe commandeth, to puniſh this wicked kind of men with the vttermoſt punniſhment. *Hoſtienſis*, expounding this Edict, in his Summe on the Titles of the Decretales, ſaith; *Albeit that in Hereſie, the Law impoſeth the laſt puniſhment, which is another Law, ff. de pœnis interpreteth to be death: yet notwithſtanding, the cuſtome (for ſuch people) is to be burned.*

Pelagians, Donatiſts, Albigenſis, and other heretickes.

Tit. 3, 10, 11.

Lawes of Emperors againſt Heretickes.

Code. de Hereti. Arriani.

Hoſt. in Sum. tit Decret.

Abbas Siculus was of the ſame minde, after *Hoſtienſis*, on the Chapter, *Ab abolendam extra. de Hæretic.* Writing thus; But *the Ciuill Law puniſheth an Heretique with capitall puniſhments, to wit; death, by the Lawe Arriani, Codi de Hæretic. & l. vltimum ſupplicium. ff. de pœnis.* Now, the Cannonicall, Ciuill, and Common Lawes do conſent heerein, that the Hereticke ſhould commonly bee puniſhed with the paine of fire, as thinking it moſt conuenient.

Ab Sicul. ſup. Cap. Ad. &c.

Al Lawes adiudge the hereticke to bee burned.

The Emperour *Fredericke*, firſt of that Name, in the yeare of our Saluation, one hundered eightie, made a Law, to burne Hereticks, as appeareth in one of his Conſtitutions, beginning, *Vt Commiſſi.* And Pope *Lucius*, thirde of that Name, ordayned, that whoſoeuer was a Prieſt, and furniſhed himſelfe with Sacred Orders, becomming an Hereticke, hee ſhould firſt of all bee degraded; and afterwardes, deliuered vnto the Magiſtrates of the place, to put him to death by Fire; as it is declared in the ſaid Chapter, *Ad abolendam.*

The Emperor *Fredericke*, his Law to burne Hereticks.

Pope *Lucius* the third.

And this appeareth, to be ſufficiently receiued and approoued, by the inſtitutions of *Moyſes*, who (firſt of all other) had ordained to punniſh (with death) wicked Doctors, and Maiſters of peſtifferous Doctrines, when in the thirteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, hee ſpeaketh in this manner:

If there ariſe among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreames, and ſhall ſay vnto ye:

The Lawe of Moyſes.

Let

Deut.13,1, 2, 3,4,5,6,7, 8, 9, 10.

Let vs go after other Goddes, which thou hast not knowne, and let vs serue them. Thou shalt not hearken vnto the wordes of that Prophet, or to that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proueth ye, to know, whether ye loue the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soule, or not. Yee shall walke after the Lorde your GOD, and feare him, and shal keepe his Commandements, and obey his voyce, and yee shall serue him, and cleaue vnto him.

God's triall of his Children, whither they loue him, or no.

But the false Prophet shalbe put to death, because hee hath spoken to turne yee away from your eternal God.

No naturall consanguinity must turne vs away from God.

And a little after, he addeth; *If thine owne Brother, or thy Sonne, or thy Daughter, or thy Wife, or thy Friend woulde perswade thee to the like:*

Thou shalt not consent vnto him, nor heare him, neither shall thine eye pittie him, nor shew Mercie, nor keepe him secret.

But thou shalt kill him, thine hande shall bee first vppon him, to put him to death: and afterwardes, the handes of all the people.

The falf Prophet must die the death.

And thou shalt stone him with stones, that hee die: because he hath gone about to draw thee from the Lord thy GOD, which brought thee out of the Land of Egipt, from the house of Bondage.

Hee further addeth, *When thou shalte heare say, that in any of thy Cities, Wicked men are gone out from among you, and haue seduced the Inhabitants of the City.*

Thou shalt secke and make search, and enquire diligently: and if it be true, and the thing certaine, that such abhomination is wrought among you.

Thou shalt euen slay the Inhabitantes of that Cittie, with the edge of the sword, and destroy it vtterly.

And thou shalt gather all the spoiles of it in the midst of the streets thereof, & burne with fire the City, and all the spoile thereof euerie whit.

Whence grew the custom of burning Hetickes.

Hence (as is supposed) came the obserued custome of condemning heretiks to death, and burning them aliue.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the sottish and ydle opinions, obserued among the Sects of Phylosophers: discouering (briefely) all Sciences, Arts, and Doctrines, with their abuses and vanities.

HAuing (cursorilie) run ouer he Sectes of some Heretickes and finding heere a meete and conuenient place, to speak of those men which were called Phylosophers, I wil proceed to a succinct declaration of them. Questionlesse, all the whole troope of them were contentious persons, Couetous of Glorie, Proud and Contumelious: and, to vse the very words of the Poet *Homer*, *An vnprofitable masse of men on the earth.* They were al dissonant in their opinions, and fell into many Sects, and diuers Labyrinths of excogitated fallacies. Some were called *Platonists*; others, *Pythagorians, Peripatetiques, Academiques, Genethliaques, Stoicks, Ciuicks, &c.*

This beginning is taken out of Homer & out of *Lucian* in his Dialogues.

Seuerall sects of Phylosophers.

Some other called themselues, by names much more ridiculous & foolish. After they had once vsurped on the venerable name of Vertue, they walked about with exalted countenances, and I know not what manner of misshapen habites. In outward behauiour, they made shew of detesting all other men whatsoeuer, vsing such lookes and actions, as is frequent among Players of Comedies & Tragedies: from whom, if their Maskes, false Vizards and habits were taken, nothing of matter remained in them. They were such as I say, Vniuersall Despisers of all men but themselues. They kepte Schooles of vaine propositions, and full of Ambiguities, preaching and enstructing their Schollers, to commend & extoll temperance and modestie, contemning (with bitter execrations) worldlie Riches and pleasures.

Their outward shape & apparance.

Their Doctrine in their schooles.

But when they were alone by themselues, they needed no enstructions how to tosse the Wine-Bowles, as being en-

They were men vtterlie vnprofitable.

clined and burning in libidinous Concupiscence, and Carnall immundicities. And that which (among all thinges elſe) was moſt grieuous, they did not any thing auaileable, either in publicke or priuate: but remained vnbeneficiall, becauſe they were neuer found good, either in counſell, or for polliticke or ciuill adminiſtration of Iuſtice.

Their diſputations.

They would do nothing but diſpute of incertainties, ſtraunge beginninges, and concluſions of thinges, with an heape of Tranſmutations, Metamorphoſis, Symbolizations, Corruptions, and Generations of foure Elements, hauing foure principall qualities in them, which they affirmed to be ſubiect to Corruption & mutation in this fraile world.

Their vſuall kind of talke.

Alſo, they talked of Realities, Identites, and infinite Ideaes, that is to ſay; Formes, Figures, or Originall kindes of thinges: and each one of them woulde conſtrain beleefe by his alledged reaſon, albeit no Co-herence did enſue thereon.

Their opinion of ſupernatural iudgment in them ſelues.

There were ſome among them, who being meerely blinde thorow age, would yet ſay, that they ſaw the Circumference and endes of Heauen. They meaſured the Sunne by their owne immaginatiō, and not ſatisfied with knowledge of palpable and Viſible thinges in this neather World, they mounted vp to places aboue the Moone, and (as if they were newly deſcended downe from Heauen) meaſured the greatneſſe of the Wandering Starres and Planets, and would deſcribe the Figures of the Signes and Starres, with all their Vertues and Effects.

A blinde kind of Comoſgraphy in ſuch high matters.

Many times, ſuch as ſcarſely knew ten miles by Coſmography, would bee ſo bold as to declare, how many Cubites, Miles, or Stades, was between the Sun and the Moone. They would meaſure likewiſe the height and wideneſſe of the Ayre, the profundity of the Sea, the circuite of the whole earth, the diſtance of one Towne or Cittie from another; the Longitude and latitude of all Regions & Climates, according to the meaſure and conſideration of the degrees and minuts of heauen.

Moreouer, they deſigned and portrayed Triangles vppon Quadrangles, with Sphericall Paintings, whereby they would meaſure al heauen. Some of them auouched (vnder Oath) that the Sunne was a maſsie body, as hot as fire; Vnder which, the Moone had her motion. And that the Starres were watery ſubſtances, or ſteeped in Water, which the Sunne had drawne vnto them out of the ſea, euen as if hee had powred it out of a Bucket, and ſo diſtributed vnto them all their waterish humor. It was not poſsible for any man to know the woonderfull repugnancie, which conſiſted in their ſeuerall ſayings.

Their iudgement concerning the Sun.

Repugnancie in their ſayings.

Firſt of all, they held diuers and diſſonant opinions, concerning the vniuerſall world. Some ſaide, as *Ariſtotle* and his followers, that it was without beginning and ſeemed to him that it ſhoulde neuer haue ending. Others, as *Plato* and his Academiſts affirmed, that it was made by ſome Workeman. Their diſputations of *Ideaes*, and of things incorporeall, as alſo of Dreames, which they tearmed to bee finite and infinite, was wonderfull. One deſcribed and defined a certaine ending vniuerſally. Others on the contrary, wold ſay, that it was not poſsible to finde anie ending. They made demonſtration, that there were many worldes, and blamed ſuch as arreſted their diſputes vppon one onely. One wiſe man ſtept vp, and maintained diſcord to bee the cauſe of the generation of all things. Another replyed, that it was amity, and a naturall and ſimbolizing colligation. Some thought the Diuinity to be I know not what, without body, and without forme: but others immagined it to be ſome certain body. Som held the Firmament and world, to be ſupported without anie Lord or guide. Others defended, that the Heauens and the ſuperior world, were gouerned by celeſtiall intelligences of the Diuine *Ens*, which is the Father, Creator of al things. They wer very curious in enquiring, how great the Moone was, and what was the cauſe, whereby ſhe increaſed and decreaſed. Some ſaid, as *Anaximander*; That it was a Circle, full of fire. *Heraclitus* held, That it was a land, round inuironed with one cloud. *Pythagoras* ſuppoſed, that it was an enflamed body. Others ſaide, that ſhe was as a Glaſſe or mirrour, hanging ouer the Sea, and that the light which ſhe had, was reſpectiuely proceeding from the Sun. They had no finall determination in their ſayings, but ſtill drew the eyes and ſpirits of vnskilfull men into admiration.

Ariſtotles opinion of the world.

Platoes opiniō.

One contradicting another.

The cauſe of generating al things.

Of the Heauens and ſuperiori world.

Anaximander his opinion of the Moone.

Heraclitus.

Pythagoras.

In

Descriptions in Astrology, familiarly cãuazed among the Philosophers.

In talking of the Hemispheres, of Poles Articke and Antarticke, of the Circles, Epyciles, and Celestiall Houses; of dimensions and Paralels, as well of the Inferiour worlde, as superiour; Of Horoscopes, Aspects of the Planets, both good and euill; Of the Ascendent, Descendent, Triplicities, Quadruplicities, Sextiles, and all that which concerneth the intellection of the Vertue, and Influence of the Starres, and celestiall Orbes: they hadde verie admirable apprehensions.

12. Signes of the Zodiacke.

Also, of the twelue Signes of the Zodiacke, thorow which the Sunne maketh his anuall course, descending so far as the Circkle of Capricorn, and mounting againe to the Circkle of Cancer. These Circkles are the two Solstices, by meanes whereof are made the verie longest and shortest daves, and the Dayes like to the Nights; the dayes being called Equinoctiall. These are in two seasons of the yeare, that is to say, at Spring time and Autumne, when hee passeth by the Equinoctiall Circle.

The two Solstices.

No subiection to death aboue the Moone.

Some of them haue saide, that there were many Moones and Sunnes, and that all aboue the Moone is not subiecte to death, but euer liuing: and all vnder it subiected to mortality. Some woulde maintaine, that we are gouerned by Diuine prouidence: but others said, by fortune, and aduenturous accident. Some reputed the soules of men to be mortall: Others affirmed them to bee immortall. Some supposed them to be sent into bodies of bruite beasts: but others thought they would speake more mannerly, affecting rather to say, that the soule was a winde or vnlooſed spirit, diffused & spred thorow the body of man.

Of the soules of men in their humain bodies.

To contrary which coniecture, some stucke not to say; That it was a Quintessence, or a Nature without any bodie, euermore mooning it selfe, being totally immortall: but when it departed from the bodie, it flewe away with other thinges, which are of that Nature.

Of the Stoicks, and their peeuish opinions.

As for the *Stoicks*, they had a perswasion, that the soule of him, who had not liued vertuously in this world, died immediately with the bodie. But that the soule of an honest and Vertuous man, with all her powers and perfections; tooke her seate in the highest Celestiall places, albeit some others constituted the end of goodnesse in the bodye; and their contraries referred it to the minde or reasonable soule.

There were also some amongst them, that abused themselues in the apprehension of diuers vnprofitable and Diabolical Sciences, getting them sundrie spirits by perticuler Names, which serued them in diuers Offices, by vsing manie Carracters, wherein the Names of them were written about them. Then there were some that Diuined by water; Others, by the earth, by the Ayre, by hurling points of Kniues, of Bodkins, and such like: By Aspect and regard of mens faces, by the flight of Birds, and by carrying of Phitonicall Spirites in Ringes or Iewelles; which spirits, they made subiect and bound vnto them for euery day, to make answere of all matters, either in the Ayre, on the Earth, or in the fire, because some of them were said to bee *Iouialists*, others *Mercurialists*, others *Venerists*, and so of many and diuers complexions. Nay they would mount much higher, presuming to meddle with the *Great Worke*, to make subiect vnto them those four great Princes, which gouerne ouer the nine Princes, and all the Legions of the saide spirits, which they saide to bee in number sixtie sixe thousand. To them (on certaine dayes) they offered Sacrifices, giuing them swordes of Golde and Siluer, with some strange Virgin Parchmentes, Licensing them with Amber, Muske, & other abhominable and infamous guifts, which they offred to them; and (indeed) deserue not to be written. For they adapted all the high and diuine names to such Idolatries, illusions, and follies: As *Adonay*, *Agios*, *Athanatos*, *Alpha et O Primogentus*, *Propheta*, *Potestas*, *Redemptor*, *Altissimus*, *Paracletus*, *Trinitas*, and others.

Magical Arts and Sciences.

Sundry kinds of diuinations

Phitonick spirits, wonne in Rings, Iewels &c.

The Great worke of the spirits.

Sacrifices offred to spirits

High, Holie, and Diuine Names, by them abused.

They had many kinds and manners of Sciences, for some learned Astrology diuinatory or iudiciary, which spake of the reuolutions of yeares; of questions, elections, intentions, cogitations, & vertues, to know al future things, without any exception. Also they would know by Phisiognomy, the affections of the soule and body; and what shold be the fortunes & destinies of men, by prouoking one vnder *Mercury*, another vnder *Sol*, and another vnder *Mars*. By *Metroposcopy* (they saide) they knew (beholding a mans fore-

Of Diuinatory & Iudiciall Astrology.

Phisiognomy.

head) his reall Nature and inclination, the progresions of his life, & how shold be his ending.

Chiromancy. *Chiromancie* they obserued, by looking in the palme of the hand: for, in regarde of the Planets number, they formed seauen Mountaines or Hilles, and by Lines there discerned, the Complexions of men were known, their liues, affections, and fortunes.

Pyromancy. *Pyromancy*, was that, which taught them to Diuine by fire: as when a man obserueth thunder, and the Lightninges flash, to gather thereby what the Fire may signify.

Hydromancy. *Hydromancy* is performed by Water, and was the principall, and most of all, vsed by *Numa Pompilius*: yet thereby hee was deceiued, beholding the formes and Images of some dead persons in the Water, which the Deuils would haue had to be reputed for Gods.

Geomancie. *Geomancy* declares it selfe, by pointes throwne at peraduenture, or by the power of some figures, or thinges attributed Celestiall, composed by number, *Par & impar* (or Eeuen and odde, as wee vse to say) and by those Figures the Diuination is made. And there is another kind of this cunning, which is done by some Coniectures taken from similitudes, by noyse and sound of the earth or motion, or by a loud cry, or by thunder. *Almadack* the *Arabian* was the Inuenter thereof, & *Pythagoras* therein was instructed. But Magicke Arts were before this, and the Inuenter of them was *Zoroastres*, King of the *Bactrians*.

Par & impar.

Almadack the Arabian.

Zoroastres was Inuenter of Magicall arts

Augury. Concerning *Augury*, they seemed thereby to haue a kinde of light of presaging, descending ouer each creature in this neather world, as especiall signes obserued by their flight, mooning, gesture, sitting, progresion, voice, food, and colour, so that by al these things they could foretell somewhat. The Art *Speculatory*, made Interpretation of Thunders, lightnings, and other impresions of the Elements, by signes and prodegies; and yet notwithstanding, they had no other help therein, but by coniecture only. They say, that *Turgie* is profitable to purge the spirituall part of the soule, to witte; the fantasticke or imaginatiue part: because by this Art, men are made to see the Images of Goddes, who are nothing else but Deuils, that transfigure themselues into

The Speculatorie Art.

Turgie.

Deuils vsurping Angels shapes.

Angels of Light. Naturall Magicke, is to gain knowledge in the greatest and most Soueraigne power, of the forces and vertues of all Naturall things. There are likewise Scrutators or searchers into Nature, who by Mathematicall Scriptures only (the influxions of the Heauens beeing appeased) make diuers bodies to goe and moone, which (notwithstanding) haue not their Animall Vertues. Venefical Magicke, or that tearmed *Pharmaticall*, is a Science wherein Beuerages, Potions, and sundry poysonous Medicaments are vsed.

Naturall Magicke.

Scrutators of Nature.

Poysonous or Pharmaticall Magicke.

Heereby *Democritus* made his Children fortunate, making his Birds also to speake. And by Ceremoniall Magicke, which is *Turgie* & *Goetie*, they couenanted with false spirites, whom they called by certaine words, charmes, and vnlawfull Ceremonies. These men (by the meanes of euill spirits) enchanted other people, and brought spirits to them, called *Paradres*: in exercise whereof, they made vse of Infants, Virgins, and Innocents, causing them to looke in a Basen of water, and on their Nailes, which they annoint with Oyle, and then call Diuels to them, who make answere to such questions as they demand of them. And to attain to the effect of their Coniurations, they sometimes menace Heauen, and the Elements, attributing Signes and Carracters to them.

Ceremoniall Magicke.

Paradres.

Abuse of Infants, virgins & innocents.

Some others say, that that kind of Magicke, called *Turgie*, consisteth in appellation and Prayers to spirits, and such as vse it, must be verie pure and cleare from sin, vsing many Scepters, Rings, swords, and Circkles. But (more especiallie) a great Seale, wherein is Engrauen the 12. Signes of the Zodiacke, and the Carracters of the seauen Plannets, and these are shewn to spirits, to know, to which Planet they are subiect. And the exorcist must be clad in a greene surples, with other new Garments; and in this Art are inumerable Ceremonies and Idolatries. The Prestigiators or cheating Coniurers in Magicke, do vrge conceit of Spirites, Hob-goblins, Apparitions, and manie Myracles, by Circulatorie frauds and deceiptes, they sende foorth and returne Dreames or Delusions, and cause things to appeare otherwise then they are indeede, only by their Charms and Incantations.

A further relation concerning *Turgie*.

The Signes of the Zodiack, and the seuen Planets.

Prestigators in Magicke.

Ma-

Mathematicall Magicke.

Mathematicall Magicke cannot bee vnderstoode or knowne, without her naturall Vertues; neither without Disciplines and Mathematicall Sciences. It finds out the meanes to attract the influences of the Starres, to such occasions as men would make them; and in this Science, *Albertus Magnus* was very expert.

Necromancy.

Necromancy or *Necyomancie*, maketh Diuination and prediction of things, by Conference with dead bodies raised.

Aruspicy.

Aruspicie considereth the flight, songs and gestures of Birds in their flying.

Capnomancy

Capnomancie, is a Diuination made by fumes and smoakes.

Botonomacy.

Botonomancie, is performed by hearbs, and is the only proper Art of Sorceries, with *Goetia* or Witch craft, whereof we haue formerly spoken.

Clerenomancy.

Clerenomancie, is a Sooth-saying by Lottes.

Ichthyonomancy.

Ichthyonomancie, is by Fishes. And yet there are diuers others, as *Cosinomancie* by a Siue; *Ascinomaneie*, and *Gastronomancie*; which are spoken of by *Proclus*, *Porphyrius*, *Iamblicus*, *Colophonius*, *Apuleius*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, and Saint *Augustine*, in his seuenth & eight Books of the Citty of God. O good God, what brags, arrogances, and Bedlem-trickes? What contentions and Vanities, with scrupulous words, prodigies, & enchantments? What lost labors, Lyes, ambages, and al manner of deceiuings are among them?

Coscinomancy. Ascinomancy Gastronomancy. *Au. 7. in et 8. de Ciu Dei.*

The Sciences of the *Cabala*.

And yet there are some other, who would pretend to knowe the Sciences of the *Cabala*, and say, that such as can rightly vnderstand them, haue so much power as to raise vp dead bodies. Now, such as haue knowledge heerin, must be irreprehensible of sinne, and of holy life and conuersation. Moreouer, *Reuclin* and some others haue written, that this Science is nothing else, but a kinde of vn-written Theologie; and that therein is a much greater part of beleefe and speculation, then of discipline. For it consisteth in knowledge of the Angels, that somtimes did administerboth sciences and doctrins of inuisile things to men. And these Sectaries do hold, that in liuing holilie, and neere vnto the Angellicall life, so far as the flesh and rude bodie can imitate, verie great intelligences are to be receiued. And by hauing knowledge in the names of some Princes and Angels of Light, a man may attaine vnto the perfection of things, resembling (or truly being) myracles. But because it is not receiued, but by denuntation of the Father to the son, and that the Hebrewes (on whom it depended) haue written nothing for reuerence of the Mystery: there are but fewe people, so full of erudition, as to produce such effects, as it did customarily restore. Som termed the Art *Cabala*, diuine Magicke, which diuideth it selfe into the Science, named *Bereseith*, and *Merana*.

Vnwritten Theology.

Knowledge of the angels.

Princes and Angelles of Light.

Diuine Magicke.

Bereseith, according to the *Hebrewes*, discourseth of beginnings, Originals, and causes of creatures, as also of their properties and inclinations. *Merana* speaketh of things sublime and high; as of the diuine and Angellicall vertues, of holie Names, which haue great signification and misteries in them, with Letters, Numbers, Figures, Names, and little pointes of Letters, Lines, Punctuations, and Accents. *Merana* also diuideth it selfe into two Sciences, to wit; *Arythmancie*, and *Theomancie*. *Arythmancie* is as much to say, as diuination made by number, which hath consideration and contemplation of Angellicall Vertues; of Names, Signacles, Natures, and Conditions, both of diuels and other creatures.

Bereseith.

Merana.

Arythmancy.

Theomancy.

Theomancie is a Diuination and Vatication of Diuine things, which consider the Mysteries of the Diuine Maiesty, the Emanations, the holye and sacred names. This Science (according to many opinions) *Moses* had, by meanes whereof, he wrought so many signes and Miracles; as when he transformd his rod into a Serpent changed water into blood, into Frogs, Flies, Lice, Locusts, and other things contained in Exodus.

Moyses saide to be endued with *Theomancie*.

There is another science depending on the aforesaide *Cabala*, called *Cosmologie*, which consistes in the reason, consideration and contemplation of the world. It expoundeth (by Phylosophicall reasons) the great secrets of the Law, and of the Bible. Other fooles (abusing themselues) labor to Philosophize by Mettals, weening to deriue cunning from the sun and Moon, and therin haue proceeded in many maners. For *Merlin* said, That the Philosophers stone was of many colors, participating of the 4. Elements, beeing by nature Ayry, earthy, watry, and firy; drie in a soft degree and hidden, but hot in a high degree, and manifest; moist & cold, of all these complexions, one is made.

Cosmologie depending on the Science of *Cabala*

The Phylosophers Stone, and what is said thereof by many Authors.

It is not farre off from the Nature of fire, and of the Flame; and yet is Licquid and flowing, like to the Oyle of the Oliue. It engroſſeth it ſelfe, and of it ſelfe is conceiued and engendered. It liueth of it ſelfe, and by it ſelfe; and yet it killeth it ſelfe. This ſtone hath a red dye, white & chearfull, and yet it conceiueth and maketh Gold, if it be ioyned vnto the white fume or ſmoake. It is the way wherby we liue; and by which, the true and pureſt Gold is made. Thus farre are the verie words of *Merlin*.

Merlins words of the Phyloſophers ſtone.

Geber, ſpeaking thereof, ſayeth; Our Art conſiſteth not in the multitude of things, neither is any iot perfected in or by them. For it is a Stone onely, which is a Medicine, wherein the Maiſterie and height of our Art relyeth. And it is to be vnderſtood, that we adde nothing thereto, that ſhould be, or is a ſtranger, neyther do wee diminiſh any thing, except they bee ſuch matters as are ſuperfluous in preparation of the ſaide Stone. And we conclude, that it is nothing elſe, but an vnſauoury ſmelling ſpirit, and a liuing Vault or Graue, which we may wel term dry, waſhed by an naturall (yet liuely) proportion of ſuch an vnion, as it cannot go out of his eſſence, by the things whereto it is annexed, and is couered in abreuiating the worke, hauing an extenuated & perfect bodie.

Geber his Relation concerning the Phyloſophers ſtone:

What the ſtone is.

Cornelius Agrippa, in his Booke of ſecret Philoſophy, ſaith; Fire is an Element which penetrateth and ouer-commeth al things. It is a thing created by God, a ſubiect of al mutability, which can be in heauen, and in the earth. It is moreouer, a thing actually animall, Vegetall and Minerall; that is to ſay, which ſeemeth to haue ſoule and vegetation, and an effectiue Vertue and quality of mineral thinges. This thing ſo high and Noble, is not found out by many people, nor knowne by any perſon, or well expreſſed in his proper name: but is continually hidde in numbers, Figures, and Enigmaes; without which (neuertheleſſe) neither the Art of Alchimy, nor of Magicke, can attaine to, or haue their perfects ends. *Augurellus* ſaith; *This Stone is White, and is nothing els but a powder, long time boyled; and ſo conuerted from a White, into a redde colour. Gregory Reich*, in his Marguarite of Philoſophy, ſaith; *The Art of making this Stone, is not by any labour*; but is (as one ſaith) *The worke of Women, and the ſport of children. Virgil*, in the ſixt Booke of his *Eneidos*, ſpeaking of the branch of Gold, which is hidden within a calignious tree, intirely deſcribeth the perfection of this worke.

Cornel. Agrippa in lib. de Philoſ. Occult.

A ſtrange and hidden ſecret

Augurellus:

Gregor. Reich. in Marg. Phil.

Virgin lib. 6. de Eneid.

Others do proceed heerin by another manner of way, which is dangerous for the ſoul, for the creature being kept captiue 9. moneths, which they nouriſh and feede with ſtraunge meats, mingled with the iuice of hearbs, Mercury, and Siluer, it maketh him to change his nature, and ſo (with other creatures) is taken and put to confect in a potte very cloſe couered, wherin alſo they put ſeuen ſorts of herbs, the moſt part whereof doo congeale the Mercurie. And the principal is the hearb called *Lunaria maior*, which turneth the water againſt the ſtreame, & yet maketh it to returne againe at the houre when it is cut. And after the fire hath wrought, then *Cibele* makes her operation, & *Titan* alſo for two or three times the principal of the ſubiect beeing receiued, from that which is aboue vs. And when the proiection ſhould woorke it ſelfe within the pottes, then vſe is made of common Salt, Arſenick ſubl mate, and Salarmoniack; and hitherto there is no offence at all. But afterward, for the perfection, caſting the matter in the ſaid pots, and ſeeking to conuert the Saturn or lead which is therein; the action cannot but be dangerous. For euery faithful ſoul knoweth, that this came not from the inuention of men, but from ſome vile and wicked ſpirits: for the ſiluer which is taken forth of the pots, proueth as good as the naturall ſiluer. Then for augmentation of Gold, they make an adaption of Vermillion, Siluer, *Crocum Ferri*, and other matters by number; which they ſay paſſeth the Teſte, and *Ciment-Royall*. A man would be amazed to behold them all differing in their opinions, yet each one to auouch ſufficient vnderſtanding in the Science.

Another Phiſophers ſtone, which is written Enigmatical, comming frō the inuention of euill ſpirits

The proiection in working it ſelfe.

The making of Gold.

Very true it is, that by the Arteſice of Fire, verie ſinguler things are made, and almoſt as faire as thoſe producted by nature, to wit; Emeraldes, Iacinthes, Saphires, Rubies, Pearles, Corral, Amber, Glaſſes, and Veſſels mingled with diuers Colours: and the principall is, to haue good and freſh ſtuffes, and knowledge in the Art of Fire. But leauing this Argument,

What things may be made by the workmanſhippe of Fire.

Variety of mens studies.

ment, let vs come to the application of other studies, according to mens seuerall inclinations.

Logick.

Some haue delighted most in Logick, which is a Science of disputing, and reasoning in all things. Others affected

The Art of Sophistry.

the Art of *Lullyn*; to wit, the inuention of *Sophistry*, which sheweth a Doctrin of quaint beguiling (and had name first of one named *Lullius*:) it enstructeth how to circumuent in words, by craft, calumnie, fixion, and cauillation.

The Mathematickes.

Others, desired to know the *Mathematickes*, which taketh it selfe (in generall properly) for all naturall Sciences, euen for all them that can be taught to man.

Cosmometry.

Cosmometrie, sheweth the reason of the World, by measures of degrees and minutes of the Heauens, and the differences of Climats, Daies, and Nights; the Eleuation of the Poles; diuersity of the Noone-tides, and shaddowes in Dyals, and deuideth it selfe into *Cosmographie* and *Geography*.

Cosmography. Geography.

Cosmography is the generall description and measure of the World; And *Geography* sheweth how to measure the Earth by Stades, Leagues, and Miles; by Mountaines, Woods, Forrests, Lakes, Riuers, and Seas.

It likewise maketh knowne, the difference and distinction of Nations, Kingdomes, Prouinces, Cities, Ports, Hauens, and whatsoeuer is throughout the earth.

The Art of Memory. *Cicero in lib. de Quæst. Tusc.*

Some others doe practise the Art of *Memorie*, which is nothing else (according to *Cicero*) but an indiction and reason of certaine rules, consisting in places, Images, and Carracters: which doe as much seruice, as proper Writings presented to his eyes, who would speake of, or remember any thing whatsoeuer.

Symonides Melicus.

This Science was inuented by *Symonides Melicus*, borne in the Isle of *Cea*, who also first deuised the Verses called *Lyrici*.

The parts of Ethick Philosophy.

Nor must this be thought any disparagement, to the true Philosophy of the *Ethiques*, which enstructed men how to liue well among themselues; and likewise in generall, without any carke or care for any kind of Prouision. And the *Oeconomique* also, giuing rules for well liuing in Domesticke Community, and for best ordering of a Family.

Oeconomick Philosophy.

The *Politique*, it gaue Documents of good life, for publique community among Cittizens: because it discoursed on common Ciuility, and in it are comprehended all secular estates.

Another part of Philosophy

There is yet another part of Philosophy, which is principall, and in double manner; that is to say: Abstracted from mooving, and conioyned with mooving. Abstracted from motion, is called *Metaphisique*,

Metaphisique

which discourseth on the highest matters of God, and of intelligences, exceeding our sense and imagination; and the Science is tearmed *Metaphisique*, because it transcendeth Nature.

Phisicke, with her 8. parts of Philosophy.

That part conioyned with motion, speaketh of mooueable thinges, and is named *Phisique*: which considereth and speculateth the beginnings and causes of naturall thinges, and accordinglie heereunto hath eight parts of Philosophy. These doe speake of Heauen and the World; of Generation and Corruption; of Meteors; of Mines in the Earth; of Vegetable things; of Plants; and the Natures of Creatures; of watching and sleeping; of Memory, and al other powers of the Soule.

Morall Philosophy.

Then there is Morall Philosophy, treating of Vices & Vertues; and disputing wherin consisteth humaine Felicity; as also distinguishing good from euill. And the Word Philosopher, is nothing else but to tearme a Man, a Louer of wisedome.

The seauen liberall Sciences.

Wee come now to the seauen liberall Sciences. First *Grammer*, whereby is knowne the difference, between congruate and incongruate speaking.

Grammer.

Logicke.

Logicke, describeth the false proposition from the true.

Rhetoricke.

Rhetoricke, demonstrateth how to speake with ornament of choise words, and elegantly.

Astrology.

Astrology, obserueth the course and influence of the Starres, Celestiall bodies, Mansions, Parasanges, Hemispheres, and the Poles Articke, and Antartick.

Geometry.

Geometry, describeth the dimension and measure of the Earth, with the distance of one place from another.

Arithmaticke Musicke.

Arithmatick delighteth most in numbers; And *Musique*, how to play and sing by due measure.

The Art and stile of Poesie

Nor may we omit the Art and Stile of Poesie, very highly and greatly commended.

Elegies.

As that named *Elegiacall*, which is a resctiption of miseries, reciting the calamities of men, the querimonies

Satires.

rimonies of loue, and deploration of the dead. *Satires*, are inuectiues and reprehensions, composed in verse, reprouing Vices, and discouering the secret sinnes of men.

Comedy.

Comedy, describeth the affections of men, rauishment of Virgines, and facetious matters.

Tragedy.

Tragedie, discourseth the calamities of Kings and great Lords, giuing them enstructions for amendment of life.

Diuine Poets

But *Theologicall* or Diuine Poets, were they that wrote Songs and Hymnes of the Gods:

Heroyckes.

describing Heroycally the deeds and gests of Noble-men and Warlike people, with Martiall attempts, and Militarie Stratagems.

Seauen Mechanical arts.

The seauen Mechanicall Arts also, are very cõmendable; as

Husbandry.

Agriculture or Husbandry: whereby the Art of labouring in the ground is perfectlie known, with planting of Vines, and entring young Trees.

Cloathing.

Cloathing, comprehendeth all endeuours, vsed eyther in Wooll, Linnen, Haire, Silke, and semblable things.

Nauigation.

Nauigation, compriseth the Art of all Mariners & Shipmen, as well on the Seas, as other Riuers.

Hunting.

Hunting, containeth vnder that name, all manner of Fowling for Birds, and taking of all Beastes and Fishes.

Architecture.

The Art of Fabricke or Architecture, containeth the condition of Carpentry, Masonry, Imagery, Gold-smithery, & whatsoeuer is to be wrought, either in Wood, Stone, or Mettalles.

Medicine.

And the Art of Medicine, comprehendeth in that one Word, both Chirurgians, Apothecaries, Hearbalists, Maisters of Bathes, and Barbers.

Military Discipline.

The Art Military, bringeth vnder her protection, all subtilties and secret conducts of war, with all good Regiments and Gouernments of Captaines.

The four Morall vertues.

Heere may we not omit the due and desertfull praises of the foure Morrall Vertues.

Prudence, & her sacred power.

As Prouidence, which is the cause of direct and vpright gouernment in all thinges, with fore-sight and good ordination. This Vertue respecteth all the actions of humaine life, ruling, conducting, and consulting (by reason) on great and doubtfull matters, both by syllogismes, and sound debatings. It compareth and conioyneth thinges already past, with such as are present; and by due discussion made of them, giueth iudgement also on future occasions. So that she onely presageth and foretelleth, the aduentures of accidents which are to ensue, and accordingly with-holdeth and hindereth the entrance of casuall & sinister fortunes.

Temperance, and her prerogatiue.

Temperrnce, contemneth all Corporal voluptuousnesse, for (in her) the order of our whole life is discerned; because she holdes the firme and Moderne Dominion of reason, against all Vices whatsoeuer.

Fortitude & her authority, discerned three wayes.

Fortitude, consisteth in the agression and reasonable enterprising of difficult matters. This Vertue maketh contempt of worldly felicities, and is to be vnderstood three seuerall waies. The first, is to be strong by Nature. The second, is to feare no perrillous occasions. The third, is an assured and setled patience. She maketh a man perdurable, when he applyeth his power in the resistance of Vices; supporting her selfe by reason & Iustice, and also in warring against the Flesh.

Iustice & her prehemineĉe

Iustice, rendereth to euery man, that which duely appertaineth to him. It is the measure which God hath established on earth: whereby the weake is defended against the strong, and the speaker of truth, against the lyer.

The Ciuile & Canon lawes.

Vnder this vertue, the Ciuil and Cannonicall Lawes are contained, whereby the vniuersall pollicy of the World is gouerned, as well Temporall as Spiritual.

Now the three other principall Vertues (to make vp this number seauen also) are Faith, Charity, and Hope.

Faith.

Faith, is to beleeue such things, as are not to be seene by our bodily eyes: for such thinges as we see not, firmely wee hope for.

The summe of Faith.

And this Faith is wholly in the blessed Trinity; the actions of the passion of Iesus Christ; that which is contained in the Olde and New Testaments; and the Canonicall Scriptures of our holy Mother the Church.

Charity.

Charity, consisteth in the Soueraigne loue of God, and of our Neighbours as our selues.

Hope.

Hope, attendeth and expecteth that which the Lord hath promised vs, if we accomplish his Commandements.

Behold what Sciences and vertues are profitable, and not the foolish opinions, Problems, and enigmaes of the Philosophers.

What men ought most to esteeme.

But notwithstanding all these, Men ought to hold the sacred Scriptures in higher commendation, then any thing

elſe whatſoeuer; becauſe thoſe things are vaine, wherein the knowledge of God is not. For, by knowledge of the heauenly word, and obſeruation of that which is commaunded vs in the Goſpell: we are made the Lords Children, fellow Cittizens with the Saints in the Kingdome of Heauen, and Heires of God with Ieſus Chriſt. By them, the poore are made rich; the feeble, ſtrong; Fooles, wiſe; Sinners, iuſtifyed; the deſolate, comforted; the doubtfull, reſolued; and Seruants enfranchiſed. There is the way and the truth, and the Key which openeth the Kingdome of Heauen to the faithfull, releaſing them from ſinne: becauſe the Goſpell is the Teſtament, and new Couenant of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. He is both New and Eternall, that waxeth not old, and faileth not for euer. For he hath been and is the Mediatour, and he hath ratified and confirmed the Scriptures by his death: accompliſhing in them, plenarie, and intire remiſſion of all preuarications, that remained vnder the firſt Teſtament.

The praiſe of the word of God.

The power of the ſcriptures

Of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

The Scripture is called the Goſpell, that is to ſay, good and glad tydings: becauſe therin Ieſus Chriſt is declared, to be the onely, naturall, and eternall Son of the liuing God, and was made Man for vs, to make vs the Sons of God his Father by adoption. In like manner, he is our Sauiour, in whom intirely lyeth our Redemption, Peace, Iuſtice, Sanctification, Saluation and life. He dyed for our ſinnes, and roſe againe for our Iuſtification. He aſcended vp into Heauen, to make our entrance thither. He tooke poſſeſſion for vs, and in our name; euermore to aſſiſt vs before his Father, as our Aduocate and perpetuall Sacrificer. He ſitteth on his right hand, as conſtituted King, Lord, and Maiſter ouer all: to the end, that he might repaire all things both in heauen and on earth, which none other elſe was able to doe. He was the great Ambaſſadour, ſent from his Father, here below to performe the ſaluation of all men. All things are demonſtrated, declared, written, and ſigned in his Teſtament; whereby hee hath made vs heires of the Kingdome of God his Father, and appointed vs his will, to put the ſame in execution he being: the only way, life, and ſalnation. In breefe, if we haue him with vs, we ſhall finde nothing ſo accurſſed, but it ſhal be bleſſed by him; nothing ſo execrable, but it ſhall bee ſanctified; nothing ſo wicked, but it ſhall turne to our good.

The Goſpell and meaning thereof.

The great benefits receiued by Ieſus Chriſt.

The great Ambaſſadour from the Father.

This is *Iſaac*, the dearely beloued Sonne of his Father; who was offered in ſacrifice; and yet (notwithſtanding) could not be ouercome by death. This is the vigilant Shepheard *Iacob*, which had ſo great care of the Sheepe committed to his keeping. This is the good, louing, and pittiful *Ioſeph*, who accounted it no ſhame to him, to acknowledge his poore Brethren, euen in his greateſt glory. This is the chiefe Sacrificer and Byſhop *Melchiſedech*, who made the eternall Sacrifice once for all, and for all the ſinnes of the World. This is the Soueraigne Law-giuer *Moyſes*, writing his Law in the Table of our hearts, by his ſanctifying Spirit. This is the faithfull guide and Captain *Ioſuah*, that conducteth vs to the Land of Promiſe. This is the Noble and vertuous King *Dauid*, ſubiecting (by his hand) all rebellious powers.

Figures of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.
Iſaac.
Iacob.
Ioſeph.
Melchiſedech
Moyſes.
Ioſuah.
Dauid.

This is the Magnificent and Triumphant King *Salomon*, gouerning his Kingdom in peace and proſperitie. And this is the ſtrong and vertuous *Sampſon*, who (by his owne death) ouerthrew all his enemies. He hath paied the debt for all mankind; and he to whom no death was due, hath yet for vs endured moſt bitter and cruell death.

Salomon.
Sampſon.

Hee that was innocent, was written downe among malefactours. Hee was ranked among debtors, that was free frō any kind of debt, and therfore payed the debt of Nature. And when he ſuffered death without any deſeruing; hee deliuered from death all ſuch as had deſerued it. And when he was vniuſtly apprehended; he deliuered out of priſon, ſuch as were there iuſtly detained. Behold (O bitter death) the obligation of nature diſcharged. Behold it faſt fixed vnto his Croſſe: Behold the Enſignes of ſinne there torne in pieces: Behold no more memory of any mallicious ſubſcription. For the eyes of his body, paid the debt of thoſe eyes that had wickedly wandred. His eares made ſatisfaction, for thoſe which had liſtned to impure perſwaſions. Likewiſe, his tongue

Theodoret the *Cyprit* biſhop, in his Sermōs on the prouidence of God

The benefit receiued by Chriſts croſſe

tongue, handes, and other members, satisfied for those members of Man, that had committed all their seuerall euilles. Seeing then that so great a debt is discharged, it remaineth verie conuenientlie; that such as continued Prisoners therefore, should bee deliuered out of prison, enioying their auncient libertie, and to returne home into their first borne Countrey.

The maine debt discharged.

The Authors Conclusion.

To conclude, it is he that hath regenerated vs in liuing hope, redeemed vs out of darknesse, and humbled himselfe, to exalt vs. Hee became a Seruant, to set vs free from seruice; became poore, to enrich vs; was solde, that we might be redeemed; was made a Captiue, for our deliuerance; and was condemned, that we might be acquitted. For our Benediction, hee was made Malediction; the Obligation of Sinne, for our righteousnesse; and vtterly disfigured, to bring vs into a perfect figure.

The triumphs of the death of Iesus Christ.

He died for our life; so that (by him) rudenesse became sweetnesse; angers appeased; darkenesse illumined; In-iustice made righteousnesse; weakenesse made vertuously strong; discomfort consolation; Sinne impeached; contempt dispised; feare assured; debt discharged; labour asswaged; sorrow reioyced; misfortune happinesse; difficultie easinesse; disorder conformitie; deuision vnity; ignominy fame; rebellion subiected; menaces out-menaced; Ambushes scattered; assaults confronted; power ouer-awed; Combats out-combatted; Warre ouer-warred; vengeance reuenged; torments tormented; damnation damned; perdition perished; abisme ingulffed; Hell harried; Death killed; and mortality made immortality. In briefe, Mercy hath swallowed vp all miserie, and goodnes all wickednesse; so that, wee may well glorifie our selues, and say now with Saint *Paule*: *O Death, where is thy sting? O Hell, where is thy Victorie?*

The glory of a true Christian.

1 Cor. 15. 55.

CHAP. XVI.

A profitable Interpretation for all Christians, of some words being Hebrue, Greek, and Syrian, contained in certaine places of the sacred Scriptures.

Interpretatiõ of Hebrue, Greeke, and *Syrian* words.

BEcause in many places of the holie Scriptures, and in the seruice vsed in the Church, wee finde some wordes deriued from the *Hebrue*, *Greeke*, and *Syrian*, vnderstood by few persons, to whom they seeme somewhat strange: I thought it a matter very necessary, to make a further relation of them in this manner. *Iesus* is an Hebrue name, which (by Interpretation) signifieth a Sauiour; the Etymology whereof, the Angell *Gabriell* declared to the blessed Virgine *Mary*, saying in Saint *Mathew*: *And his Name shall be Iesus, because hee shall saue his people from their sinnes*. There was one named *Iesus*, a great Priest, the Sonne of *Iosedech*, who figured Iesus Christ our Sauiour; as likewise *Zorobabell*, who was of his royall Linage, and (according to spirituall intelligence) signifyed him. *Iosedech* is turned (saith Saint *Hierome*) יהוצדק, that is to say, God צדק Iust. In like manner, Iesus Christ is the Sonne of the Iust GOD. *Messias* is an Hebrue word, which signifieth as much as Christ in Greeke; and both of them are interpreted *Annointed*. Saint *Augustine* writeth, that *Messias* signifieth in the *Punicke* Language, as much as *Annointed*; and the Hebrue, Punicke, and Syrian tongues, do come very neere and resemble one another. The Patriarches (in the Olde Testament) were called Christes, of whom it is written in the hundred and fift Psalme; *Touch not mine Annointed, and doe my Prophets no harme*. And in the first Booke of *Paralipomenon*, or the Chronicles, al those which departed or came out of *Ægipt*, were cald Christs. The same S. *Augustin* saith, that the word *Christus* commeth of *Chrismata*: because as the ancient Kings were anointed with holy

Hierom. sup. S. Math. Cap. 2.

Aug. de verb. Apost. Serm. 3. Et cont. Pelag. Lib. 2.

August. sup. Agge. Cap. 1.

Aug sup. Ioan. Tract.

Conference of languages.

Psal. 105. 15.

1 Reg. 12. 19

Aug. in Serm. clxxxi. de Temp.

holy Oyle; ſo our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt was filled with the infuſion of the bleſſed Spirit.

The Oyle of holy oyntmẽt Exod. 30. 25.

VVe read in the thirtith Chapter of *Exodus*, of the Prieſt-hoodes vnction, or the Oyle of holy Oyntment, wherewith (afterward) the Prieſtes (in *Leuiticus*) are ſaid to be annointed. Then there was another Oyle, where-with Kinges were annointed in their Kingdomes, and whereof the Prophet *Eſay* maketh mention in his forty fiue Chapter: *The Lord ſpake theſe things to his annointed Cyrus.* Yet there was a Propheticall vnction, wherewith *Helias* was commanded to annoint *Heliſeus: And Heliſeus, the Sonne of Shaphat of Abell Moholaſh, ſhalt thou annoint to bee Prophet in thy roome.* But aboue all other kindes of vnctions, there is one called Spiritual; *The vnction of Gladneſſe*, where-with our bleſſed Sauiour was annointed, and it was ſaid to him: *For this cauſe, thy God hath annointed thee with the Oyle of Gladneſſe, aboue thy Fellowes.* I hold this word Fellowes, to concerne them, to whom S. *Iohn* ſpeaketh in his ſecond Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle, ſaying: *But yee haue an Oyntment from that holy one, and know all things.* And a little after, he addeth: *But the annointing which ye receiued of him, remaineth in you, and ye haue no neede that any man teach you.*

Annointing of Kings. Eſay 45. 1.

Propheticall Vnction.

1 Reg. 19. 16.

The Oyle of gladneſſe. Pſalme 45. 8.

1. Ioh. 2. 20 27

Emanuell is an *Hebrue* word, and ſignifieth as much, as *God with vs.* Our Sauiour obtained this name, by the effect which followed, to wit: that hee who was God, pleaſed to cloath himſelfe with our fleſh, and to conuerſe with vs. *Nazarian* or *Nazarite*, ſignifieth Holy. The ſeauenty Interpreters turned the word *Nazarite*, to *Sanctified*; and *Symmachus*, to *Separates*. *Rabbi* is interpreted Maiſter, or Lord. *Paracletus* is a Greeke word, ſignifying Aduocate, Doctor, Comforter. *Paſchall* is an Hebrue Vocable, and a Greeke name, as Saint *Hierome* affirmeth, expreſſing as much in ſpeaking, as paſſage, or Paſſeouer. *Epiphany* in Greeke, ſounded apparition, manifeſtation, or demonſtration, in our vulgar tongue: becauſe as on that day, our Redeemer was made knowne by a Starre.

Hierom. ſup. cap 9. de Eſay.

Augu. in Serm. 4. do Natiuit.

πορφύλυμ-ος.

Hierom. ſup. Ioan. cap. 14.

The wiſe mens Star.

Pentecoſt is a Greeke word, and is as much in expreſſion, as fifty; becauſe, from the Reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſt, vntill the time of this ſollemnity, there were fifty daies of Interuallum. *Scenofagia*, is an Hebrue word, declaring the making of Tabernacles or Tents, which was a very ſollemne Feaſtiuall. *Encænia* were the Feaſt daies among the *Iewes*, cald the Feaſt of *Dedication* of the Temple of *Ieruſalem*. *Kyria-eleiſon*, is a word compoſed of κύριε, that is to ſay, *Lord*, and of ἐλέησον, that is, *Haue mercy*. *Alleluya*, are alſo two wordes in Hebrue, which ſignifie, *Praiſe God*: for (as Saint *Hierome* teſtifieth) there are ten ſeuerall names, whereby the Hebrues tearmed God. * *Antiphona* in Greeke, is a Song deliuered at times, and it may be turned into one word, as the refret, burthen, or downe of any Song.

Pentecoſt.

The Feaſt of Tabernacles.

The Feaſt of Dedication.

Ten names for God.

* *Vox reciproca duobus Chorus alternatim Pſallentibus.*

Homilie, is a Greeke word, ſignifying, as when we vſe to ſay, a Sermon, Cannon, or Rule. *Oſanna* in the Hebrue Language, is as much, as if we ſhould ſay; *O Lord ſaue me. Sabbahot* is thus interpreted; *Lord Almighty, Lord of vertue*, or of *Armies and Hoaſts*. *Euchariſtia* is a Greeke diction, thus conuerted, into *Giuing of Thankes*, and intending alſo the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper. *Euangelium*, or *Goſpell*, ſignifyeth *Good*, or *Glad Tydings*. *Paradiſe* in Greeke, and a Garden engraffed with Apples, is all one. *Parable* is a Greeke word, ſignifying a ſimilitude or compariſon. *Symbole* is an aſſembly or congregation; as when a man putteth his part in common, and euery one hath his ſhare or proportion. *Peter*, in Greeke, ſignifieth a Flint-ſtone, or Rocke-ſtone, as *Cephas* dooth the like in the *Syrian* tongue: hauing this implication, of ſolidity and firmeneſſe, becauſe Saint *Peter* was firme in confeſſion of the truth. *Phylacteria* is a Greeke word, ſignifying keeping or preſeruing; becauſe in warily-kept Scroles of Parchment, the memories of the *Iewes* Lawes were conſerued.

The Iewes bearing of Willowbranches.

Euchariſtia.

Euangelium.

Similitude or compariſon.

Scrolles of Parchment among the Phariſes.

That which the Greekes called a Sinagogue or Church; we may well expound to be an Aſſembly. *Mammon*, according to the opinion of S. *Hierom*, is a *Syrian* name, of the Singular number, and Maſculine Gender, ſignifying Riches. *Ethnicke* is a Greeke word, ſignifying a man that is a Gentile, Pagan, or ſome other Sect. *Proſelite* is a Greek word alſo, and (by Interpretation) is as much

Hierom. ſup. Math. Cap. 17.

The Iewes manner of a Proſelite.

much to say, as a Stranger. And the Iewes vsed to tearm him so, that (being of another Nation) conuerted to their Law and Religion. *Scandalize*, is a Greeke Verbe, and valueth as much, as to offend: euen as *Angaria* (a *Persian* word) signifieth to smite and expulse.

The place of dead mens skuls.

Golgotha is *Syrian* Vocable, which Saint *Hierome* declareth, to bee the place of Baldnesse or Nakednesse, tearmed in Latine *Caluaria*.

The Mount Caluary.

So was a place in *Ierusalem* called, by the Mount *Sion*, towards the North: becausse there lay the heads of such as were condemned to death, and our Sauiour Iesus Christ being crucified in that place, did there accomplish the saluation of all mankind.

The Treasure of the Temple among the Iewes.

Corkona, or *Gazaphylacium*, composed of words *Persian* and *Greeke*, relateth a Chest or Coffer, wherin the Mony was reposed, giuen for vse of the Ministers which serued in the Temple. According to that which was said: *He that serueth at the Altar, ought to liue of the Altar*, for *Corbone* signifyeth a guift. *Eleemosyna* or Almes being a Greeke word, implyeth Pitty or Mercy. *Diabolus*, Deuill, is interpretated a Calumniatour. *Beelzebub*, is the Father of Flyes, as by the word Fly an Idoll is specified. For S. *Hierome* enstructeth, that *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, was among the *Hebrues*, as the Word Idoll with the *Greekes*. And *Zebub*, Fly, as if a man should say, the Idol of a Fly: for εἴδωλον is a simulacre or statue.

Hierom. sup. Ioan. Cap. 7.

Visions by dreames.

That which the Greekes called *Phantosma*, and the Latines *Spectrum*; wee tearme a vision by dreame, or else some vgly dreadfull Image. But to conclude, *Amen* is an Hebrue word, signifying so much as So be it: but when it is found to be repeated two seuerall times; as *Amen, Amen*; then it implyeth *Verilie, Verily*, for confirmation of a truth.

CHAP. XVII.

Examples of grosse errors in Polititians, and worldly wise men. Also, how farre a man may trust a reconciled enemy.

LEwes the eleauenth, King of *France*, and one of the most politique Princes that France euer had, being at war with his owne Brother *Charles*, Duke of *Normandy*; *Frances*, Duke of *Brittaine*; and *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and desiring greatly to separate the last from the other two, to the end that he might be the better reuenged on them: sollicited him by his Ambassadors, to come to conferre with him. Which the Duke yeilded vnto, so that the meeting might bee in a Towne of his owne, in the frontiers of *Flanders* and *France*, for his better security; where-with the King was well contented. The meeting therfore beeing appointed at *Peronne* (whether the Duke was come with his Army) and safe-conduct sent to the King, by a Letter of the Dukes owne hand: the King went thither without any forces or Guard, to shew the confidence hee had in the Duke, to the end, to oblige him the more, and to gaine his good will. But the Duke seeing now his Enemy in his owne power, and vnderstanding at the same time, that *Liege* was reuolted from him, by the sollitation of certaine Ambassadours of the King: tooke him Prisoner, and would not release him, vntill he had recouered the Towne of *Liege*, whither he forced him to beare him company, with no small danger of his person. And in the end, hauing made him to grant to some hard conditions, in fauour of his confederates (against whom the King had especially plotted that conference and treaty) he released him.

Phillip de Commines de verb. gest. Lodouici, 11. in Cap. 33.

Lewes the 11 king of *France* ouertaken in his owne pollicy.

Liege reuolted from the Duke of Bourgundy.

Now then, who seeth not in this example, how grossely this great Politike erred in two thinges, wherein it might be presumed, that a man (of any experience) could not haue beene deceiued. The one, that hauing imployed certain Agents or Ambassadors, to stirre vp the Towne of *Liege* against the Duke: hee did not countermaund it, when he resolued to put himselfe into his handes. For who could be so simple, as not to consider; that if the practise should take effect (as it did) whiles he should be in his power: not onely the peace and amity which he desired to make, would be hindred thereby; but also his person endangered? For that the Duke should haue iust cause to detaine him, at least, vntil he had done him reparation of the wrong.

The manifest error of King Lewes in two kinds.

The first part of his error.

Consideration is the conduct to safety

The

The other note of the Kings great folly.

The other error was, that he would (vppon any security or safe conduct) put himselfe into the courtesie and mercy of his Enemy, without any vrgent and ineuitable necessity: knowing how little assurance is many times in wordes or Oathes, when present commoditie (eyther priuate or publique) is offered by the breach thereof. Besides that, his own rule (which he was wont to say, & was all the Latine hee would haue his Sonne to learne, to wit; *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, Hee which knoweth not how to dissemble, knoweth not how to raigne*) might haue mooued him to haue doubted in his Enemy, that which he practised in himselfe, and was apt enough to suspect in his best friends: And this he had iust cause to feare in the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom hee had deceiued before by a false composition, which hee made with him at *Constans*, and brake presently after: whereby he had both incited, and also taught him, to pay him with Money of the same stampe. Wherein may bee noted, as well his notable error, as also Gods prouidence and Iustice, in punnishing his double dealing with the like, according to the saying of our Sauiour. *Qua mensura, &c. What measure you shall make or giue to others, the same shall bee measured or made vnto you againe.*

What learning K. *Lewes* the eleuenth required in his Sonne.

Math. 7. 2.

An example no lesse notable, both of the one and other, may be obserued in *Cæsar Borgiæ*, Duke of *Valence*, whose great wisedome *Machiauell* so much admireth; that he maketh him a Mirrour and Patterne for a Prince: whom hee might (more iustly) haue made a Mirrour of mischiefe, and patterne of all perfidiousnesse, cruelty, and impietie. This *Cæsar*, being (after the death of his Father) spoyled of all the estates, which he had by force and fraud laid together in *Italie*, and in danger (as he thought) of his life, or liberty at least, by the displeasure of Pope *Iulius* the second, then gouerning: resolued to flye (for his security) to *Hernando Gonçales*, Generall in the Kingdome of *Naples*, for *Ferdinando*, King of *Arragon* and *Castile*. Forgetting, or not considering, the manifold causes of offence which hee had giuen to him, and to the King his Maister in sundry occasions. And so, trusting to his safe conduct, hee put himselfe into his hands, and was (shortly after) sent by him Prisoner into *Spaine*, by order from the King. Whereof *Gonçales* excused himselfe, pretending, that his Faith and safe conduct, ought not to hinder the execution of the King his Maisters commandement, against whom (he said) he could giue no security. And so the Arch-politick of his time, who had by subtilty and treachery ouerthrowne very many: was himselfe (by Gods iust iudgment) ouer-reached, and (as I may well tearme it) tript in his owne play, to his vtter ruine and ouerthrow, as (vpon another occasion) shal be declared more amply hereafter.

Micha. Princ. *Cæsar Borgia* Duke of *Valence*, the patterne of *Machiuels* Prince, ouerthrowne by his owne pollicy.

Guicciard. Hist. Lib. 6.

Cæsar Borgia the Arch politicke of his time.

Therefore, what was become of all his accustomed craft? Where were all his profound pollicies, that excellent iudgement, that sharpnesse of wit, and those rare inuentions, which made him such a worthy patterne of *Machiauels* Princes? For, whether we respect true wisedome, or the common craft and subtiltie of worldly men (which is now commonlie called *Machiuillian* pollicie) he erred in the principles of both. For subtilty and craft (which excludeth all Charity) teacheth so to distrust; as neuer to trust, nor to pardon an Enemie: nor to leaue to hate, hurt, and reuenge, when opportunity is offered, notwithstanding any reconciliation. Besides that, the mallice of men so farre extendeth it selfe in such cases: that Politikes hold it not secure for him that doth offend any man, to trust him euer after. To which purpose, the *Italian* Prouerb saith: *Chi offende, non perdona mai*. Whereby it is signified, that he which dooth any notable iniury to another man, can neuer after (with his owne safety) trust him, or yet spare him, if he may ouerthrow him; for feare least (at some time or other) he may seeke to be reuenged. So then, this Arch-politicke (according to the rules of his owne art and profession) should neuer haue put his life into the hands, of one whom he had once offended, and much lesse of an enemy reconciled.

How farre a man may trust a reconciled enemy.

The large extendure of mens mallice

An Italian Prouerbe.

A lesson for crafty Politicians.

And as for true wisedome, though it euer keepe it selfe within the bounds of Charitie, and teacheth vs, not onelie to pardon, but also to loue our enemies; yea, and to doe them what plea-

Concerning true wisedom.

sure wee conueniently may: yet it so ioyneth *The prudence of the Serpent, with the simplicity of the Doue*; that it warneth vs to be beware of them, and not to trust our liues or states in their handes, when we may auoyd it. Remembring euer the counsell of *Seneca*, who saith: *Neuer beleeue that he will be faithfull vnto thee, who of an Enemy is become thy Friend.*

Seneca Epist. 5. A reconciled enemy not to be trusted.

Which also the Holy-Ghost teacheth in the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, where it is said. *Neuer beleeue or trust thy enemie, for as old Iron groweth euerie day more rusty then other; so encreaseth his rancour. And if he humble himselfe, and crouch vnto thee: yet haue an eye vnto him, and keepe thy selfe from him. Place him not neere vnto thee, least he put thee out of thy place, and make thee know (to thy cost) how true my wordes are.* And again to the same purpose, *Salomon* saith in his Prouerbs. *When thy Enemy shall speake softly vnto thee* (that is to say, shal flatter thee, or speake thee faire) *then trust him not, for then is his heart full of mischiefe.* In all which, the holy Ghost enstructeth, and aduiseth vs to bee wary, but not malicious; to bee circumspect, but not suspitious; to haue an eye to a reconciled Enemy, but not to hate or hurt him, or to reuenge olde wrongs.

Eccle. 12,10, 11, 12.

Prouer. 12,25

Aduise giuen by the blessed Spirit.

Therefore *Salomon* counterpeyseth the fore-saide Doctrine, with precepts of compassion, and charitie towardes our Enemies, saying. *When thine Enemie falleth, bee not glad thereof, and let not thine heart reioyce in his ruine; least the Lord seeing it, be displeased with thee, and turne his wrath from him.* And in another place. *If thine Enemy* (saith he) *be hungry, giue him meat, if he be thirsty, giue him drinke: For thou shalt lay coals vpon his head, and our Lord shall reward thee.* Thus farre this King and Prophet, whose words also Saint *Paule* reciteth, and our Sauiour confirmeth by his Commaundement, saying: *Loue your Enemies, and doe good to them which hate you, &c.* And the like in sundry other places.

Proue. 24, 17.

Pro. 25, 21, 22

Rom. 12, 14.

Thus we see, how true Wisedome and Christian Charitie doe concurre, and how the prudence of the Serpent, is to bee ioyned with the simplicity of the Doue. In so distrusting our Enemies, that we leaue not to loue thē, and yet louing them so, that we trust them no further, then may stand with our owne safety; euer fearing the mallice of mans Nature, which is so abstruse and hidden, that no man can bee assured of his best Friend, but much lesse of a reconciled enemy.

In what manner we may distrust our enemies.

In which respect, it is Wisedome so to loue and trust our Friends, that wee remember withall; that they may become our Enemies. And therefore *Seneca* aduiseth vs so to liue: *That our actions may bee as iustifiable before our Friendes, as before our Enemies.* To which purpose also, the Holy Ghost in the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, saith: *Ab inimicis tuis separare, & ab amicis tuis attende. Separate thy selfe from thine Enemies, and beware euen of thy Friends.* And in another place. *A filijs tuis & domesticis attende. Take heede of thine owne Children, and of thy Houshold-Seruants.* Which neuertheless, is not to bee vnderstood, as though a Man should trust no body; which were not onely a miserable case, but also extreame follie. For, as *Seneca* saith. *It is as foule a fault, and as great folly in a Man, to beleeue and trust no body; as to beleeue and trust euery Man. And many* (saith he) *whiles they feare to be deceiued; doe teach men how to deceiue them, vrging them iustly therevnto, by suspecting them wrongfully.* The which *Plutarch* also confirmeth, saying: *That Fooles for lacke of wit, to prouide other-wayes for their owne securitie; doe thinke it the safest and wisest way, to distrust all men, and so (in the ende) they procure their owne ruine.* Therefore, in this point of confidence and diffidence, the wisedome consisteth (as all vertue dooth) in the meane, to wit: that wee neither trust nor distrust all Men, neyther commit our liues and whole estates, to any Mans will and pleasure. But onely in case of necessitie, and then also, to make choise of approoued, wise, and vertuous friends; but neuer of a reconciled Enemy. And in this sence, it is well and wisely saide, that *Diffidentia est mater securitatis, Distrust is the Mother of Security.*

How to loue our friends.

Seneca Epist. 3.

Eccle. 6. 13.

Eccle. 32, 22.

Seneca Epist. 3. No lesse folly to distrust all men, then to trust euery man.

Plutar. in Dion.

Of confidēce & diffidence.

How distrust may be called the mother of security.

But now perhaps you will aske me, how the rule of perfect Charitie, and

of

How distrust and suspition may stand with true prudence and charity. 1. Cor. 13, 5. *Chrisost. Hom. 33. in 1. Cor. 13.*

of true prudence can agree herein? Seeing Charity (as Saint *Paule* saith) *Non cogitat malum, Doth thinke no euill*; that is to say (as Saint *Chrysostome* expoundeth it) *suspecteth no euil*. How then can I distrust my reconciled enemy, but I must suspect that hee will betray mee? Whereto I answer, that two things are to be considered in Charity. The one, that it beginneth at a mans owne selfe; for no man is bound so to loue another, that hee hurt himselfe. The other, that as Saint *Paule* testifieth of Charitie; *Non agit perperam, It dooth nothing foolishlie or vnaduisedly*. For as Saint *Chrysostome* saith, expounding the same place; *Charitas non est temeraria, &c. Charity is not rash and heady, for it maketh a man wise, graue, and constant.*

1. Cor. 13, 5.

Chrisost. vbi. sup.

How suspition is excluded from prudent circumspection.

Now then, to shew how suspition is excluded from this prudent circumspection, which Charity admitteth: is to be vnderstood, that I may bee wary and circumspect, though I doe not suspect, but onelie vpon a generall supposition, of mans ordinary frailty and mallice, and the inscrutability of his hart.

In such a doubtfull case I may take the surest way, to wit; that although I verily hope, that my reconciled Enemy be so good and honest a Man, that there resteth no mallice in his heart towardes me: Neuertheless, I will be so considerate and prouident, that, put the case he should haue the will for to hurt me; yet he shall not haue the opportunitie, or occasion to doe it by any Act of mine. In which sence, our English Prouerbe may be well vnderstood, which saith: *If my Friend betray me, I beshrew him; but if mine enemie betray me, I beshrew my selfe*. And this aduised and wary proceeding, is so farre from the breach of any Charity: that it standeth well with all kinde of loue and friendshippe; betwixt Friend and Friend, Father and Child, Brother and Brother, Man and Wife, Prince and Subiect. And therefore, in respect that it seemeth to include some kinde of suspition, and (withall) admitteth all charitable affection: it is called by some, *Beneuola suspitio, A friendlie or louing suspition*. In which sence, Saint *Chrysostome* saith: *Maleuolæ suspitiones sunt calumniantium; beneuolæ suspitiones sunt gubernantium. Mallicious suspitions are proper to Calumniatours; beneuolous and friendlie suspitions, belong vnto Gouernours.*

An ancient witty English Prouerb.

Chrisost. in Hom. de S. Susanna.

His return to D. *Valantine.*

Therefore, to returne to Duke *Valentine*. Hereby we may see, that he was destitute, not onely of true wisedome: but also of all wit and reasonable discourse, when he, in whose handes, no Brother or Friend could euer be secure; expected security in the handes of his Enemy, and perswaded himselfe, that Faith should bee kept with him, who had neuer kept it with any man. But because I shall haue more occasion to speake of him heereafter; I will passe to Moderne example; of mans ignorance and weakenesse, in the miserable end of *Monsieur Chastillion*, Admirall of *France*, massacred at *Paris*: who for the great opinion of his Wisedome and prudence, had no meane conduct of chiefe affaires in *France*, some yeares in the first troubles of King *Charles* the ninth.

The great Admiral of *France.*

Monsieur Castillion fought his owne destruction.

After some years of cruell warre, betwixt the Catholiques and the Protestants; peace was concluded in the year 1570. And for the better assurance therof, a marriage was agreed on, betwixt the King of *Nauarre* (afterward, the most Christian King of France) and the Sister of *Charles* the ninth, then King of *France*. All the chiefe heads and leaders of the Protestants were inuited to the Court, as well for the solleminization of the marriage, as for confirmation of the peace. Whereupon, there was held an assembly of the Protestants at *Rochell*, to determine: whether it were conuenient, that they should all goe to the Court, or no. And it seeming good vnto them, that some of the principall should stay at home (especially the Lord Admirall) to preuent the worst, in case there should be any double dealing on the Kinges part: The Admirall onely was of opinion, that it was conuenient they al, and especially himselfe should goe, and alleaged many reasons to that purpose. Yet finding them (neuertheless) vnwilling therto; he did put them in minde, how often hee had yeilded to them (contrary to his owne opinion) in diuers consultations. And therefore requested them, that they would condiscend vnto him: not doub-

The massacre of the Protestants at *Paris* 1570.

Boldnesse and vndaunted spirit, working against it selfe.

him; yea, and forced him to make a dis-ting, but it would turne to the publike benefit of their cause. Well, to bee briefe, they yeilded vnto him: rather to satisfie his importunity, then for any liking they had therto, and so he went with the rest: And within a few dayes after their arriuall at *Paris*; both he and they all (by damnable treachery) except some two or three that escaped by chance, were slaine by order from the King. Who doth not here behold, an euident example of mans weakenesse and ignorance in pollicy, especial in the Admirall, who hauing in so many occasions (before this time of his ouerthrow) shewne himselfe so prudent and prouident; that he could neither be ouercom by force, nor circūuented by fraud: yet had not so much wit, as to follow the aduise of others, but thought it safe and secure for him and them, to aduenture (as a man may say) al their goods in one bottome, yea, and without any necessity, to put themselues to the mercy of a Soueraign King, whom they had highly offended. And this may be the more wondred at in the Admirall, for that in the beginning of the second troubles, he wisely foresaw the like danger & inconuenience to himselfe, and warily auoyded it. For the King hauing gotten some inckling of new broyles intended, and fearing most the Admirall, in respect of his great iudgement and experience, both in matters of war and peace: sent vnto him *Monsieur du Tore* his Cozin, to aduertise him that he had great and important affaires to communicate with him, wherein hee would gladlie haue his aduise, and therefore desired him to repaire to the Court with speed. The Admirall hearing the message, and suspecting (as it should seeme) that the King meant no good towards him: said to *Monsieur du Tore*, that he should tell the King from him; *That there were no Count Egmontes in France*. Meaning, that he would not so easily suffer his head to be cut off, as Count *Egmonte* had done lately before in *Flanders*; and this was all the aunswere hee would giue him. Whereby it appeareth, how circumspect and suspitious he was of the king, when (as yet) he had giuen him far lesse cause of offence, then afterwards, when he had the second time rebelled against

The errour of the politicke Admirall of of France.

Estien Pasquier lib. 5. Epist.

The answere of the Admirall of *France* to the King.

honorable peace. And yet notwithstanding, he could not be disswaded, from putting himselfe, and all the rest of his friends into his hands. So blinde is the wisedome and pollicy of man, when God determineth to punnish him: for then, the first blow that God commonly giueth him, is in the braine, whereby he taketh from him his iudgement, that he may run headlong vpon his own ruine. And as the Psalmist saith of vngodly men: *That they are ouer-taken in the craftie wilines, which they themselues haue deuised and imagined.*

The first blow that GOD giueth to a wicked man when hee will destroy him, is in the brain

Psalme 10. 2.

Now, it shall not be amisse to consider here, by occasion of the former examples; whether the most valiant, prudent, and pious Emperour *Charles* the fift, committed an errour or no, when (after many yeares warre, betwixt him and *Frances*, the first of that name, king of France, and the said Kings disgrace at *Pauia*, and his imprisonment in *Spaine*) he passed notwithstanding thorough Fraunce, vpon a safe conduct giuen by the King, to giue remedy to the tumults lately before raised in *Gant*. Wherein, the good successe, as wel of his safe passage, as of the speedy pacification of those troubles, may seem to be no small Argument of his prudent designment. Neuertheless, weighing the matter according to reason of State, and not according to the successe (which depending wholy on the hand of God, is many times good and fortunate, though the counsell and designment bee imprudent) I cannot approue his resolution therein, for the reasons before declared, and the extreame danger that he exposed himselfe vnto, and the small profit he could expect to receiue thereby; in comparison of the dammage that might haue succeeded to him and his estate, if he had bin made away, or detained. For, although it imported him very much, presently to quench that fire kindled in *Flanders*, before it should grow to a greater combustion: yet the danger thereof was so great, as would haue beene in the inconuenience of his death or imprisonment, if it should haue chanced.

The passage of Charls the fift thotow France into Flanders. *Surius in Commentario rerum in orbe gestarū. Anno. 1539.*

Consideratiō according to State.

Quenching the fire begun in *Flanders*.

For, the reuolt of the Country might haue beene remedied, either by force, or perhaps by faire meanes, as long as hee had life and liberty: but the other had

Liberty and life are the assistants of many great occasions.

beene

beene remedileſſe, and the great detriment that could befall him, and therefore not to be aduentured vpon, but only when it could not be auoided. And this (no doubt) was his owne opinion when he came into *France*, being admoniſhed of his great danger, not onely by his Siſter, then Queene of *Fraunce:* but alſo (as ſome men thinke) by the Kings owne Son the *Dolphin*, who, in reſpect of the good affection he did beare him, from the time that he had been hoſtage for his Father in *Spaine*; caſt himſelfe vp behind the Emperour on his Horſe, at his arriuall before he alighted, and clapping him vpon the ſhoulder (vnder colour to giue him a familiar welcome) ſaid openly and merrily to him; *Yeild thy ſelfe Emperour*: but after told him ſecretly in his eare, of the Counſels reſolution to ſtay him. Wherevpon, the Emperour thinking it neceſſary to gaine *Madame d'Eſtampes* (who was greatlie fauoured by the King, and thought to be his Enemy) took occaſion as he was talking with her, to let fall before her a rich Diamond, as it were by chance, and when ſhe in courteſie tooke it vp to reſtore it vnto him: he would not receiue it againe at her handes, but entreated her to accept it as his guift. Whereby (as alſo by his good perſwaſions) it was thought hee procured her friendſhip, which concurring with the endeauors of his Siſter the Queene of France, and his owne good dilligences done with diuers of his Counſell; was thought to facilitate his eſcape.

But who, or whatſoeuer was the meanes thereof, it is not to be doubted; but that it proceeded principally, from the prouidence and mercy of Almightie God towards him. To which purpoſe it is to be conſidered, that it was reported, not onely by his owne Seruants; but alſo by the Ambaſſadors of *Flanders*, who attended vpon him in all that iourney: that hee ſpent two or three houres euery night in prayer on his knees, and as much euery morning ſecretly in his Chamber.

In regard whereof, and of the great ſeruice he had done, and was to doe to Gods Church: no doubt but God did eſpecially fauour and protect him. Wherof alſo it pleaſed his Diuine Maieſty alſo to giue publike teſtimony, by deliuering him twice (while he was in *France*) from euident daunger of death. One time, from ſtifeling in a ſmoake, that vpon a ſudden was raiſed (in great aboundance) by an artificiall fire, vpon a ſtaire as he was going from his chamber. The other time, from the fall of a great boord, that did light (ſome part of it) vpon his head, and brake it. And although it might haue been conceiued, that theſe thinges proceeded of ſome practiſe (in which reſpect, the King would haue punniſhed the Authours thereof with death, for better ſatisfaction of the Emperour;) yet hee would not ſuffer it, but obtained their pardons.

By theſe daungers, and the happy eſcapes of the Emperour (inferiour in wiſedome to no Prince in his time) three thinges may euidently be gathered. The firſt, his errour; the ſecond, the infirmity and weakeneſſe of mans wit; the third, Gods moſt merciſull and prouident care, in the preſeruation of his Seruants, whom he ſuffereth ſometime to erre, and to fall into great difficulties and dangers: partly for their humiliation, and to exerciſe their Faith, patience & confidence in him, for their greater good; and partly to make manifeſt, as well to themſelues, as to all others, the louing care which he hath of them. And that, as the Pſalmiſt ſaith; *Salus iuſtorum à Domino, & protector eorum in tempore tribulationis*; *The ſaluation of the righteous commeth of the Lord, and he is their Protector in the time of trouble*. Heere then may all Princes learne of this prudent and pious Emperour, what is their beſt remedy in like caſes of danger, to wit: to haue recourſe (as he had) to Almighty God, and to craue his aſſiſtance, ſaying with the worthy King and Prophet; *Oculi mei ſemper ad Dominum quoniam ipſe euellet de laqueo pedes meos*: *Mine eyes are euer looking vnto the Lord, for he will deliuer my feet out of the ſnare.*

The danger that Charles the fift eſcaped in paſſing throrow *France*. *Surius ibidem.*

Madame d' Eſtampes the Kings fauorite.

The great piety and deuotion of the Emperour *Charls* the fift. *Surius ibidem.*

The Emperors admirable eſcape twice from death. *Surius ibidem.*

The Emperor inferiour in wiſedome to no Prince in his time.

Why God ſuffereth his ſeruants to fall into dangers.

Pſal. 37. 40.

Pſalme 25. 14

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *Of Errors committed by whole Senates, namely of Rome and Venice, &c.*

WHat maruaile is it, that perticular men (bee they neuer so wise) are ouerseen in matters of State: seeing that the most wise and graueſt Senates, haue also erred therein many times? Whereof I will (for breuities sake) alleadge onely three or foure examples. *Cicero* reporteth, that the Senate of *Rome* hauing taken great summes of Money, of certaine tributarie Citties, to make them free: forced them afterward to pay their old tribute, without restoring them the Mony that they had paid for their freedome. Which he saith, was *Turpe imperio, A shame to their Empire. Piratorum enim* (saith he) *melior fuit fides, quam Senatus: For the Faith of Pirats, was better then the Faith of the Senate.* This then being so great a fraud, that (in any wel-gouerned Common-wealth) it could not passe vnpunished in priuate men: must needes be a foule and shamefull fault in a whole Senate, not onely for the In-iustice of the fact; but also for the errour they committed in gouernment, to wit; in giuing to their Subiects, an example of fraudulent and deceiptfull dealing, which being authorised (as it were) by their publike Act, would the more easily insinuate it selfe into the Common-wealth, euen to the great detriment thereof. To which purpose, *Cicero* saith: *Princes and Gouernours, when they offend, doe not onelie endammage the Common-wealth, in that they are corrupted themselues; bnt also, in that they corrupt others, and hurt more by their euill example, then by the offence it selfe.*

Seeing then nothing can bee more pernitious to any State, then that fraud and In-iustice should haue course therin (for, as *Cicero* saith, *Faith is the foundation of Iustice, and Iustice the stay of State*) the Romaine Senate did erre most absurdly, in opening the gap to all kind of cozenage in the Common-wealth, by their owne bad example. Besides the losse of reputation, which must needes follow thereon to their Empire, as wel with their owne Subiects, as also with their Friends and Confederats. A thing so daungerous to State, that the same Senate (in former times beeing better aduised) did make restitution and reparation of like wronges, to recouer credite with their Friends and Confederates. And therefore they restored to the *Ardeatines*, a piece of Land which the people of *Rome* (against all reason and equity) adiudged and had taken to themselues some yeares before, when the said *Ardeatines*, and the *Aricinians* being in controuersy for that land; had remitted themselues and their cause to their iudgement.

Likewise at other times, the Senate resolued to deliuer most notable Men to their enimies; rather then to infringe Iustice, and incurre the infamie of fraud and deceipt. In which respect, *T. Verturius*, & *Spurius Posthumus*, both of them Consuls, and *T. Mutius*, & *Quintus Æmilius*, Tribunes of the people, were deliuered Prisoners to the *Samnites*: rather then the Senate would ratifie the peace they had made with thē. Besides that, the famous Consull, *M. Attillius Regulus*, being taken Prisoner in *Affricke*, and dismissed vpon condition, that the Prisoners of the *Carthagenians* should also be deliuered: was (by his owne motion) sent back by the Senate; becaus they neither thought good tō deliuer the Prisoners, nor yet to loose their credite and reputation of Iustice, by recouery of their Consull, contrarie to the condition.

But perhaps you will say, that the error which I here reproue, was committed when the Common-wealth was growne to corruption, and declined from the integrity of vertue and Iustice, wherein it flourished in former times. Therfore, let vs consider the same common-wealth in her purity, I meane in her beginning, about 120. yeares after the expulsion of the Kings. For althogh the Senate did (at that time) giue many notable examples of singuler prouidence and exact Iustice: yet it failed sometimes in both, to the great dammage of the State.

When

Cicero. in lib. 3. de Officijs.

An errour of the Senate of Rome.

A whole Senates errour exceedeth that of any priuate man.

Cicero. in lib. 5. de Legibus.

Cicero. in lib. de Officijs 2. et 2.

Restitution made by the Senate of Rome by the *Ardeatines.*

Tit. Liui. Dec. 1 Lib. 4. Idem. Dec. 1. Lib. 3.

The great care that the Romains had of their credit & reputation.

Cicero in lib. 3. de Officijs.

Romes Common-wealth growne to corruption.

Another error of the Romaine Senate.

When *Brennos* the Brittaine (as some say) being Captaine of the *Gauls* that passed into *Italy*, besiedged a Towne called *Clusium*, beyond the Alpes, and demanded of the Inhabitants some part of their Territory: the *Clusians* finding themselus too weake to resist them, craued succour of the *Romaines*, who sent Ambassadors to treate peaceably with the *Gauls* in their behalfe.

The siedge of *Clusium* by the Gaules.

During which treaty and siege, there chanced to passe some acte of Hostilitie, betwixt the *Gaules* & the *Clusians*, wherein the *Gaules* perceiued, that the Roman Ambassadors (contrary to the Lawe of Armes) had borne armes against them, and killed a principal personage of theirs. Wherupon, they presently sent to *Rome*, to enquire the Romaines to punish their Ambassadours, for reparation of the wrong which they had done them. But the Senators, although (as *Liuy* confesseth) they knew well enough, that the *Gaules* demanded no more then was reasonable: yet they were partly so partiall in behalfe of the Ambassadors; and partly so confident of their owne forces, that they not only refused to do them Iustice, but also made the same Ambassadors generals of an Army, to be sent in succour of the *Clusians*.

Tit. Liuius in Dec. 1 Lib. 5.

Great Iniustice done by the Romains.

Vppon the knowledge whereof, the *Gaules* were incensed with such fury, that calling God and man to witnesse of the wrong, they presently raised their siedge from *Clusium*, and went directlie in all hast to *Rome*, and ouerthrowing (by the way) the Armie of the Romaines, they entered the Cittie, sacked, spoiled, and burnt it, with the greatest damage & disgrace to their state, that euer the Romans receiued, in the space of aboue 1100. yeares after that Rome was built, I mean, vntill the first sacke thereof by the *Gothes*.

Rome sacked and spoyled by the Gauls.

Gods iudgement inflicted on the *Romaines*, for their iniustice and pride.

The which may be ascribed, partly to Gods iust Iudgement, in punishing their Iniustice, and partly to their error, in that they so much contemned, so huge an army of so valiant people, as to exasperate them by open iniuries, and to draw them vpon themselues with a redoubled furie. Whereas (in all reason of State) they should haue sought to pacify and diuert them by all conuenient meanes; considering, he is no Wiseman that feareth not the doubtfull euents of warre, especially at home, where the victorie of an enemy is most dangerous, and in case most of al, where the whole State was to bee aduentured, against an out-ragious multitude of desperate Vagabonds, that hadde nothing to loose. So that this errour, was no lesse costly to the Common-wealth, then inexcusable in the Senate.

A desperat hazard to fight against a beggerly multitude.

Heereto I might adde diuers examples of the Senate of *Venice*, to the which, *Guicciardine* saith: *It is fatall some yeares to be deceiued diuers times.* But two examples shall suffice. The first may bee their resolution, to make League with *Lewes* the twelth, King of *France*, to assist him in the Conquest of *Millaine*, against *Lodouico Sforza*, Duke thereof, following the opinion of *Antonius Grimanni*, which *Guicciardine* saith, proceeded partlie of passion, and partly of desire to enlarge their Dominions, by ioyning *Cremona* to the rest of their States in *Italy*: notwithstanding, that *Marchio Treniſano*, had disswaded the same, with most strong and pregnant reasons, representing vnto them (by examples then fresh in memory) how dangerous it would be for them, to bring the *French* into *Italy*, & to haue so potent a neighbor, in the state of *Millaine*, as a King of *France*, whereof they sawe the effect shortly after, when King *Lewes* hadde it in possession. For then were they in such feares of his forces, as they durst deny him nothing that hee demanded of them, as *Guicciardine* noteth, in their deliuering of the Cardinall *Ascanius*, Brother vnto Duke *Lodouicus*, and Viscount *Baptista*, and diuers other Noblemen of *Millaine*, who had put themselues in their protection, vppon their publick safe conduct, with expresse mention of safegard against the French.

Guic. Hist. lib. 4

Ibid. Lib. 4. hist.

The error of the *Venetians* in making league with Lewes the 12 K. of France.

Guic. lib. 4 in fine.

Another error of theirs, more daungerous and dammageable to them then the former; was their great ouer-sight, as well in their vnaduised proceedinges towards their Confederate and Friend, *Frances* the first of that name, King of *France*, as also in the iniuries which they did to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and to the Pope, whereby they droue them all (that before were deuided) to vnite themselues with the King of *Castile*, and diuers other Princes, against them in the league of *Cambray*. And neuertheless, when the Pope demanded of them the restitution of a Towne or two of his, vpon condition,

Guicciard. lib. 8. in fine.

The error of the Venetians in ioyning with K. *Frances* of France. Anno 1508.

dition, not to enter into that league, nor to ratifie the same, but rather to procure the dissolution thereof, they refused it by the perswasion of *Dominicus Treuisano*, Procurator of Saint *Markes*, though other of the Graue and Wisest Senators, were of contrary opinion.

The issue and cluſiō against the *Venetians*, to their great losse.

Therefore, the yssue of the matter was, that all these Princes (ioyning their forces together, according vnto their agreement) spoyled them of all their possessions in *Italy*, and diuided the same amongst themselues. And had prosecuted their victory further, if the Pope had not beene a mediator for them, and procured their peace; vpon their humble submission to the Emperour, whome they most wronged.

Aconsideration of mans imbecility, & weakneſſe of wit, and of the neede he hath of Gods direction.

Seeing then, these famous and renowned Senates, consisting of so manie wise and Graue men, haue committed such grosse errors, to their owne great preiudice and danger of their States, what assurance can any man haue, of mans wit, plots, and designments, if so bee he confide either in himselfe alone, or in the only counsell and iudgement of man. How vngratefull & simple then are those men, that presume so farre on their owne wits and sufficiency; that neither for theyr priuate, not for their publicke affayres, they make any account at all of Gods helpe and assistance? Vngratefull, I say, for that hauing good parts and Talents, and many temporall blessings, which nature and reason teacheth them, not to come of their owne purchase and prouision, but of the Liberality and bountie of Almighty God they do neuertheleſſe, so admire the guift, that they forget the giuer, and so enioy the benefite, that they do not so much as thanke him that bestowed it vpon them; yea, and in steade of thankes, praise, honor, and seruice which they owe him, do render him contempt, dishonor, and no seruice at all. And therefore no meruaile, if Almighty God in punishment of so great ingratitude, do giue them ouer sometime to a reprobate sence, to the end, that as they offend him by an ouer-weening of their owne Wisedome, so they may be punished, yea, and perish by their owne folly. This ingratitude of man, Saint *Augustine* worthilie calleth, *The roote of all spirituall Euill, the drie and burning Winde that blasteth al our Corne, and stoppeth vp the Fountaine of Gods mercy towards vs.*

The ingratitude of such as do not acknowledg the bountie of God towards them.

Proud men giuen ouer to a Reprobate sense.

Aug. in l. Soliloq

But heerein appeareth not onely the ingratitude, but also the extreame follie of such men (be they accounted neuer so wise) seeing that their weakneſſe and imbelicity is so manifest, euen to themselues if they list to consider it, that they may easily perceiue, that they are not absolute of themselues, but do depend vpon an higher power. And yet neuertheleſſe, they are so vnaduised, as to cast themselues into the innumerable dangers & difficulties of this Worlde, without any regard, yea with contempt and offence of him, on whome they depend, and who can direct & guide them aright. Wherein they may be compared vnto some simple and selfe-willed fellow, that will needs put himselfe to Sea in a terrible tempest, without a Pilot, or vndertake a iourney thorough a daungerous desert in a darke Night, either without a guide; or els, hauing a deere and louing friend to directe him, vseth him so vnkindly and contemptuously by the way, that he forceth him to forsake him in the midst of the Wilderneſſe, and so perisheth worthily, thorough his owne folly and ingratitude.

The extream folly of such men as trust whollie in themselues.

An apt comparison of wilful minded men.

Therefore, I conclede with these notable words of Saint *Augustine*, speaking to man: Thou receiuest (sayth he) the beneſit, and doost not acknowledge the author thereof. The guift is manifest, and though the giuer bee hidden, yet thine owne reason may teach thee, that it is not thy due, but the guift of another. And therefore, whosoeuer the giuer bee, thou maist think, that as he hath bestowed exceeding much vpon thee, so hee hath loued thee much, seeing hee would giue thee so much. And this being so, what extreame folly is it, not to seeke and desire the loue of such a potent and kind louer? And what peruerse ingratitude and impiety is it, not to loue one that loueth thee so exceedingly? If then, thou Loue and esteeme his guifts, loue him that bestowed them vpon thee, and loue them as things that are subiect vnto thee, and as things that should serue thee, as pledges of thy Spouse, as guifts of thy Friend, as benefits of thy Lord; & so, as thou maist euer be mindfull, how much thou art his debter; yea, and loue his guiftes, not for themselues, but for his sake, not togither with him, but for him. And lastly, loue them so, that thou maist loue him by them,

Aug. in Lib. 4. Meditat.

A notable discourse of S. Augustine concerning the ingratitude of man towards God.

them, and aboue them. Thus saith this Famous and Learned Father, which I wish all men would print in their hearts, and practise in their actions. So shoulde their Counsels and deliberations be free from errour, and their actions from ill succesſe, which manie times is not so properly the fruite of mans infirmity, as a punnishment of God for presumptuous sinne, as may appeare by the examples already alledged.

The Authors charitable aduise.

CHAP. XIX.

At what time publicke and Generall Counselles beganne to bee holden: And who was the first Byshop or Pope that Celebrated a Counsel.

HE Hæbrewes and other Nations had an ancient custome, to hold Counsels, & to deliberate in them on such matters as they hadde to deale withall. And by the Testimony of *Iosephus*, it appeareth that *Moyses* and *Iosuah*, assembling the people oftentimes together, were likewise accustomed so to do.

Counsels amongest the Iewes and other Nations.

The like vse was among the *Egyptians* and *Persians*, according as *Herodotus* reporteth. So amongst the Apostles assembled in one place, when they receiued *Matthias* into the number of the eleauen, when they elected seuen deacons; when by the Authority of S. *Peter* and S. *Iames*, it was ordained, that the conuerted Gentiles should not bee charged with the burthen of *Moyses* Law. But only that they should abstaine from the soyle of Idols, Whoredome, strangled Meats, and from Blood. For, as then the Synod, as well of the Apostles, as of the Priests and Elders had beene assembled, as Saint *Luke* testifieth in the Actes of the Apostles, Writing there in the same manner.

The Egyptians and Persians. Acts 1,26. Acts 6,3.

The conuerted Gentile, freed from the Lawe of Moyses.

Now, some of the Sect of the Pharisies, which had beleeued, raised vp themselues, saying; that they ought to be circumcised, and commanded them to keep the Law of *Moyses*: whereuppon, the Apostles and Elders met together, to take order in this businesse. So that heereby it is easie to iudge, from whence proceeded the Institution of holding Counsels.

Whence holding Counsels first proceeded.

The first Counsell that was celebrated in *Rome*, is saide to be when *Cornelius* was Byshop: wherein were assembled threescore Byshops, as many Priests, and many Deacons; and there the *Nouatian* Heresie was condemned.

The first Counsell at Rome.

We read also in *Eusebius*, that the Fathers assembled themselues two seuerall times in *Antioche*; the first, in the time of *Dionisius*; and the other, of *Fœlixe*, Popes, at the encountering of *Paulus Samosatenus*, Byshop of the sayde Cittie, who being a man of insupportable arrogancie, when he was first created Bishop, beganne to walke abroad in the Fieldes, accompanied with a great number of Soldiers, both before and behinde him, reading and speaking all the way with woonderfull insolence; thorough which audacious pride, Christian Religion grew into much contempt amongst manie.

Two Counsels holden at *Antioche*.

Paulus Samosatenus Bishop of Antioche.

I think (sayth *Polydore Virgil*) that our Byshops in these dayes, Learned of this Hereticke, the order of their pomps, and the traines which they leade with them. Do ye not see some of them, what Harquebushers they haue marching before them, and what a crue of Swash-bucklers follow them, horrible blasphemers of the name of God? And do ye not see the Bishops themselues, in stead of preaching to their Diocesians, seeke what meanes they may to prolong them in War and strifes? O times! O manners! We haue good occasion to praise God, who hath graciously prouided vs of so Learned, Venerable, Vertuous, and Worthie an Arch Byshop, as is my Lorde of *Epinac*; who like a good Prelate, and vigilant Pastor, administreth the spirituall foode of the soule, which is the word of God; and preacheth often in his Church, and so Diuinely, as all Learned people are rauished with admiration. God continue him in so holy and good an Office, and defend him from all incomberances.

The words of *Polydore Virgil*.

Well, in the end, *Paulus Samosatenus* who denied two Natures to bee in Iesus Christ, and affirmed him to be man only, was condemned in this Counsell. But the

Paulus Samosatenus his heretical opinion.

the *Romaine* Emperors being (as then) Maisters of all the World, were enemies to the Name of Christians: so that wee must needs thinke, that those Counselles were then rather priuate, then publicke, vntill the time of *Constantine*, who (by Gods omnipotent permission) embraced the Holy Faith, and then permitted publicke discoursing, concerning the points of Christian Religion. So that by Commission from *Constantine*, the Counsell of *Nice* in *Bythinia*, was held in the yeare, 324. and it was the first, and (before all other) solemnly celebrated, and in publicke, wherein 318. Byshops gaue their assistance, and (with common consent) declared *Arrius* to be conuinced of Heresie.

Liberty granted for Christian religion and the first publicke Generall counsel

The Counsel at Constantinople.

Afterwards, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, the Counsell was holden at *Constantinople*, where *Macedonius* and *Eudoxus*, that denied the Holy-Ghost to be God, were both condemned. The Counsell of *Ephesus*, is saide to be held in the time of *Celestine* the first; and therein was condemned *Nestorius*, Byshop of *Constantinople*, who saide; That the blessed Virgin *Marie* was the Mother of Christ as man, and not as God.

The Counsell of *Ephesus*.

The Councel of *Chalcedon*, is reputed to be holden in the time of *Leo* the first, and there the Heresy of *Eutichus* was examined. This man was an Abbot of *Constantinople*, & affirmed, that Iesus Christ after he had taken on him humaine flesh, was not of two Natures, but consented to his Diuine Nature only. These were the foure Sacred Counsels, that augmented and encreased Christian Religion; and which S. *Gregory* reputed worthy to be receiued, saying; Euen as I confesse to haue receiued, and holde in reuerence the foure Bookes of Holy-Gospel, so do I these foure Councels; I imbrace them with all my heart, and I will keepe them by most entire approbation, because the foundation of Faith is builded on them, as on a foure cornerd stone, and the rule of common life and action (howsoeuer it be) consisteth in them.

The Counsell of *Chalcedon*.

The 4. chiefe generall counsels.

S. Gregories words of the foure Counsels.

The fifte Counsell was assembled at *Constantinople*, in the time of Pope *Vigilius*, and therein were debated and confuted, the impious errors of *Theodorus*, who maintained; That the Virgin *Mary* was deliuered of Christ, as man only; & not as God and man. Therefore in this Councell was concluded, that the Mother of Christ should be called Θεοτόκος, Mother of God. *Constantine* the Emperour, fourth of that name, caused the sixt Councell to be holden at *Constantinople*, at the humble entreaty of Pope *Agathon*, which was holden by 289. Byshops; and therein was reproued *Macharius* Byshop of *Antioche*, who iudged one onelie will and operation to bee in Iesus Christ. Of this sixt Counsell, *Beda* discourseth verie amply, in the Booke which hee wrote of Times. Many other Councelles were held in sundry places, as are set down by *Gratian* in his Decretales, which I silently ouerpasse, because I would not bee tedious to the Reader.

The 5. Counsell at *Constantinople*.

The 6. Counsell at *Constantinople*.

Bede on this sixt Counsell, *in lib. de Temp.*

CHAP. XX.

Heere ensueth summarily, that which was decreed in the Councel of Nice, held by Constantine *the Great, in the yeare, 325. to wit; what was to bee beleeued concerning the blessed Trinitie. As it appeareth in the Ecclesiastical History, the tenth Booke, and sixt Chapter.*

WE beleeue in God the Father Almightie, Creator of all things, as wel visible as inuisible. And in our Lord Iesus Christ, the only Sonne of God, borne and begotten of him: that is to say, of his proper substãce, and therefore God of God, Light of Light; very God of verie God, borne, and not made of the same substaunce of the Father. By which Sonne, were all thinges made, as well in Heauen as in earth, and among vs men. Who also for the loue of vs men, and for our saluation, descended from the Heauens, and tooke humaine flesh on him, and made himself man. And so he suffered death and passion, and afterward rose againe the thirde day. Afterward, he ascended vppe into Heauen; and finally shall come to iudge the liuing and the dead. We beleeue also in the Holy-Ghost. And all such as say, that the saide Sonne was in any time when he was not, and was not before hee was born on earth, and that he was created

The constant Faith of the Fathers assembled in the Counsell of *Nice*.

ted of nothing, or of any other substance whatsoeuer, then only of the Father; or, that hee is the Sonne of God, but Conuertible and mutable: the holye Catholicke and Apostolicke Church, doth excommunicate and accurse them.

CHAP. XXI.

That which was Concluded, Decreed, and Ordained, in the Counsell holden at Rome, in the year, 376. against Apollinarius, *Concerning what ought to be beleeued of the Sacred Trinity, contained in the Tripartite History.*

The Reason of this Counsels assembly at Rome.

BEcause, that after the Councell of *Nice*, such errors hapned as some haue presumed to say; with a prophane and vnhallowed mouth, that the Holy-Ghost was made by the Sonne: we Curse and Excommunicate all such, as doo not confesse, and freelie preach the Holy-ghost to be of one selfe-same substaunce and power with the Father and Sonne.

Sabellius. Likewise, we cursse such, as following the error of *Sabellius*, doo say; That the Father and the Sonne are both one, and the same thing.

Arrius and *Eunomius.* We Curse *Arrius* and *Eunomius*, who by semblable impietie, albeit differing in words, do affirme the Son and the Holy-ghost to be creatures.

We Curse the *Macedonians*, who polluted from the Roote of Arrianisme, haue chaunged not the impietie, but the name.

Photinus. We excommunicate *Photinus*, who renewing the Heresie of *Ebion*, confesseth our Lord Iesus Christ, to be but only borne of the Virgin *Mary*.

Two Sonnes. We excommunicate likewise all such, as confesse two Sonnes, one before the World, and the other after the incarnation of flesh of the Virgin.

The word diuine. We excommunicate all such, as for the reasonable soule, do affirme, that the word diuine, was conuerted into humain Flesh.

If any one doo not confesse, that the Father hath euermore been, and the son, and the blessed Spirit, let him be excommunicated. Father, Son, & Holyghost.

If any one do not say and confesse the Son to be truly borne of the Father, that is to say of the Diuine substaunce, let him be excommunicated.

If any one do not say and confesse, the Sonne to bee very God, as the Father is very God, and that he can do all thinges, and knoweth all things, and that he is equal with the Father, let him be excommunicated. The Son very God.

Denial of the Godhead. If any one shall say, that the Son of God hauing humaine Flesh, when hee was on earth, was not at all in Heauen, nor with the Father, let him bee excommunicated.

The suffering of Christ. If any one shall say, that the Sonne of God, God himselfe, hath endured in his pasion the paine of the Crosse, and not the flesh with the soule, whereby he was cloathed in the forme of a seruant, which hee tooke vppon him, as the holy Scripture sayeth: Let him bee excommunicated.

The humanity of Christ. If any one do not say and confesse, that in the flesh which hee tooke on him, hee sitteth on the right hand of the Father, & wherewith also he shal com to iudge the liuing and the dead: let him bee excommunicated.

The Holy-Ghost. If any one do not say and confesse the Holyghost to bee truely and properly of the Father, euen as the Sonne of the Diuine substaunce, and the worde Diuine to bee God, let him bee excommunicated.

The power of the Holighost If any one doo not say and confesse, that the Holy-ghost can doe all thinges; and that he is in all things, as the Father and the Sonne, let him bee excommunicated.

If any one shall not say and confesse, the Father to haue done all by the Sonne and the Holy-Ghost, that is to say, all things visible and inuisible, let him bee excommunicated.

The Deity of the 3. persons. If any one shall not say and confesse, one selfe-same Deity of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy-Ghost, one selfe-same Power, Diuinity, Vertue, and one selfesame Glory, Dominion, Empire; one selfesame will and veritie, let him be excommunicated.

If any one shall nor say and confesse, the three persons to bee true, of the Father,

The equalitie of the three persons.

ther, of the Son, and of the Holy-ghost, equall, alwayes liuing, containing all things visible & inuisible, doing all thinges, iudging all thinges, Viuifying all thinges, creating al things, and sauing all thinges: Let him bee Excommunicated.

A doration of the holighost.

If any one shall not say and confesse, that the Holy-ghost ought to bee Worshipped of all Creatures, euen as the Father and the Son: let him bee excommunicated.

Of despising the holighost.

If any one doo thinke well of the Father, and of the Sonne, but neither beleeueth, nor thinketh well of the Holy-Ghost, he is an Hereticke. For all Heretickes, which conceite not well of the Sonne and Holy-Ghost, are conuinced of incredulitie with the Iewes and Pagans.

CHAP. XXII.

The Confession of a Christian, to the Confutation of all Atheistes, Heretiques, &c.

Whosoeuer shall refuse to make this confession, is worthy to be excommunicated and accursed.

I Confesse in trueth of heart, purely and intirely; that Iesus Christ our Lord, is truly God and man; and that al his heauenly Doctrine, containeth such a firme and assured Veritie, as no one point thereof cannot bee deceiued. Moreouer, that the holy Church is so assuredly grounded on the firme Rocke, that the Gates of hell can haue no power against it. That it is he, who is our mouth, whereby wee speake to the Father: Our eye, whereby wee see the Father: Our right hand, whereby we offer to the Father. The Glasse without staine or spotte, to giue vs knowledge of our pollutions. The Lauer or cleare Fountaine, to wash and make vs cleane. And the infinite Treasure, to make satisfaction to all our Creditors. In whom, and by whome, the Diuine Iustice hath beene fully answered, for the sinnes of al them that haue beene, are, and shalbe to the consummation of the world.

Of the holie Catholicke & Apostolicke Church.

Of Iesus Christ, and what he is to a Christian soule.

All my hope, refuge, health, life, and resurrection, is in the death of him. My merite is his mercie; and therefore, I beleeue and confesse his condemnation, to be my absolution; his crucifying, to bee my deliuerance; his descending into hel, my mounting vp to Heauen; his death, my life; his obedience, our plenary satisfactions.

That by his intercessions, our Prayers are heard. That hee is our Protectour, and faithfull defender. And that he onlie beganne and perfected in vs, life truelie happie and euerlasting. That his blood is our Washing, whereby we are cleansed, purified, and made White. And that hee hath purchased for vs, Righteousnesse and life by his resurrection. And whosoeuer shall not do him this honour, to beleeue, that hee shall bee Iustified and Sanctified, by his Death, Worde, and Sacraments, let him for euer bee accursed.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Summary and briefe Discourse against Atheists, Written vpon occasion of the Authors Conference with an Atheist.

Epicurus, Democritus, and other Atheists

COnuersing one day with an Atheist who vsed to haunt neere the place of my abyding, hee fully acquainted mee with his Wicked and abhominable opinions, such and the like as *Epicurus*, *Democritus*, and others had maintained; and whereof some in these Moderne times, being transported with vanity of spirit, are not ashamed to make bolde profession. Which beeing so vile, and without any foundation or reason, I forbeare to declare them, saue onely some few in the end of the succeeding Chapter. For, they are woorse (without comparison) then those of all the Heretiques, that haue beene since our Sauior Iesus Christ, euen to this instant.

The Authours whereof, were *Iudas* and *Theudas* Magitians. The *Symonians*, *Menandrians*, *Ebionites*, *Cherinthians*, *Nycholaitanes*, *Saturnians*, *Carpocratians*, *Gnosti-*

The names of the Sects and Heresies, which haue bin since the time of Iesus christ vntil this present.

Gnostitians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Cleobians, Dorothians, Gorthenians, Masuberthians, Encratites, Basilides, Catephriges, Arabes, Helcheſaites, Nouatians, Cathares, Sabellians, Manicheans, Arrians, Pelagians, Helonitians, Hermogenians, Peputians, Quintillians, Colliridians, Priſcillianiſts, Hemerobaptiſts, Anthropomorphits, Chilliaſts or *Millenarians, Maſſelians, Dimocrites, Garaſians, Paterons, Poore Men of Lyons, Arnoldiſts, Speroniſts, Fraticelles, Adamites, Orebites, Taborites, Noetians, Hydroparaſtates, Artotyrites, Ptholemaits, Statuoicques, Philonites, Helionites, Heracleonites, Antitades, Perades, Phrygians, Hierachites, Colarbaſians, Docites, Borborians, Zacheans, Naaſanians, Phemyonitains, Sethranians, Caynians, Codians, Ophites, Seuerians, Paulianiſts, Catabaptiſts Arbigeois, Archontiques, Hicrarchites, Seleutians, Felicians, Neſtorians, Iacobitans, Monothelitanes.* The *Acephalick* Sects of *Barcotabas, Cerdon, Tatian, Redon, Apelles, Baſilicus, Sirenus, Montanus, Theodorus, Paulus Samoſatenus, Ogdoades, Artemon, Natalis, Galien, Berillus, Nepos, Liberius, Macedoncus, Heluidius, Ethicianus, Hermogenes, Epiphanes, Pontinus, Sincrus, Prepon, Pithon, Cleobulus, Praxeas, Aſclepiodotus, Hermophilus, Apolonides, Themiſon, Theodotus, Florinus, Blaſtus, Iſidorus, Secundus, Portitus, Bardeſianus, Symmachus, Theodotion, Pope Ione, Lucius, Apolinarius, Acatus, Donatus, Olimpius, Adimantius, Alogios, Bertoldus, Baliardus* the Phyloſopher, *Almericke, Gaillaume of Holy Loue, Hermand, Durcine, Quintiniſts, Anabaptiſts, Seueriſts, Campaniſtes,* and an infinite number more, which are amply declared in the Holye Councels, Canons, and Decretales, and in the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory of *Euſebius* the *Cæſarian, Platina*, Saint *Auguſtin*, and others.

Mahomets horrible Sect beyond al the other Hereticke.

But the verie greateſt Sect, the vileſt and moſt Wicked of all, is that of the falſe ſeducing Prophet, which hath ſubborned, waſted, and loſt more then halfe the world. He took his *Alchoran, Arfurcan*, Law, Collections, and Preceptes, out of the Hereſies of all the Heretickes before named; but moſt principaly aided himſelfe with the Olde and Newe Teſtaments, and ſome Viſions and Interpretations, which he ſaid were declared to him by the Aungell *Gabriell*. And yet this Wretch, as wicked as he was, did neuertheleſſe confeſſe, that there was one only God, and that Ieſus Chriſt was his Sonne, his Soule, Image, Spirite, and Wiſedome of him. That he was borne of the Virgin *Mary*, and was a great Prophet; but ſaide himſelfe to bee a much more greater Prophet then Ieſus Chriſt, and that himſelfe was the laſt; and after him, no other was to be expected. For he ſaide, that God had more fully reuealed his ſecrets to him, then to any other Prophet that had beene before him; and that he hadde giuen him an eſtate, and a rule more perfect, then that of Ieſus. Confeſsing withall, that before hee was ſent of God, and had receiued the reuelation of his rule: euerie one liued, according to that of Ieſus Chriſt, and thereby was ſaued, and ſuch alſo ſhould be ſaued, as liued therafter. But yet they could not be made ſo perfect, as by keeping that order appointed to him.

Mahomet confeſſed one onely GOD, which the Atheiſt will not do.

Mahomets abuſing the people with moſt blaſphemous Lies.

To confute the errors of this falſe Prophet, there were many Apologetical and defenſiue Bookes made, by ſundry great perſonages, as by *Iohannes Cantacuzenes* the Conſtantinople Emperor, *Theodorus Bibliander, Lodouicus Valentinus, Nicholaus de Cuſa*, Cardinall; *Bartholomeus Piceenus, Æneas Syluius*, who was Pope *Pius, Hierom de Sauanarola, Phillip Melancthon*, and many others: who wrote all ſo well, and with ſuch vehemency, againſt this Diabolicall Sect, full of *Lucianiſt* fables and folly, that they confuted them, as matters moſt enormous and deteſtable, in hauing no foundation, Reaſon, teſtimony, neither any true miracles whatſoeuer. And yet the ſaide Mahomet, and all the other Heretickes togither, continued not a iot of their opinion, in ſuch a fooliſh and freneticall manner, as at anie time to deny one onely God, albeit they failed wickedly, in their opinions & perticuler Sectes. And this *Atheiſt* denyed vnto mee, that there was any God at all, demanding further, what I could obiect againſt his opinion, in approouing the contrary? Whereupon I anſwered, that I would alledge but one Author only, to conuince both him, and all other of his wicked minde.

Books written againſt Mahometserrors

No Sect ſo wicked as Atheiſts are.

Then, I produced *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*, the Prince of ancient Diuinity, who had beene three times, the moſt great King, Sacrificer, and Phyloſopher, that euer was. And theſe are his verie wordes

Herm. Triſmegiſtus, High-prieſt & King of Egypt.

which follow, wherewith I made my reply to the Atheiſt.

CHAP. XXIIII.

An Excellent Diſcourſe, out of Hermes Triſmegiſtus, *approouing what God is.*

Hermes Triſmegiſtus in his Booke of the power of god, and greatnes of his wiſdom Dial. 2.

GOD, is the exiſtent cauſe of all things, helping generally, and in perticuler: for there is not any thing, vnto which a being is permitted, but of him, and in him, it obtayneth his life, ſourſe, and Originall. And that which is much more, there is not anie thing in this world, which dooth not receiue his byrth and production from that which was made and created by him: becauſe there is not any thing that can take or haue his being from that which is nothing, conſidering, that that which is nothing, hath not any Nature, whereby it could be made any thing. God is the Thought, Spirit, and Light, it is conuenient to honour him by theſe two names, to wit; *Goodneſſe* and *Paternitie*, which are proper to him, without a competitor in any manner whatſoeuer: As being alwayes immutable, yet changing all thinges; inuiſible, yet ſeeing all thinges; immortall, without place, and without end; inſeperable, ineffable, inſcrutable, ineſtimable; immooueable, yet mooving all things; and woorthy of all Honour and Reuerence.

Goodneſſe & Father-hood.

God is not to be apprehended by mans vnderſtãding, in regarde of his ſubſtance.

Hee is the ſupreame good, and none other, who cannot be knowne or apprehended by humaine ſence as concerning his ſubſtance, becauſe hee is a power not limitted.

Not were we created of him, but only to this intent, to beholde the diſcourſe of the Starres, which are his moſt excellent, Magnificent, and Soueraigne workes, with the diſcourſe of Nature, the example and imitation of goodneſſe. Finally, the knowledge of his diuine power & Maieſty, of which knowledge he hath giuen a part and portion, to know, iudge, and diſcerne betweene good and euill. But principally, to ſearch the high and meruailous Artefice of the chiefe good; the which, with all other thinges, were made by his word Ieſus Chriſt: by whom he hath created, conſtituted, and ordayned euery thing in his order and degree, by his only will. And that is nothing elſe, but an only infinite and incomprehenſible goodnes, which is ſuch, as it can appertaine to none but to him onely. And therefore, we muſt ſurpaſſe the Celeſtiall bodies, the Hierarchies of Angelles, and the circuite and diſcourſe of the Starres, to attaine to the knowledge of him. For, this knowledge is inſuperable, inuincible, and infinite, without any limitation: not hauing (as concerning himſelfe) any beginning, whereas to humain knowledge there is allowed ſome beginning.

Ieſus Chriſt, the worde of the Father. Dial. 4.

Hee containeth all, in his inueſtigable Treaſures and ſecrets, and is the ſole and only Father of all thinges, from whome proceeded one onely Sonne, who gaue himſelfe ſo ſtrongly to be vnderſtood by vs, as it is a verie eaſie matter to touche him. He aſsigned to the Sea his bornes and Limits, and gaue commaund that it ſhould paſſe no further: he apointed the earth his full waight, and made his containdure in the middeſt of the heauens. If then it bee ſo, that an Image or painting cannot be done, without the induſtrie of the Image maker or Painter, can we immagine, that ſo great and woonderfull a building as the worlde is, could poſsibly be made without a workmã? O man too much blinded! O man too wicked and miſerable! O man, buried in the bottom leſſe darkneſſe of ignorance, to think the contrary! Looke to thy ſelfe well, when thou ſeekeſt to rob the workeman of his worke: and inuoke the Lord inceſſantly, and commend him with ſingularity, and with a name that can bee attributed vnto none, but him only; holding him continually, to bee the proper and Naturall Father of all thinges, as well viſible as inuiſible. And that is the onely eternall God, then which moſt excellent, incompareable, and beſt of all Names, not anie creature can deuiſe any other to giue him. He is entirely all that I am, al that I do, all that I thinke, and is all in all; and there is not any thing, but it commeth from him, neither any thing created or increate, but he is the ſame.

God is the only Father of all things. Dial. 5.

An inuectiue againſt Atheiſts, and their miſerable condition

He is the Vnderſtanding, vnderſtanding all

The essential parts and powers in God.

all things; the eternall Father, building all things; the onely God, woorking all things; the Soueraigne good, creating all goodnesse; the most pure and entire cause of euery matter; Ayre of the ayre, Soule of the soul thought of the thoght; and finally God. By whom all things moue themselues, & in whom, no choise can be made, but of all goodnesse. For about his essence, is a super-eminency of all goodnesse, more pure, cleare, and bright shining, then either can be spoken or expressed. And the entirest and perfectest parts of God, are *Beauty* and *Bountie*, which are his inseperable Kinsmen, and beloued aboue all other things. For in him is such a Beauty, as admitteth no comparison; and such a Bounty as alloweth no imitation: whereby the Worlde proceeded of him, and consisteth in him: Man made in the World, and to command the Worlde. For, God is the beginning of all things, and containeth & ordaineth euery one in his order & proportion. Hee that knoweth him, not only is fulfilled with all blessednesse, but also vnderstandeth and comprehendeth all Diuine knowledges, hardly like to any other. The knowledge of him, is nothing else but a Diuine silence, and an attentiue application of all the sences. He that vnderstandeth him, can think on nothing else: and he that heareth him, can heare no other thing.

Dial. 6.

The intire & perfect parts of God.

Dial. 8.

Of the knowledge of God Dial. 9.

Of knowing and vnderstanding God Dial. 10.

No Lawe admitteth any man of this World, so much power, as to contemplate the Beautie & Excellency of God, except he be first regenerated, reformed, and transubstantiated into him. He doth all that can bee doone, either present, or heereafter to bee spoken or thought on. His action is a power inuincible, and not equiparable, and that is the reason, that no one ought for to attempt or presume with him, or he to be compared with any other, be he diuine or humain, eyther in heauen or on earth.

No presuming or comparing with God.

Now, to approoue that this is the power of one only true God, is euidently enough declared: for there is likewise but one World, one Sunne, one Moone, & but one Diuinity. And as concerning God, we beleeue vndoubtedly, that there can be but one, and he onely, that made each thing into many. Doost thou thinke that it should be a matter difficult or Laborious, for God to make life, soule, immortality, and changes of times? Why, thou thy selfe can do as much, & as great things. Thou Seest, thou Heares, thou Smellest, thou Tastest, thou Toucheest; thou speakest, thou goest, thou breathest, and thou vnderstandest without anie other then thy selfe; for all these things are performed by thy selfe. And euen as a man knew not how to liue, but by life; in like manner, God could not liue, without producing all things continually, and inspiring life into them. Vnderstand then, that if thou wilt not make thy selfe equall to God, nor appeare like vnto him; thou shalt neuer comprehend or vnderstande him: considering, that the like is euermore knowne by the like.

The proofe of one onely true God. Dial. 11.

What wonderfull things are done by man.

This is vnderstood by knowing GOD rightly.

Extend thy selfe then into an infinite greatnesse; go out of this body, surpasse all times, be eternity, and so finally thou shalt know God. Exalt thy selfe more high then all highnesse; be thorow al the parts of the worlde; in Heauen, on the earth, in the Sea; euen from the beginning, to this present. Dwell out of the Vessell of this bodie; and thinkest thou then that any thing can perish by death? Comprehend all these things together; to know all places, all times, all waight, all lightnesse, all qualities and quantities: and then at length thou shalt vnderstand what God is. For, the verie greatest miserie that can happen to any man, is not to knowe him; and yet hee made all his workes, to the end that he might be knowen by them.

Necessarie comprehensions for him that knoweth not God.

He hath not about him, either greatnesse, place, qualitie, Figure, Nourriture: because he is all these, and being al, hath all these about him, and euerie where else.

Dial. 12. The word diuine, Iesus Christ.

This is the diuine word Iesus Christ, therefore honor and worshippe him: and this Honour and Adoration consisteth onely, in being no way wicked, but flying from sinne, with all thy might & vertue. It is he that made regeneration, & tooke on him our humanity, to redeeme vs from the Captiuity of darkenesse, and seruitude of Sathan: and he will be magnified and praised in Silence, that is to say; with the Heart and Vnderstanding. Likewise, hee will bee called GOD, in regarde of his Power; Maker, by reason of his Workes; and finally Father, for the Loue of his Goodnesse, which appertanith onely to him:

Dial. 13.

Dial. 14.

A familiar Comparison.

If it be lawfull for a Painter, to figure so many and diuers thinges; as Heauens, Earth, Seas, Men, Beasts, Trees, and all other thinges that haue no life; shall we bee so insolent to say, that the power of dooing all these, must bee denied to one onely God? O man too foolish, and vnprouided of vnderstanding! O blindfold man, and without any Diuine knowledg, that dareſt beleeue, thinke, or speake, to the contrary.

Lac. in Institut. Diuin. l. 1. cap. 5

Sybilla Erythræa could say; *That there was onely God increate, and exceeding all Creatures.* He is the only Soueraigne that made the Heauens, and diuided the Lights; that is only thorow all Worlds, and before all Worlds; that gaue Life, Generation and Nature vnto all things.

Plat. in lib. Tim.

Plato, in his Booke called *Timeus*, sayth; *The Worlde is gouerned by the power and prouidence of one only God, the power and Maiesty of whom is so great, that in regard of this inestimable might, no man can conceiue him in his vnderstanding, neither expresse him by words.*

Lac. in l. 4. c. 29.

Of the father and the son.

This Soueraigne and only God, cannot be adored, but by the meanes of his only Sonne: and whosoeuer thinketh to worship the Father onely, and giue no honour to the Sonne, hee can no way adore the Father. But he that receyueth the Sonne, and beareth his name, he truly honoureth the Father with the Sonne, because the Sonne is the Ambassadour, Messenger, and Priest to the Soueraigne father. He is the gate of the most great tẽple; the Way of Light, the Conducter to saluation, and the entrance into Life. The word Diuine, Luminous, and Celestiall: Sonne of the Almightie, Eternall and liuing God. King of al worlds, visible and inuisible; the wisedome of the Father; Splendour of his Glory and Eternall Light; Image of his substaunce; Prince and Captaine of Peace & Faith; Principall Shepheard; his best beloued Sonne, the Vapour of his Vertue; pure emanation or sending forth of his bright nesse; the spotlesse mirrour of his Maiesty, Goodnesse and Eternity; and the beginning of his creature.

The names & Titles of our Lorde Iesus Christ.

He is our Sanctification, Propitiation, Wisedome, Iustice, Satisfaction, & Redemption: Maister of our Requestes, our Aduocare and Mediator, in whome reposeth all the Spirits of GOD; and in whome, are hidden all the Treasures of Wisedome and Knowledge. Hee was made the Oblation and Sacrifice of a sweete smelling sauour, our ample ransome, sufficient price, the onely branch and Diuine roote. The sole way of life, the Councell of the Eternall, the Doore of the Sheepefold, and the good Shepheard; the true Cæleſtiall Breade, and Treasury of felicity. One totall, consisting of all Vertues and Powers, the author of regeneration, Lorde of Glorie, King of Kings, Doctor of righteousnes, the faithfull witnesse of trueth, trueth it selfe, and the Originall of Life and Concorde. He is the Prince and Consummator of Faith, the Apostle of our Confession, the Angell of great Councell, the Saluation and Sauiour of the World.

Lac. in l. 4. Ca. 6

In briefe, hee is the Sonne of God, who by the mouth of the most wise King *Salomon* (full of the Diuine spirite) hath saide; God hath begotten mee in the beginning of his wayes and workes, before the worlds. He begot me at the beginning, before there was any earth made by him, and before he ordained the Seas and Deepes. Before that the Riuers issued forth of their Springs, and before the Mountaines were made, hee begot mee. God made Regions and Lands habitable vnder Heauen: when he appointed the Heauens, I was with him; and when hee deuided his seat: whē he made the mighty Clouds ouer the Winds, when he placed the high hilles vnder Heauen; and when he laide the strong foundations of the earth, I was with him in the disposing of all.

Concerning the words of King *Salomon.*

I was he, in whom he delighted him selfe, and euery day I reioyced my selfe before his face, when hee tooke pleasure to see the worlde created and perfected. And for this cause, *Trismegistus* calleth him, *The Workeman of God.* And *Sybilla* calleth him, *the Counseller, who was filled by God the Father with so great Wisedome and Vertue, that hee vsed his Counsell and power, in creating the world.* S. *Augustine* in his tenth Booke of the Cittie of God, saith; That he found in the Books of *Plato*, that *Ante omnia tempora, & supra omnia tempora, incommutabiliter manet vnigenitus filius tuus coeternus tibi: Et quia de plenitudine eius accipiunt, vt beatæ sint, & participatione manentis in se sapientiæ renouantur, vt sapientes sint.*

Hermes Trismegistus & Sybilla

Aug. in lib. 10. de Ciuit. Dei.

The seuerall applications of Christ to man.

Be-

The Authors words to the Atheist.

Beholde now, what aunswere I haue made thee, to make thee vnderstand what God is. And if thou wouldst haue anie more great, certaine, and euident Testimonies, looke into the holye Scriptures, and read there what is spoken by the Patriarkes, Prophets, and Apostles; but more especially Saint *Augustine*, in his Booke of the City of God. As for the Idle Disputes which thou hast hadde with me, alledging and saying: What profite receiued God by the making of man for himselfe? Becausse thou beholdest, that to a good man there doth dayly happen aduersities, Pouerties, labors, banishment, and losse of friends. On the contrarie also, thou seest wicked men to be very happy, raised to honours, and encreasing in goods. Thou seest the innocent in daunger, and the vicious to passe vnpunished. That men louing Religion and Piety, are afflicted. And death, hauing no regarde to the condition of men; or respecting their ages, exerciseth his crueltie vppon many, before they can arriue at the state of many yeares, and euen the most bolde and stoutest spirits, do die soonest, or are foiled in battailes. That Temples are burned by Thunder and Lightnings, & many things are doone otherwise then they ought to be done. That prouidence auayleth not any thing, in the Creation and generation of creatures. That the paines of hell are not to bee feared, becausse there is no hell at all, and that all soules do die with their bodies. That pleasure and Voluptuousnes is the chiefest happinesse. That there ought not to be any humain society, but euery man to haue care of his perticuler profit. And not to loue his Neighbour, but for his own aduantage. With many other thinges which thou alledgest, that are the very same disputes of *Epicurus*, *Democritus*, *Lucian*, and *Dicearchus*.

The Atheists ydle Allegations.

Good mens misery & bad mens prosperous.

Old & young all one to Death.

Prouidence not to any purpose.

No Hell.

No humaine society, or loue of our Neighbour.

Lac. Firm. in lib 3. Cap. 16. et in lib. 7. Cap. 5.

In these cases therfore, I wil send thee for further resolution, to *Lanctantius Firmianus*, who hath conuinced al their sottish errors. So that, such as haue seene what he hath written, and they that haue expounded the Psalme, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*, woulde neuer fall into such diseases, so farre from sence and vnderstanding, as thy freneticall Follye and madnesse reacheth vnto. Vnderstand but what the Wiseman sayth; *That such as are great searchers into the Maiesty eternal, shalbe confounded with glory.* Attempt not then such things as are hidden with God: but reserue plaine sight vnto their due times and seasons. Beleeue *Salomon*, who saith: *We are not to say, what is this, what is that, and to what end. For all things are created vnto their seueral vses.* Seeke not after things that are too high for thee, neither enquire after matters that are too strong for thee, but euermore thinke on those things which God hath commaunded thee, and remember him in sobriety and simplicity of heart. Vnderstand what Saint *Paul* saith, *O the deepenesse of the Riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God; how vnsearcheable are his iudgementes, and his wayes incomprehensible, past finding out?*

Theodoret the *Syrian* Bishop, in his Sermons of life eternall, and the Diuine prouidence.

Rom. 11, 33.

Therefore it behoueth vs, not vnwisely to enterprize impossible thinges; but with all our vertue and vnderstanding, to wonder at, and to praise the workes Diuine. For wee are able to speake by experience, that such as haue studied most, & practised how to behold the Sunne more then neede required, saw no such thinges as they stroue to see, but spoyled their owne sight, and were drawne into darkenesse. And oftentimes, when a man (by contention and folly) striueth to seek for that which is hidden in the earth, or to know the foundation thereof; & whereupon it dependeth, or thinges aboue in Heauen, and out of this vniuersal world, not onely hee cannot finde what hee seeketh for; but filleth his owne soule full of troubles and darknesse, such is the infirmity of the spirit. For we know wel what Saint *Paul* saith, by good admonishment. *If any man imagineth himself to know somthing, he hath not yet learned what appertaineth to knowledge.* Let vs then not seek so farre into things, which we are not possible to attaine vnto: but let vs be content with that which we haue receiued; and, according to our best power, blesse the Lorde, his dearely beloued Sonne Iesus Christ, and the Holyghost, vnto whome equally, belongeth all power, might, maiesty, and dominion, for euer and euer.

Gazing on the bright sun doth but dazzle the sight.

Rom. 11, 19.

CHAP. XXV.

The Atheist further confuted, by allegation of Magicall Sciences; because he denied, that there were any such Sciences, or any Deuils or Spirits.

SAint *Augustine*, in his one and twentith Booke of the Citie of God, saith, *There is no contradiction of Magicall Arts, except we will gainsay the Scriptures*; and they are spoken of in many places of the Bible; namely, that the first, second, and third signe, which *Moyses* did performe, the Magitians or Sorcerers of *Pharaoh*, did accomplish the same. And when (afterward) they could not attain to the performance of other great signes and myracles, then they could say; *This is the finger of God, in the power whereof those things are doone*. Read the twenty eight Chapter of the first Booke of *Samuell*, howe King *Saule* went to *Edor* or *Endor*, to see a Woman that had a Phitonicall spirite, who raised vp the likenesse of the Prophet *Samuell*, that had long time bin dead, & the spirit saide vnto him: *After to morrow, the Philistims shal giue thee Battell, thou shalt loose the day; and both thou and all thy Children shal dye, only Lame* Mephiboseth *reserued*, and this fell out to be true.

In the eighteenth Chapter of *Deutronomy* it is sayde; *When thou shalt come into the Land which the Lorde thy GOD giueth thee, thou shalt not learne to doo after the abhominations of those Nations. Let none be found among ye, that maketh his Sonne or his Daughter to go thorough the Fire, or vseth Witch-craft; or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the Flying of Birds, or a Sorcerer, or a Charmer, or a man that asketh Councel of familiar Spirites, or a Diuiner, that demaundeth aduise of the dead. For all these thinges, and they that do them, are abhomination to the Lord: And because of these abhominations, the Lord thy God doth cast them out before thy Face.* See in the Actes of the Apostles, *Symon Magus*, and what hee did by Art Magicke; togither with the Chamberlaine, which gayned his Maisters life by Magicke.

We finde also in the Eccleasiastical historie, Written by *Eusebius* the *Cæsarian*, how a man named *Manes*, an Hereticke, mounted himselfe vp into the Ayre, before a great number of people, flying quite out of their sight. In the same Historie, we shall also see, that the Empetours *Maxentius*, *Maximinus*, & others, vsed Magicall Arts, and had no Gouernours, Captaines, or Officers, but such as were enstructed therein: nor woulde they do any good, or giue anie aduancement, but to them that vnderstood those Sciences.

In the fift Booke of *Lactantius Firmianus*, in his Diuine Institutions, he speaketh of the God *Apollonius*, whome the Emperour *Domitian* should haue put to death: but in the presence of the said emperor and al his assistants, he made himselfe inuisible, so that no one knew what was become of him.

Lactantius Disputing against *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and *Dicearchus*, who sayd, that the soule was mortall, plainly telleth them; That they durst not abide in the presence of Magitians, who by charmes and Enchantments, called and made deceased soules to come out of Hell, and shewed them to bee seene before the eyes of men, speaking and foretelling of things to come.

Wee reade in the Historie of *Ioseph*, that it is saide to his Bretheren, *You haue taken and stolne the drinking Cup, wherein my Lord is wont to performe his Auguries and Diuinations.*

In *Platina*, who Wrote the Liues of the Popes, wee may see; that *Gilbert* (who was Named Pope *Sylvester* the second) a Religious man, in the Monasterie of Saint *Benoist de Fleury*, neere *Orleance*, & had bin School maister vnto the Emperour *Otho*; *Robert* King of *France*, and to *Lotharius*, Arch-Byshop of *Sens*, saide himselfe; that because (by his Councell and Magicke) hee gaue his soule to the Deuill, hee obtained the Papacy. For which, he was afterward verie sorrie and penitent; and confessed generally & publickely, the great sinne and offence which he had committed, *Platina* and others do likewise testify, that *Ioan* the Papesse, obtained the *Romaine* primacy by Magick, which she had long time studied at

Aug. de Ciu. dei lib. 21. cap. 6.

Exo. 7, 10, 11.

Exod. 8, 19. 1. Sam. 28, 8. Saule consulteth with a Witche, whē God had refused him.

Deut. 18, 9, 10. The abhominations of the Gentiles to be auoyded.

Acts 8, 9. *Symon Magus.*

Manes the hereticke. *Eusebius* in his Eccleasiastical Historie. The Empetors *Maxentius* & *Maximinus.*

Lact. Firm. in Lib. 5. cap. 3. de Institut. Diuin. The God *Apollonius.*

Lac. Firm. in lib 7. cap. 13. Democritus, Epicurus, Dicearchus.

The brethren of Ioseph accused. Gen. 44. 5.

Plat. in Vit. Pa. Of Pope Sylvester the 2. that gaue his soul to the diuel to be pope

Ioane the Papesse got the Primacie of Rome by Magicall Arts.

at *Athens*. Comming thence to *Rome*, she read there publikely, and disputed against all Commers; not any one being found equall in knowledge to her. So that after the death of Pope *Leo*, by consent and voyce of all the Cleargy: she was elected in the Papacy, not knowing that she was a woman. The Seat she held two yeares, one month, and foure daies, euen vntill shee fell in trauaile of child publikely, in going to the Church of *Laterane*; in which trauaile she dyed, being an English Woman by birth.

The death of the Papasse *Ionc.*

Saint *Augustine*, in his Celestiall Citie, writing against *Apuleius*, who wrote a Book of the Demon of *Socrates*, that had a Deuill, which told him whatsoeuer hee should doe: sheweth by great disputation (as well against the saide *Apuleius*, *Labeo*, *Varro*, *Porphyrius*, as others) wonderfull things of those cursed and forbidden Sciences, discoursing of them more then any other matter, and in a great number of Chapters. He saith, that he himselfe hath seene some, speaking in all kinds and manner of deuils, good and bad, and the places where they make their abiding: as also such as haunt among men, which were called *Lares* and *Lemures*, beeing inuisible Deuils; whom they tearmed priuate Gods, and *Manes*, *Goblins* and Spirits. The euill Angels they named *Syluani* and *Fauni*, otherwise tearmed *Incubus*, and *Succubus*. *Incubus* is the Man deuill, & *Succubus* the woman; by whom they accomplish their wil with women. The deuils called *Dusians* haue done the like. *Lactantius*, in the second Book of his Diuine Institutions, discourseth largelie on this matter, as well concerning Deuils, as the Magicall Arts.

Aug. in lib. 9. de Ciuit. Dei.

Apuleius, Labeo, Varro, Porphyrius, &c.

Lacres, Lemures, Manes, Goblins, &c.

Incubus and *Succubus.*

Lactan Firm. in Lib. 2. de Diuin Instit. Cap. 15.

Marcus Varro speaketh meruailous things, of the transformation of Men, who made themselues to be Wolues; and he speaketh of one that continued so ten yeares, and yet afterward returned to his shape againe. And Saint *Augustine* saith, that he being in *Italy*, heard that there were certaine Women, who in giuing impoysoned Cheese to Men: conuerted them into Mares, and afterward they came to be men againe, and lost no vse of their reason. *Circes* also transformed the companions of *Vlisses* into Swine, by a certaine kind of drink which she gaue them. Yet Saint *Augustine* saith, that these are but illusions, and it appeareth to such as are transformed, that they are in a Dreame. Neuertheless, the Deuils doe carry the deceipt in such manner: according as he speaketh of one *Prestantius*, who dreamed that he was in great paine and torments, by carying victuals to the camp of his Enemies. And albeit he was all this while in his bed; yet hee found it truely irkesome, and very offensiue to him.

Marcus Varro.

Augustine, at his being in Italy.

Circes metamorphosed the friends of *Vlisses.*

Aug. in Lib. 11. de Ciuit. Dei.

Hee that wrote the manner of the Turks liuing, a man of great knowledge and experience, & who remained more then twenty yeares Prisoner in their hands, saith: that the very greatest part of their religious men, are Enchanters and Magitians. Moreouer, that there was one in his time, who in all hidden and concealed matters, could giue a true and certaine iudgement, especiallie of any thing lost, or stolne: by meanes whereof, all the Theeues in the Countrey were grieuously punished, which caused, that no Theefe durst come nere the place where hee dwelt. And that which is most to be marueild at; before such as came vnto him, could declare the occasion of their iourney: himselfe would intirely tell them the truth, of whatsoeuer they were to demand. And to the end, that they may the sooner draw the people to their false Faith, by Miracles, Prodigies, Illusions, & lyes: they make Sathan the Deuill to appear in the shape of a man, and raise vp dead bodies, which they onely see to mone, but liue not. They can likewise cure al kinds of diseases, and reueale the secrets of mens harts, as also places where any treasures lye hidden; for the Authour speaketh in these very wordes. *Videbis mortuos resuscitare, omnis generis morbos curari, secreta cordium reuelari, & abscondita à seculo Thesaurorũ loca reperiri.*

The Authour of the Turkes liues, in his 18 Chapter.

A cunning Magitian in Turky.

Deceipts and illusions of the Turkish Enchanters.

All the Histories and Bookes of the Ancient Greekes and Latines, are full of such as haue vsed Magicall Arts. As of the Serpent that followed *Æsculapius*: The Gods which *Æneas* brought with him from *Troy*: The Virgine that brought a Siue full of Water to the Temple of *Vesta*, without spilling one drop. The great Waxe Taper of the Goddesse *Venus*, whereof Saint *Augustine* speaketh, that it could not be extingui-

The ancient Greekes and Latines, what strange tales are recorded by them.

tinguished. The Sorceries of *Medea*, and an infinite number more, which are to be found in *Trithemius* and *Hinibaldus*, two very auncient Historiographers. They also record, that before *Pharamond*, and the fortie Kinges and two Dukes, which raigned before him, and before the Kinges of *France* receiued the holy Charracter of Baptisme: there were many that vsed, and made profession of those Sciences, and especiallie the King named *Basan*. Yet well we know, that such thinges haue euermore bin forbidden, vpon paine of corporall punishment.

Trithemius and *Hinibaldus* two ancient Historians.

Pharamond the first King of France.

We read, that the Bookes of *Numa Pompilius* were burned (after they had beene found in a vaulted Caue in his Sepulcher) by the counsell and commaund of the *Romaine* Senate. And by the Law of the twelue Tables, hee that vsed this Art had bodily punnishment. According as we finde in the Chronicles of *France*, that the Count of *Fouex* was put to death, for hauing made a compact and couenant with deuils. So we may yet daily behold witches and Sorcerers punished, who haue any way cõpromitted with Spirits: for euery Sunday they are proclaimed and accursed, and all such as ad-here vnto them. And not onely such as beleeue in Magicke; but also in the Sciences thereon depedding, whereof we haue already spoken sufficiently. *Apuleius*, who was accused before the Christian Princes, for vsing those Sciences: durst not defend them, albeit he saide, and wrote more then any other. In the Code of the ninth Booke, & thirteenth Chapter, you shall finde, that *Ars Mathematica damnabilis & interdicta est omni modo, & que eorum scientia punienda, & seuerissimis merito legibus vindicanda est*. The sacred Scriptures, the Church, Canons, and Decrees, doe forbid the vse thereof on paine of damnation; although there should be any truth therin, becaus the Lord himselfe hath prohibited it.

Numa Pompilius, his Books burned.

The Law of the twelue Tables.

All kindes of Magick haue before beene declared.

Apuleius accused of sorcery

In Code Lib. 9. Cap. 13.

Magicke Arts vtterly prohibited.

I haue seene and heard by a number of wise men, who haue assured me, that they haue seene very strange and admirable thinges, which would be tedious heere to rehearse. That by a certaine number of daies, a man may obtaine so many Spirits, and haue them all made subiect to him; by the vertue of high, Diuine, and Celestiall Names, in performing the great worke. The foure great Princes, which gouerne ouer the nine Princes, and sixty sixe thousand Legions of Spirits, that obey according to their Charracters, and promises made vnto them, wherein are vsed great Ceremonies, Homages, presents, Idolatries, and things most enorme and detestable, which are not to be written, and which a faithfull mind, that hath placed his hope among the heauenly Inhabitants; will hold all such foolish censures in horror and detestation. But all that I haue hitherto spoken, is to no other end; but to exclude the sottishnesse of idle-headed Atheists, in denying and gaine-saying, that there are not any Deuils.

The great worke in Magicke.

The ceremonies in Magicke.

The reason of inserting this Chapter.

And *Lanctantius Firmianus*, speaking against them, saith. *Seeing that alreadie such people are lost, in hauing no beleefe: I would counsell them to learn those Sciences, whereby they may attaine to haue some Spirits familiar with them. And hauing gotten them, according to such rules as will be giuen them: they shall know by them, that there is a God, to whom they obey, and doe tremble when his holy name is vttered. Yea, they will say, affirme and beare witnesse, that if they will not be obedient to the Lord of might: they shall be damned with them, for God is the onely true and great God.*

Lac. Firm. in lib 7. cap. 13.

CHAP. XXVI.

A briefe description of the Table of Apelles, the most excellent Painter of the World in his time: which Table made a liuelie representation of humaine life.

APELLES, the admired Painter, ingeniouslie drew a Picture, concerning the life of man and the abuse of drunkennesse. Whereby this man of incomparable skill plainely declared, that his Soule was no lesse exercised in Philosophy, then his hand in painting. In this Table, he liuely pourtrayed, and presented to all beholders, the

The deformity of drunkennesse.

A faire Garden and an Arbour.

the whole estate of humain life. In the first place he Painted a Garden, with a very pleasant Arbour in it, which was embellished with Hearbes and Floures of all sorts, that might be thought able to yeilde delectation, to such as should enter into this Garden; as well in regard of their beauty and appearance, as for their fruites and pleasing sauour.

The entrance into the Garden, on the right hand.

At the entrance into this Garden or Orchard, there was a great Gate figured on the right hand, the way and passage whereof was very delightsome, & much frequented: for thereby resorted thither (from many other by-pathes) all sorts of people, young and old. On the other side, beeing the left hand, there

Another little entrance on the left hand.

was another little doore, very straite, & narrow to passe in and out at, which had a sharpe and difficult way thereto, all couered with Bushes, Brambles, and Thornes, and that way seemed very little frequented.

Preparation before the first gate.

Before the first gate, there were goodly Tents erected, with beautifull Seates and Lodgings, fit for royall entertainement: and there stood also faire Tables, ready furnished with all Viands necessary for the life of man, disposed in very good order, and all commers sate presently downe, banqueting together very iocondlie.

Sobriety the Mistres, and her waiting-Maides.

The Hostes or Mistres of the place, named her selfe *Sobrietie*, who had all her Chamber-maids about her, waiting on the Table very honestly, with all diligence and exceeding good grace. One of them tearmed her selfe *Chearefulnesse*; another *Modesty*; and the third *Honesty*. They had also the *Graces* (their Sisters) with them in this place of pleasure, where *Sobriety* pleased to liue with her Houshold.

Of Sports & pastimes.

Some gaue themselues to Wrastling; Others delighted in other honest pastimes; without any debate or discontentment. Some also conferred together; and others wore awaie the time, in playing vpon musicall Instruments, while others sung sweet and honest songs to them.

Their order after Refection, in such as were guests.

In breefe, they had all seemely pastimes, both to exercise and recreate themselues, before and after their repasts, according as was thought requisite for the support of health. After they had honestlie taken their refection, one part of them retired (very merily, and in good order) home to their houses and affaires; after they had first thanked, and taken leaue of their Lady *Sobriety*. But the rest that remained, being a farre greater number then they that returned, not contented with this hauing receiued good fare, and spending the time so much as was thought requisite: would needes passe on further, and entred into the Garden at the great Gate, without making any account of *Sobrietie* their first Hostesse, or yeilding her any thankfull requitall.

The description of Gurmandise and Gluttony.

At the entrance of the Arbour, there sate a Woman, looking euery where about her, she being very grosse and fat: her Cheekes swolne and puffed vp; her Lippes great and red, and her Face like a flat platter: and shewing her selfe very seruiceable, she called to the troope of people, making them courteous signes with her head, and shewing them (with both her hands) the doores open entrance.

The Image of drunkennesse

This Woman was called *Gurmandise*, or *Gluttony*. In the midst of the Arbour sate another Woman, in Garments like a Queen: but she was drunk, yet she gouerned there, and was chiefe Mistresse of the Lodging. She had a Crown of young Vine sprouts on hir head, and held a great Cup in both her handes, as one that was alwaies readie to drinke: beeing attended and accompanied with her Ladies and wayting-Maides, who serued all such as entred presently with drinke. The first was named *Folly*; the second *Madnesse*; and the third *Luxury*; on whom still waited her Brother *Excesse*, all of them fitted with Garments according to their conditions.

The Ladies & waighting women attending on drunkennesse, described in their seuerall qualities and conditions.

A fourth Hand-maide was also present by, called *Forgetfulnesse*, who seemed to stand as one astonied: And then there was another, sitting on the ground, called *Slothfulnesse*, Sister vnto *Idlenesse*, and Daughter to *Carlesnesse*. She sitting halfe asleep, as it were; held a Cuppe of Wine in her hand, which (negligently) shee spilled on the ground, *Scurrility* and *Scoffing*, with *Taunting* their Brother, and Brabling their Sister, tooke her Kinsman *Debate* by the hand, who was not far off, but sate closly conferring with *Infamy*, *Rage*, & *Fury*, who (for want of better company) supplied the last place.

This

Men transformed into all kinds of beasts, by drunkennesse

This comely company, were guarded and enuironned (as by hedges and bushes) with Beares, Bulles, Goates, great Asses, Horses, huge Mastiues, bleating Cattle, Hares, Buckes, Apes, Marmosets, Wolues, Swine, and all other kindes of Beasts; that (of liuing Men) had beene Metamorphosed into such Monsters, after they had drunke of the Wine, from the hand of the Lady. When they entred first to her; they were all Men, and so continued (for some time) in their humaine shape: but when they had thoroughly tasted of her drinkes, they lost their true formes, and were suddenly changed into Beasts. But it was a horrour to behold their countenances, and the life which these beasts led, crying and howling altogether, with a most confused hermony, and accord.

Horror to behold men changed into beasts, & what strange filthinesse then issueth from them.

Vpon the one side, some were discharging their stomackes of Wine, & then they which were Dogges, came and licked vp this loathsomnesse againe. The Swine wallowed in filthy puddles, vomiting horrible Serpents and Lizards. The Bulles and Kine, they did cast vp Frogs and Flyes: The Buckes, Pearles: The Asses, Bookes: The Bears, swords and Glaiues: The Wolues, Cats and Mice: But the Apes and Marmosets, they skipped & danced about very pleasantly. Contrariwise, the Beares and Wolues bit, and fought very furiously each against other, so that their bodies were torne and mangled,

Debates, quarels, and contentions in Drunkennes.

Vpon the left hand, where the narrow passage was, whereof we haue formerly spoken, and the small path so sildome haunted: lay the bodies of beasts stretched out along, sleeping verie soundly, although it was in their owne Dung and Vomitings. All were wounded with Wine, and many other hurts, and there they lay heaped, as a Hill of dead bodies. Some arose vp faintlie, after they had slept and digested their Wine, and afterward returned speedily to their former behauiour; but hauing on still their skinnes of sauage Beasts.

The vnwholsome and vnsauoury sleeping of drunkards.

Their returning out at the narrow gate.

These men, after they were well wearied with drunkennesse, went staggering forth of the Arbour, and found a passage out at the strait or narrow gate: but many of them in this returning, were halt and lame of their members; others were halfe Men, & halfe beasts, as Centaures, Satyes, and Sauages. When they were out of the little door, there they met with aged people, that kept the passage, who came vnto them with Bonds and Chaines, where-with they bound them hand and foote, and afterward did beate them very soundlie. If any one offered to rebell, they gaue him many blowes with a Bastinado: and they would not suffer any to escape them, vntill they had made their account with them.

Aged people that contended with Drunkards.

The most dangerous old fellow of al the rest, that gaue the most blowes, and (indeede) was most cruell; named himselfe the *Gout*, who had a very hideous shape. He had his members lanke; his ioynts grosse; his hands and fingers knit with great knots, and crooked. The second, had one while a pale countenance, and another while it was as red as any fire: and hee tearmed himselfe the *Feauer* or *Ague*. The third was the *Dropsie*, very big swolne, with a colour like to Lead and Sulpher: and he was also a shrewd smiter, tormenting vetie cruelly. For in some, he blew vp their bellies as big as Drums; others, their Legges; others, their stomacke and face; others, their whole body, and brought them into such an alteration: as they could neuer bee satisfied with drinke, but the more they dranke, so much the more thirsty were they, and insatiable. Hard at his heeles followed the *Palsie*, who seemed to be wholy impotent, and that he had not any Nerues, which were not broken: but such as he could lay hold on, he bound them in such strong and sure bonds; as he made them quite impotent eyther in halfe of their body, or all their members.

The most angry old man, was the Gout

The Feauer. The Dropsie.

The Palsie.

The fift, called *Apoplexie*, or the dead Palsie, tooke some strictly by the coller, and beat them so about the head: that they remained as halfe dead, without any vnderstanding or moouing. The *Itch* and *Scab* accompanied all these, but closely pursued by their Sister *Leprosie*, who did so beat those poore tame Roysters, that all their bodies became an hard crust, and their faces adorned with goodly Saphires. Their Noses also cost more the painting; then if they had bin limned

The Apoplexie.

The Itch, Scab, and Leprosie.

The Cuſtome of Lazers and Rogues.

limned with Gold and Siluer. Theſe fel a tugging one another by the eares, & ſo cruelly fighting; that hardly any one of them remained aliue.

So many men ſo many diſeaſes.

Thus grew ſuch a number of diſeaſes among men; that moſt of them could lay claim to a ſeueral name. But among the reſt, there was the *Falling euill* or ſickneſſe, and the *Catarrhe*, which continually lay buffeting about the head.

The Falling ſickneſſe.

The *Falling ſickneſſe* lay al along, beating his head againſt the ground, and againſt hard ſtones: that many times it brake, and the blood followed; with foaming at the mouth like an angry Swine. But woe to him whom he could faſten on; for he would fall downe vpon him, and make him in as bad a caſe as himſelfe.

The catarrhe

The falling ſickneſſe not ſo bad as the dead Palſie.

Neuertheleſſe, hee was not ſo cruell as his Kinſman *Apoplexy*, for albeit he took away al vnderſtanding: yet he left ſome motion, and reſted ſatisfied with offending himſelfe onely. *Catarrhe*, or the *Rhume*, had a groſſe head, ſo heauie and ſleepy, as very hardly could he ſupport himſelfe. His gorge was like a Sinke, euermore caſting forth vnſauory ſmels. His Noſe like a Limbeck, alwaies diſtilling: but not Roſe-water, for it was foule ſniuell, like to ſuch corruption as he bred himſelfe. And ſuch a deale of Water came forth of his head, onely to quench the heat of wine: that the ſmell thereof annoyed many, and almoſt ſtifled others.

Of the Catarrhe or Rhume.

Pouerty in his beſt bravery.

Among all theſe old wretches, there was one that had more then fiue hundred thouſand pieces and patches on his Garment, his face was couered verie thicke with dirt and filth, and he looked very meager and hideous: which made all the reſt, ſeeing him to be ſuch a poor Snake, and one vnworthy to hold ranck with them; to beat and bruiſe him, till the blood iſſued forth. This Picture of miſery was called *Pouerty*. After al theſe before named, came *Old decrepite Age*, mounted on a Charriot made of dead mens bones, and his next Neighbour *Death* triumphed ouer him. The Chariot wheeles went ouer both young and old, breaking them in pieces as it went along. Thus may you ſee by the Picture of *Apelles*, a liuely deſcription of *Sobriety* and *Drunkenneſſe*; deliuering apparantly to euery eye, both the good and euill that happeneth to men.

Old age and death.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Morall of Apelles Table, is by the Authour more ſignificantly Interpreted.

Two ſeuerall kinds of life, and liuing among men.

Concerning this Table of *Apelles*, wee muſt firſt conſider, that it expreſſeth two ſeuerall kindes of life, and two manners of liuing which are among men. That is to ſay, the one, of Abſtinence and Sobrietie; the other, of Gurmandiſe, Gluttony, and Drunkenneſſe. The firſt is reputed neceſſarie for al men, for, as we cannot liue without eating and drinking, conſidering we are not Angels, but Mortal Men: euen ſo as needfull is it, to gouerne our life by the rule of Sobrietie. Therefore we ſhould all enter into the Houſe of Sobriety, without deſiring to paſſe any further: for wee liue not to eate, but eate to liue. And becauſe taſting is one of the ſences, which wee haue moſt in common with other creatures: it is very requiſite, that man ſhould moderate and temper the ſame, both by Abſtinence and Sobriety, as alſo reaſon which onely is giuen him; if he will not only ſhew himſelfe to bee a beaſt, but that which is more, worſe then a beaſt. For this cauſe, *Apelles* figured the dwelling of Sobriety without the Garden or Orchard, to let vs vnderſtand thereby; that we are not to paſſe any further, to venter on exceſſe: but to reſt contented, with receiuing our refection honeſtly, for ſatisfying the neceſſities of nature. In like manner, he gaue no other abiding to Sobrietie, then Tents, Pauillions, & Tabernacles, to ſignifie: that we ſhould make no long ſitting at the Table, no more then Paſſengers do in their Inne, who enter not to remaine there alwaies, but onely to content nature, and then to paſſe on vpon their iourney.

The habitation of Sobriety.

The reaſon of Sobrieties dwelling without the Garden.

Tents and Pauillions alowed to Sobriety

If *Apelles*, who was no other then a Pagan, could take knowledge heereof: much more ought we to conſider the

Apelles was a Pagane.

ſame,

same then he, considering that we haue the testimony of holy Scripture, which admonisheth vs; *That we haue heere no permanent Cittie; That we dwell in this body, as in a Tabernacle, vntill such time as it shall please the Lord, that gaue vs such Lodging, to dislodge vs hence.* I thinke also, that he gaue vs admonishment heerein, by the Feast of Tabernacles, and the life which the ancient *Israelites* led in the Wildernesse. Because our life is so short, & as we feed but to lengthen and continue the same: we should therefore bee fearefull of diminishing and curtalling our time, in spending the most part of our life at the Table, where many crackes and flawes are made by excesse. Therefore they may well be counted wise, and woorthy to beare the name of men, that would goe on no further: but returned honestly to their home affaires, after they had soberly receiued their sustenance.

Great helpes that a Christian man hath.

The Feast of Tabernacles.

Short feasting auoydeth surfeiting.

By the Sportes, Pastimes, Musique, and Songs, which were exercised in this Meadow of Sobriety; I thinke hee purposed to demonstrate, that the life of Man hath some honest pleasures and recreations allowed it. For God doth not prohibite vs, to vse such good gifts as he hath bestowed on vs; liuing in moderate ioy, when the time so requireth. It is written: *That there is a time to laugh and a time to mourne; a time for ioy, and a time for sadnesse.* And therefore a Christian man may learne, to vse both the one and other well, and all to the glory of God.

Honest sports and pleasures allowed to mans life.

Eccle. 3. 4.

Most certaine it is, that God permitteth vs honest pleasures and delightes, which he hath not forbidden, or are to his dishonour, or any occasion of euill. All honest and vertuous exercises are permitted vnto vs, in rendring thankes to God for them, and acknowledging his benefits by them: prouided also, that we keepe our selues alwaies within the rule of Sobriety, Modesty, and Honesty. Thus we see one manner of life, and that which most conuenientlie beseemeth man.

God permitteth vs al honest pleasures

The other is more brutish, then humaine, the sense and description whereof, taketh it selfe thus. First, for the large and common beaten way, whereby men entred into the Garden, and concerning the vnbrideled multitude that made vse thereof: I vnderstand his meaning to be thus, that euery man affecteth ease, idlenesse, and voluptuous pleasures.

The other brutish kinde of life in the dwelling of drunkennesse

Some knew how to giue a meane to their desires, and tooke not so much Meat and Wine, as should trouble their vnderstanding: but could well returne to their ordinary businesses, and vse reason in all thinges. Now, there were others, that knew not any meane or measure, neither had regard to time or place: but would needs venter further, and fell into such extreamity of follie, as they lost their senses, vnderstanding, and memory. So that thereby they became brute beasts, and could no way retire from this disordered battaile: till diseases, pouerty, and necessity admonished them of their duty. For they are the last Companions of drunkennesse, and the Wages for all Carrowsers, that doe her the greatest honour. By the Hand-maides or waiting Weomen on drunkennesse: I vnderstand those seueral vices, as their apt Names doe signifie, and they are the meetest for her company. And by the drinkes which shee gaue to her Quaffers, hee meaneth the venome and poyson of voluptuous excesse, which maketh such a transport of mens vnderstandings: that they grow like vnto brute beastes, according as they take lesse or more, & according to the complexions they are of; representing euen those very beasts, whose nature and manners they come neerest vnto, and refusing all friendlie counsell and aduise; do delight more in such barbarous and vnciuill courses, then any other manners that should shew them to be men.

The Scholers of ryot and excesse.

Diseases, Pouerty and necessity, the last companions of Drunkennesse.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *A Paradoxe in praise of imprisonment; maintaining, that it is more healthful & profitable to be in Prison, then at libertie.*

IF goods lockt vp in the smallest houses, are of greatest price and most in request; yea, with more diligence looked

The greatest treasures lye in the smallest roomes.

looked vnto and preſerued; then thoſe diſplayed and expoſed to their iudgements, that haue a will (by them) to offend others: I may then by good reaſon maintain, that the Priſon is better then the publike place of liberty, which often times turnes to his greateſt dammage, that had the higheſt deſire vnto it. Nor ought (vnder correction) the tearms of Priſon and Priſoner, be ſo offenſiue to the eares of any man, as if they were ſharp pricking Thorns, neither to bring ſuch moleſtation to their minds, as to make them ſometimes tremble, quake, and ready to ſwound with feare. Conſidering, that in this Citty wherein wee dwell, euery man may well call and repute himſelf to be a Priſoner; but eſpecially in this world, where no one can call himſelfe free, vntill the breath bee forth of his body. And this was the reaſon, why the holy Apoſtle of God ſo loudly demanded: *What was he that could deliuer him frō this mortal priſon?* He ment the priſon of this fleſhly body, which appears to me, to be noleſſe profitable to the life of man; then a ſtrong Priſon walled with ſtone, that ſerues him as a rampier and ſafe defence, againſt al dangers which might daily aſſaile him.

I may ſpeake this, by the example of many great perſonages, to whom impriſonment brought no meane happineſſe: as keeping them in aſſurance frō their enemies, and thereby made their poore life the more tranquile to them. Laſtly, when it became hatefull to thē: then it more apparantly witneſſed, what good it had done them. For they were no ſooner deliuered, and ſet at libertie; but they were miſerably ſlaine by their Aduerſaries.

Poore wits, that are ignorant of priſon benefit; vnderſtand not the priuiledges enſuing thereby: which indeede are ſuch, as neuer can iuſtly make any man agreeued. If it do, for a little while; it recompenceth it afterward with vertue, glory, and honour. If not in this World; yet it failes not in the other, which is perpetuall and euerlaſting: as we haue gathered by diuers Saints and iuſt perſons, who (after the impriſonment of this world) haue (vndoubtedly) entred into eternall liberty. And for proof of the bleſſed recompence, which impriſonment bringeth to men of vertue, let vs take example by *Marius*, honoured with the great Empire of *Caſar*. By King *Matthias*, who after he had bin detained in *Hungaria*, by King *Ladiſlaus*: from Priſon entred ſuddainely to the Crowne. *Lewes* the twelft, ſcarſely was he ſet in aſſured liberty, and out of Priſon: but immediatly hee was made King of Fraunce. Ye ſhall finde an infinite number, who after they were reſtored to freedome from impriſonment; became more glorious and excellent perſons, then euer they had beene all their whole life time before.

Now, as I will not deny, but impriſonment, ſtocks, chains, and manacles, may ſomewhat impeach ouer worldlie operations: yet dare I then (withall) maintaine, that they cannot any way diſturb them, if they be honeſt and holy cogitations, nor the noble and vertuous conceipts of men, or their high, hopefull, and excellent enterpriſes. For, in deſpight of all thoſe meanes, as were imployed to hinder this reſolution: it held credit, not onely in the Caſtle and Priſon at *Paris*, in the Dungeon at *Rouen*, in the Hell-houſe at *Florence*, the Limbo at *Monce*, and the Stone-houſe at *Luca*; but had power beſide, to paſſe the Croſſe of *Theodorus Cyrenæus*; to enter the Bull of fierce *Phalaris*, and penetrate into the cruell Tunne of *Attilius Regulus*.

To proue this, *Signior Aſcanio Cōlonna* (who was kept in the Priſons of *Andrea Damia*) could not by all extreamities vſed againſt him, be any way impeached in his moſt rare prudence; when (after long conſideration thereof) the ſaide *Damia*, of a Capitall enemie, became a moſt faithfull and affectionate Seruant of the Emperour.

Let vs conſider the infinite benefits, whereof impriſonment is the only cauſe. Firſt of all, it keepes the Spirit of man, frō cōmitting many enormous ſins; his eyes, from beholding ſpectacles to offend them, or motions ſtirring vp carnall concupiſence; his eares from hearing irkeſome and infecting ſpeeches; and the ouer readie and ſinfull tongue, from blaſpheming the holy name of Almightie God.

Beſide theſe, he liueth more ſober and temperately, and is in ſafe ſecuritie,

The tearme of Priſon and Priſoner no way offenſiue

The words of Saint Paule.

The great benefit of impriſonment to men.

Reward of greefe by impriſonment.

The recompence of vertuous men, by impriſonment.

Impeachmēt of worldlie operations.

Proofe of honorable and reſolute conſtancy.

The infinite benefits enſuing by impriſonment to men.

be it in the times of peace, war, or peſtilence. Priſoners are exempted from paying taxations, borrowings, or houſe-rents. They cannot be ſuſpected to haunt euill companies, the frequenting whereof, is oftentimes the cauſe of ten thouſand exceſſes. Laſtly, in this holy place, eaſily are obtained the vertues of patience and humility.

The vertues of Patience and Humility.

Haue we not ſeene, and do yet daily behold, that good Fathers (to chaſtiſe the diſobedience or pride of their miſgouerned Children) cauſe them for a while to be ſhut vp in Priſon? Whence they returne ſoone after, endued with better manners and behauiour: then if they had ſpent more ſpace, in the Schoole of wiſe *Socrates*, or in the Academy of moſt prudent Philoſophers.

The chaſtiſing of lewd and diſobedient Children.

Was not that marueilous, of the Viſcount *Paulo Vicino*, who, being for ſome cauſe (whereof hee was accuſed) Captiue vnder the power of Duke *Frances*: gaue himſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of diuine Letters? Wherein (during the time of his impriſonment) he became ſo feruent and frequent, as few were found to excell him in Religion. And this was a matter, whereof (in all his former life time) he neuer had ſo much as a thought: albeit he enioyed the ſubſtance of a right good Byſhop, and of a better Abby.

The Marques *Paulo Vicino*.

I may not omit in this place, my Lord of *Roſſes*, Biſhop of *Pauia*, who at the houre when he entred Priſon; gaue himſelfe wholly to God, where as yet he liueth like a right Hermit.

The Lord of *Roſſes* Biſhop of *Pauia*.

Peter Fatinell, a Cittizen of *Luca*, hauing liued many yeares moſt miſerably, neuer comming to the Church, nor knowing God to be his Superiour: ſo ſoone as he was brought into Priſon, he deſired that a Prieſt might be ſent vnto him, to talke with him concerning his Soules health; and from thence forward, he liued in all duty and obedience.

Peter Fatinell of *Luca*.

What ſhall wee ſay of a Knight in *France*, whoſe haire (by being ſome few daies in Priſon) became all white, onlie by the alteration of his former life: ſo that, neither by Head, Beard, behauiour, or ſpeeches, he could be knowne to be the man he had beene before. The like may be ſaid of an *Italian* Preſident, who parting (in his lateſt houre) from the Priſon; declared by his wordes and diuine perſwaſions, in cõparable ſanctitie. The Priſon then is found, to be the beſt Schoole of Philoſophy, and the onely ſinguler Academy: wherein to learne all Morall vertues and Chriſtian profeſſion, and no place elſe may compare, with the Diuine and moſt praiſeworthy Priſon.

The ſtrange alteration of a Knight of *France*.

The Priſon is the beſt ſchoole of Philoſophy.

O holy and glorious houſe! Wherein the Maker and Redeemer of the world vouchſafed to lodge. The houſe of al goodneſſe and vertues: and which ought more to be deſired for peereleſſe holineſſe, then the Pallaces of Kinges and greateſt Princes. For they are more ſemblable to ſome Hell, or place of eternall death; then is the bleſſed and deuout Priſon: wherein men may paſſe their liues more religiouſly, then among all the obſeruant Fryers in the World. For there ſhall no man plead againſt ye, or picke any iniurious quarrell with ye. There they ſildome ſwear, or very little. There ye ſhall continually hear, an infinite number of faire vowes made; with a thouſand Prayers and ſupplications, both by day and night.

The glory of impriſonment.

The holy priuiledge of impriſonment.

O life moſt ſweet, and full of repoſe! How much more conſolation is to bee found in thee, then in following the Courts of the mightieſt Princes? For there, no right from wrong can be diſcerned, or any other good; then trauaile and vnquietneſſe, both of the body and minde. Seeing then it is ſo, that impriſonment bringeth with it ſo manie commodities, as I haue already declared vnto ye: I may eaſily conclude, that we ought not to be grieued, when we are made ſubiect thereunto. But rather highly to praiſe the name of God, for beſtowing on vs (thereby) the moſt ſinguler benefit, which in this World we can receiue from him.

The Authors Concluſion.

CHAP. XXIX.

A briefe Summarie, of the firſt Booke of Ciceroes Tuſculanes; concerning the miſpriſall and contempt of the World.

THe whole life of a wiſe man, is nothing elſe but a memorial, and continuall

The life time of a wiſe man

continuall regard made of death. Nor can any man iuſtly ſpeake againſt it, in regard I am verily perſwaded, that all things elſe are hurtfull to man, and that there can be no greater happineſſe then this: becauſe it is moſt certaine, that after our fraile life is ended, we ſhall bee with God. The griefe is litle or nothing at all in death: for it is oftentimes without feeling, and ſometimes with pleaſure. In what manner ſoeuer it be, it can be of no account: becauſe the paine is paſt in a moment, and we ſhould not be fearefull thereof, but rather long and deſire to embrace it. For after we haue made that happy paſſage, there remaineth no more care or ſollicitude for vs. It is but a departing hence, to goe into another Countrey, where they doe already dwell, which are departed out of this life. It is therefore a matter of ioy and felicity, and a man ſhould march thither with a chereſull courage, and not thinke much to dye, euen during his faireſt fortunes, becauſe therein is no paine, greefe, or vexation. Neither doth it procure any extinction of the Spirit, but is only a change of habitation, from earth to Heauen, which is the proper dwelling of the Soule. Wee ought not then to fear that, which cannot be auoyded, and is likewiſe neceſſary for all in generall; therefore no one can be eſteemed miſerable therein. If therefore we be mindfull thereof, and of our lateſt daies; we ſhall neuer ſinne. But may ſafely ſay with Saint *Paule: Ieſus Chriſt is our life, and Death aduantage.*

Little or no greefe at all in death.

Our departure into another Country

No quenching of the Spirit.

The End of the Sixt Booke.

The Seauenth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Tunis; *The Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies vsed among the people, and other Obseruations well deseruing memory.*

The afincient hame of *Tunis.*

THE Citty of *Thunis*, or *Tunis*, being very great, was by the *Latines* cald *Tunetum*, & of the *Arabians Tunus*: but they do hold that name to be a very corrupt vocable, becauſe (in their Language) *Tunus* doth not ſignifie any thing. This Citty was anciently called *Tharſus*, as that other which is in *Aſia*, and was at the firſt but a very little Citty, builded by the *Affricanes*, vpon the Lake which was formed vpon the *Goletta*, diſtant from the *Mediterranean* Sea, about twelue miles. But after that *Carthage* was deſtroyed, then did the Citty begin to encreaſe, both in number of Habitations and dwellers: in regard that the Armies which ſurpriſed *Carthage*, being vnwilling to tarry there (for feare of freſh ſupplies from *Europe*) came to abide at *Tunis*, and there they builded many houſes.

The deſtruction of *Carthage.*

Not long after, there came thither a Captaine, named *Hucha di Vtmen*, who gaue them to vnderſtand, that an Army ought not to ſhut vp it ſelfe in any Citty, that ſhould touch or be neere vnto the Sea: And therefore they made a Citty, which they named *Cairoan*, about the diſtance of thirty ſixe Miles from the Sea, and accounted to be an hundred miles from *Tunis*. Then did the Armies forſake *Tunis*, and inhabited this new City: other people gouerning thoſe houſes in *Tunis*, which had beene abandoned by the Armies.

Hucha di Vtmen a valiant Captaine.

Cairoan, a new citty builded.

After this, about three hundred and fifty yeares, the Citty of *Cairoan* was deſtroyed by the *Arabians*; ſo that the Rector or Ruler thereof, fled thence into the Weſt, and raigned in *Buggia*, as alſo ouer all the neighbouring partes: but ther remained in *Tunis*, a Familie or kinred of the ſaid Rector or Gouernor, that fled from *Cairoan*, who ſtill poſſeſſed the ſame, as Soueraigne Lordes thereof. About ten yeares after, they of *Buggia* were expulſed by *Ioſeph*, the Sonne of *Teſino*, and beholding the humility and kindnes of thoſe Lords: they left the State to them, wherein they continued in tranquilitie, ſo long as the Family of *Ioſeph* raigned. Wherefore *Abdul Mumen*, King of *Marocco*, hauing regained *Mabdia*, which had bin taken by the Chriſtians: paſſed homeward (in his returne) by *Tunis*, where he tooke on him the gouernment. Therefore, all the time that *Abdull Mumen* liued, and *Ioſeph* his Sonne, with their Succeſſours, *Iacob* and *Manſor*: *Tunis* continued in peace, vnder

Cairoan deſtroyed by the *Arabes.*

Tunis gouerned by the Kings of *Marocco.*

the rule of the Kings of *Marocco*. After the death of *Manſor*, his Sonne *Mahumet Ennaſir* mooued Warre againſt the King of *Spaine*: but was ouercome and forced to flight, whereupon he retyred backe to *Marocco*, and liued there ſome few yeares after his foyle. Then election was made of his Brother *Ioſeph*, who was ſlaine by certaine Souldiers to the King of *Teleſin*.

Mahumet Ennaſir, warred on the King of *Spaine*.

Now, in the interim, betweene the ouerthrow of *Mahumet*, his death, as alſo the murthering of his Brother *Ioſeph*; the *Arabes* returned backe on *Tunis*, and beſiedged it. But the Gouernour of *Tunis*, gaue notice thereof to the King of *Marocco*, and that if he ſent him not ſome immediate ſuccour: hee ſhould bee conſtrained to deliuer the Citty to the *Arabes*. The King well conſidering, on a caſe of ſuch importance; did as became a man of his high Spirit and experience; electing (aboue all other in his Court) one borne in *Ciuill*, a Cittie of *Granado*, named *Habduluaihidi*, whom hee forth-with ſent thither, with the very ſame authoritie, as if he had gone himſelfe in perſon. Being accompanied with twenty goodlie great Shippes, hee arriued at *Tunis*, which he found euen halfe vanquiſhed by the *Arabes*. But by his wiſedome, prouidence, and flowing eloquence, he foyled the enemy, pacified the State, ſet all thinges in good order, and made the Countries entrance ſure againſt all Intruders. After him, his Sonne ſucceeded, named *Abu Zaccherias*, who in wiſdome and learning excelled his Father. He cauſed to be builded in *Tunis* (on the Weſt ſide of the Citties very higheſt part) a mightie great Rocke, and many goodly Pallaces in the Citty: with a beautifull Temple, which had an high Tower on the top thereof, round engirt with ſtrong walles.

Tunis beſieged by the *Arabes*.

Tunis deliuered from the *Arabes*.

Abu Zaccherias K. of *Marocco*.

This *Abu Zaccherias* went likewiſe to *Tripoli*, where his valour won him ſuch renowne, and his wiſedome made ſo good benefit of the Countrey: that (at his death) he left an infinite Maſſe of treaſure behinde him. He being dead, his Sonne ſucceeded him, who was an ambitious proud young man, & would no longer ſuffer himſelfe to be gouerned by the Lordes of *Marocco*: becauſe hee ſaw their declining and downefall, and that the Family of *Marino* began to ſet in footing, raigning ouer the Regions of *Fez*, as *Beni Zeiren* did in *Teleſin*, and in *Granado*.

The death of *Abu Zaccherias*

The declining of the Kingdome of *Marocco*, and riſing of that of Fez.

Theſe two great Potentates began to Warre vpon each other, and to contend for priority of State: but by this their diſcord, the power of the Lordes of *Tunis* encreaſed, ſo that they went with an Army againſt *Teleſin*, and compelled them to pay them tribute. Whereupon, the King that new aroſe from the Houſe of *Marino*, and had bin at the ſurprizall of *Marocco*: ſent many rich preſents to the Gouernour of *Tunis*, recommending both himſelfe, and his whole State vnto his fauour. The Gouernour accepted him as a Friend: alwayes prouided, that he ſhould be inferior to him. And ſo hee returned in triumph to *Tunis*, cauſing himſelfe to be called King of *Affrica*: which Title was thought very deſertful for him, becauſe (as then) there was not a more powerfull Prince in all *Affrica*, then he.

Entercourſe between *Marocco* and *Tunis*.

The King of *Tunis* King of *Affrica*.

He began then to ordaine his Court Royall, with Secretaries, Councellers, and à Captaine Generall: vſing all thoſe Ceremonies, that the Kinges of *Marocco* formerlie had done. And from the time of this Prince, euen vnto our daies: *Tunis* held on the ſame encreaſing Dignitie, as well in Habitations, as in Ciuility; ſo that it became the onely and ſinguler Cittie of *Affrica*. After his death, his Sonne, to whom the Royall Crowne came in right; cauſed certaine Townes or Burroughes to be builded about the Cittie. One, without the Gate, called *Bedſuaica*, containing about ſome three hundred Houſes. Another, without the Gate, called *Bed Elmancra*, amounting to a thouſand Houſholds. And theſe two Townes are full of infinite Artificers. As of Fiſher-men, Apothecaries, and diuers other.

Ordination of the Court Royall and Councellers.

Building of Townes and villages without the Citty.

In the laſt named Borrough, there is a ſeparate ſtreete, as if it were another little Towne by it ſelfe: wherein doe dwell the Chriſtians of *Tunis*, that are imployed in the Princes guard, and in other Offices, which the *Moores* cannot, nor are permitted to doe. Afterward, another Towne was added, which is without the Gate, called *Bed*

The Chriſtians of *Tunis*.

Bed and *Bahar*, that is the Marine or seagate, which is neere to the Lake of the *Goletta*, about halfe a Mile.

The Warehouses of Christian Merchants.

In this Towne, doo lodge Christian Merchants, and Strangers; as the *Genewayes*, *Venetians*, and *Catalanes*, who do all hold their Ware-houses & their Lodgings seperately, of the Moores. This Towne is bigge enough, and maketh about three hundered fires, betweene the Christians and the Moors: but the houses are little. So that, between the walled Cittie, and the Townes about it, may be accounted some nine or tenne thousand Housholds.

The Cittie it selfe, and maner thereof among the Inhabitants.

The Cittie it selfe, is faire and well ordered, to wit; euery Art is seuerall by it selfe. Beside, it is very populous, and wel inhabited: but the Inhabitantes (for the most part) are Artificers, and especially Weauers of Cloath, because in *Tunis* is made a very great quantity of most perfect cloath, which is sold thorow all *Affrica*. And they are very choise, in hauing their cloath to be strong and good, for the Women of the Cittie, are excellent Spinners; and when they Spin, they vse to sit in some place, that the Spindle may descend downe low, or out of some Window, answering to some Court of the house; or by some hole, made out of one roome into another: so that by the waightinesse of the Spindle, descending such a depth, the thredde is well drawne, made round and eeuen.

The women of *Tunis* are singuler spinners.

The Marketplace of the Gity, & howe it is traded.

In this City, is a market place, whereon standeth a great number of Shoppes, appertaining to Merchants, Trading in Cloath, and they are helde to be the Richest men in *Tunis*.

The conditiō of the people in their seuerall degrees.

There are other Merchants and Artezans; as Apothecaries and such as sel Sirrops, Electuaries, Perfumes: And Silkemen, Taylors, Sadlers, and other Handicraftes men. The people are verie benigne and louing, and the Tradesmen, Merchants, Priests, Doctors, and al they that haue the managing of any office, do go well Garmented, weating great *Tulipantes* on their heads, made vp of a long and large Towell. Thus do the men of the Kinges Court weare, and Soldiers; but there they do not vse to couer theyr heads.

Great scarsity of Graine, & the cause thereof.

Of wealthy men indeede, there are but few, in regarde of the great dearth of Graine: for the ordinary price of a measure vsed amongst them (valuing with vs a quarter Sacke) is three Doubles, which are four Ducates of them of *Venice*. And this scarsity ensueth, by reason that the people of the City, cannot husband their Neighboring grounds, thorow the great molestation which they haue by the *Arabes*. Therefore, their Corne is faine to come conducted from farre thither, as from *Vrbs*, from *Buggia*, and from *Bona*. Some of the Cittizens haue certaine little Farme-houses neere to the Citty and well walled about, where they sowe such small portions of grounde as they haue, with Barley or Wheate. And those grounds must be well watered; therefore in euerie Farme they haue a Well, out of which they draw water by the help of a Wheel, and so conuey it then by channels, ingeniously deuised and made. The Wheele is turned about by a Mule, or a Cammell; and so the Water running along, by men the ground is watred therewith.

Citizens farme houses without the City.

The great drought of their grounds

As for the quantity of Corn that may be produced from one of these smal Farmes, and Husbanded with such paine & endeuour: It will not last the owner for halfe the yeares space; and yet notwithstanding, the Bread is fair, white and wel Baked. For, they do not boult out any Flower, but let it go wholly together, although it asketh much labour in the making: especially, when they conuert it into Paste, which they beat with great Pestles, made after the manner of those, wherewith they beat Rice and Flax in the Countrey of Egypt.

The perfection of their Bread.

A rude kinde of food eaten by them.

The Merchants, Artezanes, and Cittizens, haue an equall Custome, to eate (in the day time) a vile and rude meate, which is Barley Dow, steeped in Water, and reduced like a kinde of Glew: then is it put into a little Oile, or the Iuice of Limons, or some of Orenges: and this coorse kind of food they swallow down, without any chewing, receiuing it by little and little, and calling it *Bessis*, but indeed they eate it very beastly.

The Barley market place.

There is a Market place, where nothing else is sold but Barley Meale, and it is onely bought to make that kinde of meate. They vse another meate, which is somewhat more cleanly and handsom. They take a light kinde of Paste, and then boyle it in water, and when it is well sodden, they put it into an Earthen Vessell; and

& gathring it togither in the midst of the Dish, they poure Oyle vppon it, or the broath of fat meate, and so eate it as they do the other, and this kind of food is termed among them *Bruzin*. Neither within nor without the Cittie, is there anie Mill, that grindeth on the water, but they are all mooued by Beastes; so that a Mill can hardly grinde a Soame of Corne in a day.

No Water-Mils within or without the Citty.

There are no Springs, nor Riuers, or VVelles of wholsome water: but out of Cesternes, wherein they gather raine water. A little without the Cittie, there is a Poole of running water, but it is somwhat brackish, and thither resorts all the Water-bearers, with their Beastes and other cariages; where when they are filled, they make sale of them in the Cittie, and the people vse to drinke it, as beeing more wholsome then the Cesterne Water. Other Wels there be of verie good water; but they are for the Prince, & for his Courtiers.

Wels of water reserued for the prince

There is a verie faire Temple, and great in Circumference, furnished not onely with a number of Priests; but also, with great Rentes and Reuennewes. Other Temples there are in the Cittie, and neighbouring Townes, but of much lesse and vnable quality.

Temples in the City.

Many Colledges of Schollers there are, and Monasteries of some Religious people, for whom the Almes of the people is their best allowance. If any one be a Natiue of *Tunis*, and his follie doo lead him, to hurle stones about the streetes, their wisedome is so great, that they repute that ydle Asse to be a Saint.

Colledges of Schollers and Monasteries.

The more part of the houses are beautifull enough formed, and made of squared stone, verie morkemanly: On the roofes whereof, are goodly Ornaments, and curious Carued Plaister, painted with Azure, and other fine Colours. And thus they do, because Woode and Timber is verie scarse in *Tunis*; and therefore their Wood-worke must needs bee verie vnhandsome.

The manerof their houses.

They were wont to paue the Streetes before their Doores, with certaine calcinated and shining stone; and the Courts within, with equal squared broade stone, glistering and shining in like manner: which yet is obserued in many places, & euery house generally hath his Tarras. The doores or entrances are very beautiful, shewing as if they were between two Porches, one toward the streete, and the other, betweene the entraunce and the house, ascending vp certaine degrees or staires, of verie comely and wel wrought stone. Euery one striueth to haue his houses entrance most curious, & indeed, more costly then all the rest of the house: because the Cittizens do most commonly sit at their doors, conferring there with any of their Friendes, and apting what businesse is to be done by their seruants.

Pauing of their streets.

The doores and entrance into the houses.

VVithout the Cittie are goodlie possessions of fruits, which grow but in smal quantity, yet are all good. Of Gardens there are almost an infinit number, planted with Orenges, Lemmons, Roses, and verie sweet floures: especially, in one place called the *Bardo*, where are the gardens and Noble Pallaces belonging vnto the King, verie proudly builded, and excelling in Carued woorkes, and curious Colours.

Orchards & Gardens with out the City.

Round about the Cittie, for welneere the space of fiue or sixe miles on euerie side, are lands of Oliue trees, which yeild such plentiful quantitie of Oyle, as not only furnisheth the Cittie and neighboring parts; but also great store sent into Egypt. Of the Oliue tree VVood also, they make a kind of Coales, which is very helpful to the Cittie, and other partes of the wood they burne beside. The weomen go neatly clothed and adorned, and (out of their owne houses) their faces are couered: and they spende most of their care, in fine polishing and perfuming of themselues; for the Perfumers Shoppes are the latest open in all the Citie. As concerning the Magistrates of the sayde Cittie, they follow in their due Descriptions.

Great store of Oliue trees

The order for their women.

1. THE King of *Tunis*, is created by inheritance, and by election of his Father, with Oath taken of the principal Officers; as the Captains, Doctors Priests, Iudges, and Readers. So soon as the King dyeth, his successour is immediately placed on the Seat Royal, and al do yeild him their obeysance. VVhich being doone, they present him before the man, that holdeth the greatest degree in office, who is called the *Munafid*, and is as a Vize-King in gouerning the Kingdome. This *Munafid* rendereth an account of all occasions by him administered,

The election of the King of *Tunis* after his Fathers death

The *Munafid*, or chiefe officer next the King.

red, euen to the preſent day, and (with the Kings conſent) he diſpoſeth of Officers, delinering full information of all Mandates, and for the prouiſion of the Soldiers.

The *Meſuar*, the ſecond great officer.

2 Next to the *Munafid*, the ſecond man of dignity in the Kingdome, is the *Meſuar*, who is as a Captaine Generall; hauing full authority ouer the Soldiers, and ouer the Kinges Guard. Hee may diſpend, encreaſe, and diminiſh the Soldiers Wages, as ſeemeth beſt to himſelf. He may make election according to his owne will: Either in remouing the Armies, or doing any thing, euen as if the King himſelfe did ouerſee all things.

The *Caſtellano*, or keeper of the Tower, and ſuch occaſions as concerne his Office.

3 In the thirde degree, followeth the *Caſtellano*, or Lieutenant of the Tower, a man of much reputation, who is appointed vnto all buſineſſe concerning the Tower or Caſtle. He hath charge of the Soldiers planted therein; and for all buildings of Caſtels and Pallaces belonging to the King, as alſo of all priſoners committed to the Tower. Wherefore, it is a Cuſtome obſerued amongſt them, that whē any important offence is found to be done, the tranſgreſſors are referred for impriſoment to the Caſtle, as nowe adayes is vſed in the Court of Rome. He hath likewiſe Authority (as a Iuſtice of Peace) to examine all Offenders comming before him; and no otherwiſe, then as if the King himſelfe were there in proper perſon.

The Gouernor of the Citty.

4 The Gouernor of the Cittie, is the fourth man of the Kingdome, and is ſuperiour ouer all Capital cauſes. He chaſtiſeth al ſuch as commit Ribaldry, or any euill actions in what Nature ſoeuer. And to ſpeake al in a word, he is diſpleaſed at al things that go againſt Iuſtice.

The cheefe Secretarie of Eſtate to the King for all Occurrences

5 The chiefe Secretarie of Eſtate, is he that receiueth Letters from al parts of the world to the King, or writeth vnto them in the ſame Nature. Hee hath Authoritie to open all Letters out of the Kinges preſence: thoſe onely excepted from the fore-named Gouernor, and the *Caſtillian*. When he hath read the Letters to the King, hee writes and anſweres in his name, according as hee is directed by the King. And queſtionleſſe, hee is a man of great reputation, as he that knoweth all the ſecrets, yea, and moſt concealed in his Soueraignes breſt. Vnder him are many inferiour Secretaries, appointed for Supplications, Mandates, & other occuring buſineſſe, which depend moſt of all vpon the Kings mouth.

Maiſter of the Haull, and authority of his Office.

6 He that is ſtiled Maiſter of the Haule, on ſuch daies as the Councell doe meet together; hath eare to adorne the place with Tapiſtry, and the walles with Hangings: aſſigning each Councell (at his entrance) to his meet place, and commaunding the Curſores or Meſſengers (in the Kinges name) to diſpatch al ſuch buſineſſes as they are ſent about by the Councell, or to apprehend any man by them appointed. And this Maiſter hath great familiarity and diſcourſe with the King; becauſe he goeth in and out, and conferreth with him, when, and as often as himſelfe pleaſeth.

The Treaſurer and his charge.

7 The Treaſurer ſtandeth bound to receiue the Monies of the Officers, and to aſſigne the ſame to others deputed for the Caſh, and to lay it out according to the Kinges commaund. His Office is very important and Honourable.

The Officer for deceipt of Tols and Cuſtomes.

8 The eight man in order, of any credit, is the Cuſtomer, or Receiuer of Touls and Cuſtomes. He gathereth the Touls for things, which come into the Citie from al parts by Land. He collecteth the dues of Merchants-Strangers, which is two parts and an halfe on euery hundred. He keepeth a great number of Officers and Catch-poles, who, as they ſee any Stranger enter, that appeareth to be a man of any account or credit: doe preſent him to the Cuſtomer; or if he be not preſent, or at leyſure, they keepe the party in Priſon, vntill ſuch time as beſt opportunity ſerueth. And then he is compelled to pay ſuch a ſumme of Money, as he impoſeth on him, vrging him thereto by many oaths.

The Officer for Sea dues and Collections.

9 There is another Toule-taker or Cuſtomer, that gathereth the Toules brought and carried from forth the City, or are to be ſent away by Sea, from any Port vpon the Coaſt. And the place of this Toule-Takers abiding, is on the Lake of the *Goletta*, neere to the Citty.

The Authoritie of the Stewarde or Spenditore.

10 Next vnto the forenamed Officers, there is a *Spenditore*, or Steward. He is (in effect) Maiſter of the Houſhold, and hath the charge of furniſhing the

the Kings Pallace, with Bread, flesh, and all other things necessary for the Court. As apparrell, to cloath the Women and Ladies attending on the King; the Eunuches, and the Negro slaues, who are as Chamber-waiters to the King, and attending on the Nurses. Hee hath charge also, to dispense with the Offices that happen in the Castle, or out of the Castle, among the Christian Slaues, and prouideth them of meat and rainment, according as necessity requireth. His care likewise extendeth, for the expences of the Kinges Children, and all their Nurses.

Other Officers of lower esteeme and repute.

11. Beside all these forenamed degrees in the Court Royall, and those in greatest place, by whom the State is gouerned: there are other Officers of meaner reputation: As the Maister of the Stable, the Maister of the Guardrobe, the Chaplaine, the Iudge for the Fielde, the Maister of the Kinges Children, the Commander of the Footmen, and such like. The King keepeth a thousand & fiue hundred Light-horse, who for the most part, are Christian Renegadoes, and euery one of them hath prouision for his owne person and Horse. Ouer them, there is a Captaine appointed, who placeth or dismisseth them after his owne pleasure. There are also an hundered and fifty horse of Native Moores, who ordinarily do giue counsell to the King, in matters appertaining to the wars, and serue as Maisters of the campe. Also 150. Crosse-bowes, who are all Christian Renegadoes, and these do alwayes go about the King, when hee rideth either in the Citty, or abroad. But the most secret & especiall Guard vnto the King, which alwaies are neerest to his person, consisteth wholly of Christians, that dwell in a certaine neere bordering Towne. Before the King, there goeth another Guard on foote, and they are all Turkes, armed with Bowes and Pistols.

Christian Renegadoes.

Christians are the speciall Guard to the King.

Then before the King, rideth the Commander of the Footemen: and on his one side, rideth hee that beareth the Kings Partezane, and on the other, hee that carrieth his Target: and next behind his horse, he that beareth his Crosbow. About him, rode diuers other Officers; as the Constables, the Mace bearers, who are appertaining vnto the Ceremonies. The goldend ucat of the King, waigheth 24. Carrats, and is one Ducat and a third part, of those Ducates which are currant thorow *Europe*. They stampe also certaine Mony of Siluer, foure square, containing the weight of a Carrate; and thirty or two and thirty of them, do make a Ducate. Their Money is termed *Nasari*; and in *Italy*, their Ducate is called a Double.

The waight of the Kinges gold Ducat.

CHAP. II.

Of the most potent King, called Great Tamberlaine; *What Kingdome and Prouinces were Conquered by him; And the manner of his Military Discipline.*

AMong the *Greeks*, *Romaines*, *Carthagenians*, and other Nations, were manie verie excellent Captains and Soldiers, who as they were Wise, and very fortunate in warre, so they were as happie in hauing Historians, that wrote most amplye of their generous actions.

Captains and Soldiours of note & name, in diuers Nations.

But in our time, there is found a notable man, who may be saide (deseruedlie) to equall all the other, how excellent any way soeuer they were; and yet (notwithstanding) vnfortunate in this, that hee could finde no man to write or describe his deeds. So that I, beeing desirous to say somwhat of him haue been constrained to begge and borrow among manie; and yet I shall speake but little, and confusedly also of him.

The man was named *Great Tamberlaine*, who (at his beginning) was a toyling Labourer in the Fields, or (as some others say) a poore Soldier: and yet neuertheless, he attained to so great Seigniories and Victories, that hee could bee thought no lesse then mighty *Alexander*, or if he were, it was very little; and this man raigned, about the yeare three hundered and ninety.

The description of *Tamberlain*, at his beginning.

Some do report, that hee was descended of the *Parthians*, a people much feared in the Romaines time, and yet notwithstanding, slenderly renowned. His Father and Mother were poore people, and yet himselfe of good and gentle disposition;

The descent & parentage of *Tamberlaine* and his Description.

ſpoſition: well compoſed of his members, ſtrong, and luſty, a man quicke and ſudden, ſharpe of ſpirit, and of good and reſolute iudgement.

Euermore, his thoughtes aimed at haughtie matters, as wel during the time of his pouertie, as after his attaining vnto wealth & riches. He was of great Courage, ſo that euen from his Infancy, hee was Naturally enclined to warre, and he gaue his minde thereto with ſuch ſollicitude, and ſtudious endeuour in learning the Art Military, as it ſeemed verie hard to iudge, wherein he was moſt happy, either in valour and dexterity, or in Wiſedome and a ſetled ſpirite. With which Vertues and promptitudes, beſide ſuch as we are to ſpeake of heereafter, he won (in ſmall time) the very greateſt reputation, that euer man could reach vnto.

The great & happy inclination of *Tamberlaine.*

His beginning, according as *Baptiſta Fulgoſa* declareth, was, that hee beeing the Sonne of a poore man, and keeping Cattle in the Field, with other Boyes of the ſame profeſsion, it hapned vppon a day, that his Companions and hee ſporting together, they would needes make choiſe of him to be their King. Now, albeit this their election was doone but in ieſt; yet he whoſe ſpirit applyed it ſelfe to great occaſions, in the ſerious purſuite of their ſport and play, made them all ſwear vnto him, that they would do whatſoeuer he commanded them, and to obey him, as if he were their King indeede.

Baptiſta Fulgoſo, of *Tamberlaines* Originall,

After he had taken this oath of them, he commanded that euery one ſhoulde ſell his Cattle; and leauing this baſe ſeruility of life, to follow the exeteiſe of Armes, retaining him as their King & Captaine. All which they did; and within few dayes after, fiue hundred Herdſmen were gotten togither, by whoſe aſsiſtãce, the firſt acte that euer he did, was to rob Merchants, as they paſſed that way; and afterward, he diuided the booties ſo iuſtly amongeſt his Companions, that they vowed their following ſeruice vnto him, with all vnfaigned loue and fidelitie, and this courſe of life, drew many other new ſeruants to him.

Tamberlaine made a King in ſport among Boyes.

Tamberlaines firſt acte, was robbing of Merchants.

Theſe matters being vnderſtoode by the King of *Perſia*, he ſent one of his Captaines with a thouſand horſe, to take him and al his Conſorts. When the Captaine was come vnto him, hee handled the caſe ſo ingenuouſly with him, that of an enemy, he made him an intimat frend, yea, and his companion and Coadiutor. So that they ioyned their forces together, and beganne to vndergoe greater enterpriſes, then any which formerly had bin done.

The King of *Perſiaes* Captaine, and his power ioyned with *Tamburlaine.*

During theſe entercourſes, there hapned diſcord betweene the King of *Perſia*, and one of his Brethren; by means whereof, *Tamberlain* tooke part with the kings Brother, and ordered all thinges ſo well by his induſtry, that helping him to win the Victory, and making him King, the King indeede was quite deſtroyed. Afterward, in requitall of this fauour, the new King created *Tamberlaine*, Captaine of the great part of his Armies, hee pretending to win new Countries for him; and for accompliſhment whereof, he muſtered more ſtore of people together. In the performance whereof, he found the meanes to make them reuolt, and grow rebellious againſt their new King. Againſt whom he went with his owne forces ſodenly, and taking the kingdom from him (which hee did helpe him to Conquer) made himſelfe King of *Perſia*, which queſtionleſſe he could neuer haue don, without moſt great induſtry, and very admirable deeds of armes.

War between the King of *Perſia*, and his Brother.

Tamberlaine maketh himſelfe King of *Perſia.*

This done, he did ſet his owne Countrey at libertie, which long time had bin ſeruile to the *Sarazins*, and Kings of *Perſia*, and by being himſelfe King, releaſed them out of thraldome. Afterward, hauing ſuch a goodly great armie in readineſſe, he raiſed Rebellions in the Neighbouring Prouinces; & by theſe meanes (in proceſſe of time) conquered *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Babylon*, *Meſapotamia*, *Scythia*, *Aſiatica*, *Albania*, *Media*, and other prouinces, with many great and moſt ſtrong Townes, and famous Citty.

The conqueſtes of *Tamberlaine.*

Now, albeit there is nothing ſet down in Writing, concerning his ſtout warres and battailes, in the acquiſition of theſe Lands and Countries, yet it muſt needes be preſuppoſed, that wonderfull inuentions, and incredible deeds of armes were by him performed. For all ſuch as haue Written any thing, do plainly ſay, That great things were done by this excellent man, and that alwayes hee carryed ſuch good gouernment in his Army, as neuer could be found any mutiny therein. For he was very faithfull and liberall, beſtowing Honors on all ſuch as followed him, and

No memorie in recorde, of his wars and battailes.

His discreete order among his men of Warre.

and each one according to his merrite, wherby he was both beloued and feared. He enstructed and ledde his men in such good readinesse, that euen in an instant (when he saw time to fauour him) by a meere signe which hee made, each man knew what hee had to doo, and how to come againe into his meete place. For (indeede) he led so powerful and great an Armie, as the World would hold it rare in any man to do the like.

His Iustice in carriage of his Campe.

In briefe, his Camp resembled one of the best Citties in the world, becausse all Officers were there in good order, euen as if yee beheld a great number of Merchants, well furnished with all things necessary for the field. He would not suffer any Pillings, Pilferies, Thestes, Forcings, or Violences, but chasticed such as were guilty therein, very rigorously. By these meanes, he carried his Campe so well prouided of al things, as the best City of any Land (in the most assured times of peace) could desire no better. Hee would haue his Souldiers to make their glory in their valiant behauiour, vertues, and prouidence. And in those regards, he would see them well payed, honored, praised, and cherished them, and (yet for all this) held them in strong subiection.

His delight in his soldiers *Tamberlaine* both King & Emperor.

Being becom thus both King & Emperor, of manie kingdomes and Prouinces in *Asia*, he had an infinite number of people resorting to him from all partes, (beside them that depended on him) only for the faire renowne of his Royall Vertues, so that he commanded a farre greater Army, then euer did King *Darius* or *Xerxes*. For they that speake of him, do say, that he had foure hundred thousand Horsemen, and sixe hundered thousand foot Soldiers, with whom he went in conquest of the lesser *Asia*. Whereof when the great Turke (named *Baiazeth*) was aduertised, who was Lord thereof, and held then his siege before *Constantinople*, hauing formerly conquered many Prouinces in *Greece*, and her Neighbouring Territories, making himselfe the richest and most feared king on the earth, he was constrained (immediately) to rayse his siege, and passe into *Asia* with all his people, mustering vp so many more as hee could all the way he went. It is reported, that he had as many horsmen as *Tamberlaine*, and a great number of foote men, all well experienced: especially in regard of the wars, wherein hee had long before exercised them against the christians. So *Baiazeth*, like a worthy-minded Captain, perceiuing he could by no other meanes resist this puissant Emperour, resolued to make head against him, & giue him battell, confiding infallibly in the great Vertue of his followers. Wherefore, being come neere to the confines of *Armenia*, where each of thē hauing prepared their people like aproued good warriors, euen vpon the point of day-breake, they began the most braue & cruell battel (as I think) that euer was fought, considering the great number of their men, with the solid experience declared on either side in cases of warre, sustained by valour and dexterity in all their Captaines. So that they fought most cruelly all the whole day, killing themselues, becausse they could not cōquer one another, nor behold to which side the victory enclined. Til towards the Euening, when the *Turks* power began to faile and stoop, yet more by multitude then power; for there dyed the greater number of them: and (as one saieth) there remained 200000. men on his part, but al the rest were discomfited, and turned their backes.

Baiazeth the great Turke besiedging *Constantinople*.

Baiazeth resolueth on battel against *Tamberlaine*.

A whole day spent in the battell.

Baiazeths army foyled, & he taken prisoner, & kept in an Iron Cage.

When *Baiazeth* behelde this aduerse Fortune, to giue fresh courage vnto his warriors, and to turne them to a Newe fight, he shewed the true valor of an vnconquerable spirit, and ran amongst his enemies, with royall indignation. All which notwithstanding, hee was so ouercharged with blowes, that he was beaten from his horse, and taken before any help could rescue him. Then was he brought to great conquering *Tamberlaine*, who caussed him to be shut vp in a Cage of Iron, and led along with him whersoeuer he went. He was fed with the crums of Bread that came from *Tamberlaines* Table, and with scraps and morselles which were throwne vnto him, as if hee had bin a Dog, as alreadie wee haue declared in the life of *Baiazeth*: which may serue to vs as a memorable example, lest we shold glorify our selues in the flattries of worldly pompe and riches. For he who (but yesterday) was such a powerful ruler ouer men, was brought to day into such extreamity, as to feede like a Dogge, and in Dogges company. And this happened by the Fortune of one man, who formerly had beene but a sillie Heardes-man, or

The great & miserable dejection of Baiazeth, to bee fed and vsed like a Dogge.

or (as others say) a poore Soldier, grown vp to such an estate of greatnesse; as (in his time) not any one could bee found, that durst or might equall himselfe with him. As for the other, who was borne in such height and magnificence, behold how one day could quite ouerthrowe him. These things are sufficient in themselues, wholly to reclaime men from worldly affectations, onely to loue and desire the fauour of Gods blessings.

Great *Tamberlaine* proceedeth on in his conquests.

Great *Tamberlaine* hauing thus ouercom all *Asia* the lesser, which before was subiect to the *Turke*; he turned towardes *Egypt*, and razed all *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Palestine*, with all their Neighboring Iurisdictions, taking (by force of arms) many notable and famous Cities. And among others, *Smyrna*, *Antioche*, *Tripoli*, *Sebasta*, and *Damas*. Afterward, beeing come into Egypt, the Soldane and the King of *Arabia*, beside many other Prouinces assembled themselus against him: but in trying the fortune of battaile, they were throwne into the rout, spoiled and vanquished. so that the Soldan was glad to saue himselfe by flight. Neuertheless, the Conqueror might easilie haue taken Egypt from him, had hee not found it ouer-difficult, to conduct so puissant an Army thorow the sharpe deserts. For which cause hee deferred to pursue him any further, but contented himselfe (as then) with subduing the rest of the limitrophing parts.

The Soldane of Egypt, saued his life by flight.

One reporteth, that he was euer very iocond, when hee found any stout resistance in his enemy, because it affoorded him the better occasion for emploiment of his wit and industrie. As it happened to him at the Cittie of *Damas*; for after he had taken it by power, the cheefe and principall men that were within it, withdrewe themselues into so strong a Fortresse, as was verily reputed to bee impregnable for any humaine strength Yet afterward, they would com to composition with him, which he vtterly refused, and would haue them either to fight it out, or else to submit themselues to his mercie. And perceyuing the scituation of the place to be good & high; within few dayes, he builded a strong Forte, both neere and much higher then the other, wherein hee vsed such speedy expedition, as the enemy could not by anie meanes hinder the erection thereof. And hauing finished it to his owne liking, his battry plaied so mainly on the other Fort both Night and day, that they could enioy no rest, vntill he had it in his full possession.

The Citty of *Damas* taken by *Tamberlain*

Another Author also hath recorded; that he obserued certaine Ceremonious Customes in his assaults. For first he would haue a White Tent or Pauillion, to bee erected before the City or Towne which he came to besiedge. Heereby hee signified to the Inhabitantes, that if on that day, while his White Tent stoode vp, they had any will to yeeld themselues to him, hee graunted their liues, and all their goods in safety.

Three Ceremonious conditions obserued by *Tamberlaine*.

His White Tent.

The second day, a Red coloured Tent was set in the same place of the other, & thereby he declared, that if (as yet) they submitted themselues to saue the residue, the Heades and Maisters of each house, should be put to death, and all the other liues preserued.

His Red tent.

But on the third day, his dismal black Tent was aduanced; whereby hee gaue them plainly to vnderstand, that the gate of all clemencie & compasion was now quite shut vppe; and whosoeuer on that day, or any day after, either yeelded, or were taken; men or Weomen (without any regard of sex or quality) were all certaine of death, and the Citty it selfe both sacked and burned.

His Blacke Tent.

Therefore, it cannot be denyed, but that the man was very cruell, albeit hee was otherwise endued with many excellent vertues. In this respect, it was especially obserued and reputed, that God had raised this man, to chastice insolent Kings, and proud people. For confirmation whereof Pope *Pius*, who liued in his time, or at the vtmost, within eight or ten yeares after, wrote of him in this manner:

Tamberlain was thought to be raised of God, for a scourge vnto Kinges and proud men.

Tamber laine beeing come to besiedge a strong Citty, that would not submit it self, neither the first or second daies, which were the limitations for pittie and mercie. The third day being come, the Inhabitants confiding on an vncertaine hope, as perswaded, that they should begge compassion of him, did set open their gates; and marshalling their Weomen and Children in the formost rankes, all cloathed in White, and carryeng Olive Branches in their handes, cryed out with lowde voices, humbly desiring mercy, which doubtlesse they could not haue fayled

Pope *Pius* his Wordes concerning *Tamberlaine*.

The strong Fort of *Damas* spoyled by *Tamberlaine*.

of in any other. But notwithstanding al this humiliation, when Tamberlaine *beholde them in this equipage, he declared not anie signe of mildnesse, but in a contrary rough and sterne humour, called for a squadron of his Horsemen, and commaunded them to Gallop fiercely on them, and treade them all to death with their Horses, and not to spare the life of one. Which presently they did, according to his command: and afterward, he burned and defaced the City, euen to the lowest foundation thereof.*

A *Geneway* Merchant, much fauored by *Tamberlain*

Another good Writer addeth to this of Pope *Pius*, that there was (at the verie same time of this bloody acte) a *Geneway* Merchant in the Campe, a man in high respect and familiar fauour with *Tamberlaine*, for continually he would conuerse friendly with him. This cruell deede, seeming horrid and hatefull to this Merchant, hee would needes enter into such boldnesse, as to demand of him: wherefore he vsed such crueltie, to them that yeelded, and humbly sued for mercie? He entering into immeasurable choller, his face fiered with rage, and his eyes seeming to shoote foorth fiery sparckles, returned this answere vnto the Merchant. *It appeareth to thee, that I am a meer man; but therein thou much abusest thy iudgement. For I am none other thing, then the wrath of God, and the destruction of the World: therefore, looke wel to thy self, that thou presume no more into my presence, except thou meanest to bee punished, according as thy audacious folly well deserueth.* Which Wordes, when the Merchant had heard, he departed suddenlie, and was neuer afterwardes seene within his Tent.

His answere to the Merchant.

The returne of Tamberlain home to his Countrie, after all his victories.

These thinges beeing thus accomplished; and this Great Man hauing Conquered most potent Countreyes; as also preuayled against, and slaine many Kings and great Lordes, not finding anie in all *Asia* able for to resist him: hee returned home to his owne Counrrey, laden with infinite spoyles and riches, beside woonperfull supplies of people, from all the parts he went thorow, where the thirde moitie of their wealth also, was willinglie brought vnto him.

There he caused to be builded, a very strong magnificent Cittie, and inhabited by those people, which (as wee haue alreadie saide) he brought home with him, from the lands and straunge kingdomes, subiected to his obedience: which Companies of so manie Nations, were great personages, and abounding in Treasure: and therefore (by the helpe of *Tamberlaine*) they made it the most sumptuous Cittie in the world, in regard of so many people, which enlarged it both in circuit and ampleneſſe, so that it abounded in pompe and wealth.

The most sumptuous Cittie in the world builded by *Tamberlain*

But in the end, this great Emperour *Tamberlaine*, albeit he maintained his estate in so powerfull authority, yet notwithstanding (as a fraile man) hee payed the debt due to Nature; and ending his dayes, left two Sonnes behinde him. But they diffred very farre from their father, as appeared by most euident signes, not only in regard of the great discord which was betweene them, but also their incapacity, not knowing how to keepe and maintaine so great an Empire, as their father had conquered and left vnto them. For the Sonnes of *Baiazeth* (whome they kept as prisoners) beeing aduertised of their dissention, got away into *Asia*, wher what by vertue of their great spirite, and diligence vsed among the people (whom they found willing and forwarde in their assistance) they recouered their former lost goodes and possessions; the like did the other Kings & Princes, whom *Tamberlain* had despoiled of their estates. So, by succession of time, the Empire began in such sort to decline, as comming to our daies, ther is found no mention made of him or his linage.

His death and discord betweene his two Sonnes.

The Sons of Baiazeth recouered their lost possessions.

True it is, that *Baptista Ignatius*, a great inquisitor into Antiquities, saith, that he left two Sonnes, in possession of those Countries and Prouinces which their father had conquerd in the parts about *Euphrates*, & that their successors inherited them, vnto the time of K. *Vsancasanus*, against whom, *Mahomet* the Turke waged battell. It is also said, that the heirs of this King *Vsancasanus* (according to the opinion of many) came to bee first Sophye, and from them the Sophies Empire was deriued, which to this day, maintaineth it selfe as a great enemy against the *Turk*. But bee it howsoeuer, it is easily presupposed, that the history of this great man (if it had bin really set downe in writing) would haue bin most memorable, beecause many worthy thinges, might haue bin therein obserued. As for my selfe, I haue neither seene or read more then ye haue

Baptista Ignatius, a famous Historian, cõcerning the historie of Tamberlaine.

The Sophies Empire came from Tamberlains heirs

heard; and I am verily perſwaded, that there is not much more recorded of him. One onely thing is confirmed by all that haue written of him, that he neuer ſawe fortune to turne her backe againſt him: neuer could he be any way vanquiſhed; neuer did he enterprize any thing, but he effected it; and neuer did his induſtrie and courage faile him, in any attempt whatſoeuer. And therefore wee may (by good reaſon) equall him, with any other (without exception) of the moſt renowned in former ages. And al this diſcourſe I haue collected out of *Baptiſta Fulgoſa*, Pope *Pius* in his ſecond part of the worldes deſcription; *Platina*, in the life of *Boniface* the 9. *Baptiſta Ignatius*, *Mattheus Palmierus*, and out of *Campinus*, in his hiſtory of the Turkes.

Fortune did neuer truely turn hir back on Tamberlaine.

Baptiſt. Fulgoſ. in lib. de Collec. Pap. Pius in deſcrip. Orb. pars 2 Plat. in vit. Bon. 9.

CHAP. III.

Of Heliogabalus, Emperour of Rome; his moſt ſtrange vices, and deformitie of life.

I haue ſpoken of a valiant and famous man, who by the meanes of his worth & valour, attained to the verie higheſt degree of Fortune. But now I am deſirous to ſpeake of another man, the moſt voluptuous & impertinent perſon that euer was, named *Heliogabalus*, Emperor of *Rome* contrary to all right and reaſon. I am the rather deſirous to ſpeake of him, to the end, that theſe contrarieties being compared togither, the ſtrength and wiſedome of the one may be the more clearely diſcerned; and the ſin and puſilanimity of the other auoided. And yet let me tell yee, that the vices and diſorders of *Heliogabalus* (and many other like him, & as vicious as he) were in ſo great number, as it is no way poſsible for me to recount them all. Beſide, I haue euer helde it fitting, to leaue ſuch horride infamy vtterly vnſpoken of, euen for the preſeruation of cõmon honeſty. For, in very deede, there haue bin ſome kings and Emperors ſo vicious and wicked, that meere modeſty forbiddeth any ſpeech of them, to auoide diſperſion or divulging of their memory, leaſt the people might thereby bee infected, and their ſucceſſours ſhould heare, that ſuch abhomination hath beene tollerated and ſupported by men, or ſuch enorme and ſinfull acts committed. Neuerheleſſe, I am conſtrained to write of him, who (in all kinds of iniquity) out-went all his predeceſſors, and admitteth no compariſon of any other that followed him, how peruerſe and wicked ſoeuer hee was. And therefore, I ſay, that our Naturall Phyloſophers, who deſcribed the Nature of hearbes, did no way leſſen their benefit and aduantage, by declaring ſuch as were hurtfull and venemous, to the end, that we might ſhunne them: then in reuealing thoſe of greateſt Vertue, for our vſe and ſeruice. For a Prince now liuing, and he that ſhall come after, by beholding how deteſtable the one was and is, in the memory of men, he will ſhun all occaſion of his reſemblance. And likewiſe, any people, that haue a good, wiſe, and vertuous King, knowing howe much other Nations haue been or are afflicted by the turbulent and wicked gouernement of euill Princes, will be the more thankefull to God, and eſteeme themſelues verie happie, in meeting with ſuch a wiſe and well-minded Prince. So praying for the life of ſuch a Soueraigne, they will ſerue him with the greater loue and loyaltie. And thoſe people, that haue an euill and bad diſpoſed Prince, wil patiently indure him; knowing, that there haue bin ſome more wicked then he. Moreouer, the Reader, by peruſing the liues and deeds of thoſe euill Princes; well conſidering, what vnfortunat ends they haue had, and the paucity of time that their raigne laſted.

Compariſon by the nature of hearbs.

Example by good and bad Princes.

Example of people towards good Princes and Tyrantt.

The reaſon why the Author ſpeaketh of *Heliogabaus*

The wicked liues of ſome Emperors & Kings, and omiſsion of their publication.

But let vs come now to our *Heliogabalus*, the ſonne of *Antoninus Caracalla*, welneere as wicked as his Son, for the great diſobedience he ſhewed to his father: for he ſlewe his Brother, and then marryed with his Stepmother, Mother to his brother whom he had ſlain. So ſoone as this *Antoninus Caracalla* the Father, was ſlain by his owne houſhold ſeruants, the Soldiers and men of armes in the camp, elected one named *Opilus Macrinus* for their Emperor, who was grand Prouoſt of the houſhold. This man, much about the ſpace of one yeare of his Empire, was ſlaine in *Bythinia*, with his Sonne, by the

Heliogabalus the Sonne of *Antonius Caracalla*.

Opilus Macrinus elected Emperor, and ſoone after ſlaine in *Bythinia*.

of *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, who getting the greater part of the *Romaine* Army to ioyne with him, attained to such reputation in the Army (by Challenging the *Antonines* name, so highly renowned in *Rome*) that immediately after the death of *Macrinus*, he was chosen Emperor by the Soldiers; which hee accepted, and sent his Letters to Rome, where hee was also confirmed Emperor by the Senate: vnder this hope and perswasion, that hee would proue to be a good Prince. Returning home afterward to the Cittie, and perceiuing himselfe to bee both well receyued and obeyed, he made no long delay of discouering his bad life. And because I desire not to tardie his History, or stay at any perticuler points thereof, I would come to his manners, whereby he was knowne so much shameleſſe and depraued in his Carnall Concupiscences, lubricious affections towards women, & other abhominations in Luxurie, as (I thinke) no man can be found so copious in words, that could bee able to expresse them. Beside, hee was so cowardly faint-harted & subiected to women, that at the first time he entred the Senat, he brought his mother with him to make his entrãce, and would haue her opinion and Iudgement to be demaunded, vppon the difference of occurring occasions, so that she was alwayes present, at all determinations and Statutes of the Senate, which neuer before had beene seene or heard of, that any womans voice was allowed in the Senate.

Heliogabalus chosen Emperor, & confirmed by the Senate.

The incontinent and luxurious life of *Heliogabalus*.

His pusilanimity and cowardice.

Not contented heerewith, he erected a Senate and congregation of women, to iudge and discide matters of State; and such things as appertained to their Feminine Lawes and customes; in which Senate, women only ruled & commanded. Ouer & beside this, he had in his pallace (in steade of Pages and braue attending Squires) a company of imodest & common women; in whose conuersation he tooke such pleasure, that he brought into *Rome* (from al parts of his empite) al such women as were found to be of that quality. Of them he made a publick Chapter, and came himselfe amongst them in the habit of a woman, and (like a valiant Captaine amongst his warlicke troopes) made a long Oration to them, calling them his Companions in armes, which are the proper tearmes of our worthiest Captaines, when they purpose to congratulate their Soldiers. Whatsoeuer he deliberated and consulted in this Senate of Strumpets, was newe and vnusuall fashions, of immodest and veneriall behauiour, wherewith his lustfull appetite could neuer be satisfied. After this Senat and Capitoll of common Whores, hee made a receptacle or Colledge of both he and she Bauds, and of lewd shameles Children, which prostituted themselues publickely: for whose prouision and norishment, hee appointed certaine great sums of money.

A Senate or Congregation of women.

Women ateding on him in sted of Pages, & a chapter of women

His consultation among his shee-Senators.

A Colledg of shee and hee Bauds.

This vnwoorthy and immodest man, was so copious in all kinds of wickednes; that albeit he was (by nature) a very comly personage: yet he would paint himself, as vaine Women vse to do. Nay more, he declared his disposition to bee so effeminate, and desirous to be a woman indeed; that, for his better attaining thereto, he assembled the most excellent Physitions and Chirurgions of those times, and suffered them to make woundes and open places in his body, whersoeuer they could best deuise them; prouided, that he might thereby bee the more enabled, to haue the companie of a man, euen as with a Woman. And resoluing to become so indeede, hee caused the secret parts of a man to be taken from him, to the end, that hee might receiue delight by the one lewdnesse, when hee was past the other. The most infamous and abhominable villaines in this lubricity, were his most esteemed frends and fauourites, and while his authority continued, hee gaue them the full administration of the Empire, and gouerned himselfe only by their Counsell, banishing all the wise & learned men; amongst whom, were expelled out of Rome, those two most famous and renowned Lawyers, *Sabinus* and *Vlpianus*. He was very curious in finding out new lasciuious inuentions, and meanes for Paillardise, such as (before) had neuer beene thought of. Hee would bee drawne in his Chariot by great and mighty Dogges; and other whiles by tamed Lyons, but that was seldom; and oftentimes hee was starke naked, sitting so in his Chaire, and then hee woulde bee drawne thorough the Cittie, by four the faireſt and youngest Weomen, who likewise must bee wholly naked, to manifest publickely his excesiue turpitude. His vtmost

He coueted to shew himselfe euery way like a woman

Sensuality the like seldom heard of.

Sabinus & Vlpianus banisht out of Rome.

How he rode in his chariot thorow Rome

vtmoſt intention and principall end, was to decke, paint, and ſo compoſe himſelfe, that he might therby incite others of the like humor, to purſue his wickedneſſe in the ſame Nature.

He rauiſhed one of the veſtal virgins.

Beſide all this, he violated one of the Nunnes and Veſtall Virgins, who (in the Romaines vaine Religion) were held to be moſt ſacred, and in them, Chaſtitie was aboue all things moſt commended. Onely in ſuch skirmiſhes and battayles, this diſhonourable Emperor ſpent moſt of his life time.

His waſting of the wealth and treaſure.

In like manner, hee employed not his riches and reuennewes in the warres, or in publicke buildings, but to inuent and finde out all meanes, whereby to incite and prouoke people, to bee inſatiable in beaſtly Luxury, voluptuous lubricity, & other Vices whereof we ſhal ſpeak heereafter; but eſpecially his lauiſh expences were intollerable, in delicate and delicious Viands, ſuch as were rare, and neuer vſed before. Neuer would he ſit downe, but amongeſt Flowers and odorifferous ſmels, of Muske, Amber, with other ſinguler and excellent ſauours. Neuer wold he eat any meats whatſoeuer, except they were of vnvalewable price, for it was his vſuall ſaying; *That there could be no better ſawce or appetite, then by deeren ſſe.* Hee cloathed himſelfe in Garments of Gold and Purple, enriched with Pearles and other precious Stones. Not ſo much as his ſhooes, but they were decked with ſtones of ineſtimable value: for they were cut and carued with Medalles and other Engrauings, of extraordinary and admirable Art and coſt. In theſe things, hee ſpent more then the reuennewes of al the Princes, as well Chriſtian as Heathen; & yet they ſufficed not.

His ſitting, diet, & feeding.

His coſtly apparrel, & his ſhooes.

His exceſſe in expences.

The Chaire wherein he ſat, was wholly couered with rich Silks and Gold. His Chambers & Guardrobes, al ouer thick ſtrewed with Roſes and others Flowers. And from his bed-chamber to his chaire of State; and from thence, to the place where he mounted on horſebacke, it was all ouer adorned with coſtly Tapiſtries, great Pearles, Diamonds, and ineſtimable precious Stones.

The decking of his Chambers.

At ſuch times as he pleaſed to mount on horſ back, he would haue the ground couered with the duſt of Golde and Siluer, eſpecially where he ſhould ſette his feete, becauſe he ſcorned to tread vppon the earth, as other men did. His Chambers, Hals, and other places of delectation, were alwaies couered with Roſes, Violets and Lillies. He would neuer put on a ſhirt twice, nor lye in linnen ſheetes after they were waſhed. Hee neuer wore a Garment, Hoſe, or ſhooes, two ſeueral times; and Rings which he hadde once pluckt off his Fingers, hee would neuer put them on againe. Likewiſe he would neuer drinke twice in one Cup, whither it were of Gold or Siluer, but it remained onely to him, whoſe Office was that day attending on that ſeruice. His beds whereon hee vſed to take his reſt, were not of Wooll, Feathers, Purfled Silke, or ſuch like, as thoſe of other men: but made of the ſoft skinnes of Hares, and the ſmalleſt Down Feathers of Patridges Bellies. His Tables, Couches, Cheſts, Seats, and al other things, either for his Chamber kitchin, and his whole houſe, were al of fine Gold, yea, euen to the veſſell employed for the baſeſt ſeruice belonging to man. In ſted of vſing Oyle in his Lampes, hee cauſed them to be filled with the richeſt Balmes that could be brought out of *Iudea* and *Arabia*. Nay, his very Vrinals of priuate ſeruice, were carued out of Chriſtall, and deckt with precious ſtones.

Gold & ſiluer duſt ſpred like pin duſt, wher he ſhold tred.

His wonderful ſingularity in many thinges by himſelfe, as neuer the like was heard of.

When he rode abroad into the fields, to take the Ayre, there went with him ſix hundred Chariots and Litters, ful of vnchaſt Damoſels and buggering Boyes, with *Maquereaux* and *Maquerellaes*: and he was ſo ſtrangely addicted to luſt, that hee would neuer haue knowledge twice of one Woman. His meats (as we haue formerly ſaide) were of wonderful chatges; for he neuer had a meal, which coſt leſſe then threeſcore Markes of Golde, which (according to common Computation) do value 2500. Ducates nowe in vſe: and ſometimes hee was ſo riotous, that a dinner woulde coſt more then 60000. Ducats. He ſought out al means, ſuch as the like was neuer heard of, to be extream in expences: & to make it more apparantly knowne, he would promiſe aboue 2000. Marks of gold, that he might eate of a Phœnix, vvhereof it vvas ſaid, to be but one onely in the vvorld; and hee gaue the money, that ſearch might bee made for that matchleſſe Foule. In the greateſt heate of Summer, hee vvoulde haue Snovv brought to his Pallace from the Mountaines. Vvhen he vvas vpon

His diſorderly riding abroad, with Whoores, Boyes and Bawds.

His coſtlie meales & feeding.

His large offer to eate of a Phoenix.

His delight in contrary diet.

the Sea-coasts, he would not feed on any Fish, but dainty Foules and Birds, fetcht the furtheſt off: and when hee was moſt remote from the Sea, then he would eat nothing elſe but Fiſh, which muſt bee brought in all poſt haſt, to the end, that it might coſt the dearer, and appear impoſſible to be had; for otherwiſe, he took no pleaſure in his meat. He would feede on ſuch things as were neuer herd of, for he would haue Pies made of diuers ſtrange Foods: As of the creſts of Cocks, & the tongues of Peacocks and Nightingales, excuſing his pride heerin, by ſaying, that ſuch meats were wholſom againſt the Epilepſie, or falling ſickeneſſe: hee would haue all of his Court to eate verie Delicate meats: As the Liuers of Pea-cocks, Patridges Egges; heads of Parrates and Popiniayes, Pheſants, and Pea-cockes. He had a great number of Grey-hounds and other Dogges, which were fed with nothing elſe but the fleſh of Swans and Geeſe. His Lyons that had beene made tame, were fed with Parrats, Popiniayes, and Pheſants. Whereby it may be euidently diſcerned, that his whole delight was in incredible expences. When he paſſed thorow the ſtreets of Rome, and ſaw nothing but ordinary things: hee would ſay, *That he had compaſsion of the publicke Iouerty.*

Impoſsible meats to bee had, beſt pleaſed him.

The prodigal diet of his Courtiers, & food of his Grey-hounds Dogges, and Lyons.

The diſorders of the Emperour were ſuch and in ſo great a number, as they can no way be declared, but in a confuſed order. He ordained for the good gouernment of Rome, and for a new manner of vice, one eſpeciall and ſinguler conceyte whereof the Deuill himſelfe neuer was aduiſed. For he gaue ſtrict commaund, that thoſe workes which ordinarilie were performed by day, ſhould be done in the night time, and thoſe of the night to bee done in the day. So that, men aroſe when the Sunne began to ſet, and when they ſhould ſalute each other with a Good night, they vſed then to giue a Good Morrow, whereby it ſhould appear, that the world went wholly backward. Hee was extreame in all things. The Baths wherein he vſed to bath himſelf, were all filled with moſt precious Vnguents; and onely for this cauſe.

The emperor went beyond the Deuill, in one new deuice.

Heltogabalus was extreame in all his behauiour.

He made many Bathes in ſundrie places, becauſe hee neuer would waſh himſelfe but once in a Bathe: for then, it muſt bee broken in pieces, onely to prepare other new Bathes for him. When he came to any Port or Hauen on the Sea, whatſoeuer Ships of Merchandizes were riding there, muſt bee drowned with all their Wealth, only to pleaſe his idle fancie. Hee was reproued by a verie deare friend, becauſe his lauiſh expences were ſuch, as muſt portend the iſſue of pouertie, whereto he replied, *That there could be no better fortune for him in the Worlde, then to be heyre to himſelfe, and to his wife.* He ſaide moreouer, *That he did not deſire to haue any Children, becauſe they ſhoulde not conſpire any way againſt him. For, if the Gods ſhould giue him any, perhappes they would proue to be ſuch in nature, as he himſelfe was to others.*

His Anſwere vpon reproof of his lauiſh ptodigality.

He had Bouffones, Stage-players, and idle Ieſters, vpon whom (in ſport, and to pleaſe his humour) he would haue ſometimes ſo many Roſes and Flowers caſt, as ſome one among them, was ſure to bee ſtifled with the verie ſmell of them. Vpon a time, hee would needs haue them ſerued at a dinner, with all ſuch meats as were ſerued to his owne Table, which were great and many in number, and exceſsiue in coſt.

How he dealt with Bouffones, Stage-players, &c. in apparant ſcorn & mockage of them

At another time, he cauſed the ſame kind of ſeruice to be ſet before them: but their meats were all made counterfet, eyther of Marble or wood, ſo that they wer kept at the Table, without eating of any thing. And yet afterward, they muſt waſh their handes before they roſe, euen as if they had fedde of all kinds of meats: and during this dinner time, drinke was offered them, but yet they might taſte none. One while he would pretend an honorable inuitation of them, and all the veſſels belonging to the ſeruice, were of curious Glaſſe, and all the counterfet meates in them, were of the ſame ſtuffe. Another while, their ſeruice was of nothing elſe, but Wood, painted and figured in a liuely reſemblance, ſo that in ſtead of ſatisfying their hunger, hee delighted to ſtarue them. Many times, he would make feaſts wherto none might be bidden gueſts, but eight Baldheaded men, other eight, lame crook-backt men; other eight, very gouty men, 8. deafe men, 8. dumb men, eight Moors, 8. very lean men, 8. very fat men, 8. of the leaſt men that could be founde, and eight other of the greateſt and Talleſt men: onely, that theſe ſeuerall diuerſities of men, might make a confuſed iarring

A Dinner of Glaſſe, & anotherof wood

As confuſed feaſts as euer were heard of, onely to pleaſe & delight himſelfe

iarring among themselues, and thereby fill his spleene with the more laughter. Afterward, when the Feast was ended, he would bestow vpon these Guests, all the Gold and Siluer Plate wherein they had beene serued at the Table.

His bounty to his Cookes & deuisers of new and strange meats

He had very excellent Cookes, vpon whom he bestowed great Wages; beside, he was extraordinarily liberall and bountifull, to such as deuised, or found out new inuentions, of Daintie, Delicate, and vn-vsed Meats. If any Cooke had prepared a new kind of food, which himselfe much commended, & yet was disliked by the Emperour: he that had so dressed and prouided it, should feed himselfe with no other Victuals, vntill he could inuent some other, which (by the nouelty thereof) might yeilde him contentment. When he had inuited many of his Friends to Dinner or Supper, and made them drunke with variety of Wines, till sleepinesse should lay hold vpon them: He would then make fast the doores vpon them, and (by a secret prepared way) send in Beares and Lyons, which had neither teeth nor clawes, so that by the behauior of those Beasts, many of the Guests haue beene found to be dead with feare. He was continually at very great and excessiue expences, by keeping all kindes of furious Beastes in *Rome*, which were brought thither from all strange and farre off Countries. Behold the verie best and honestest exercises, of this humorous Emperour.

His kindnesse to his friends, when he had made them al drunke.

Heliogabalus had deuised and prepared meanes for his owne death.

But being wearie with speaking of so bad a man, let me tell ye what his ende was: albeit himselfe had determined to worke his owne death, by other meanes then it happened to him. For, he had prouided diuers precious Instruments, where-with to take away his owne life, whensoeuer any necessity should thereto enforce him. And it was a common speech vsed by himselfe: *That as his life had beene extreame, euen so he would haue his death to be; to the end, that all men might say; No Man euer liued and dyed like him.*

He had prepared sundry Cordes or Halters of Silke, where-with to strangle himselfe when neede required: because wicked and bad minded men, doe continually liue in feare. He had also a Poyson readie, very quicke and speedie for death, which he kept enclosed in vials made of Emeralds and Iacinths, only for the excellencie thereof. He had likewise made an high Tower, wholely couered and engirt with Leaues and Plates of Gold and Siluer: the pauement whereof was of rich and inestimable sharpe-pointed Stones: whereon he purposed to cast himselfe naked and head-long downe, when misfortune should reduce him into such extremity. And yet notwithstanding, none of these deuises did any way auaile him; because (long time before) a secret conspiracy was contriued & vowed against him.

Tyrants and leud-men liue daily in fears.

A conspiracy deuised and sworn against him.

After that the Souldiers of his own Guard, had slaine all his ad-herents and fauourites in the Pallace: they found him hidden in a darke nooke or corner of a Chamber, where, without permitting him to make any election of his death, or the least leysure that could be; they stabd him with their Weapons. Afterward, hauing drawne him (like a Dogge) thorow all the streets and precincts of *Rome*: they fastned two verie great stones about his necke, and then threw him into the Riuer of *Tyber*, to the end, that his body might neuer after be found, but so to remaine without any other Sepulcher; and this was done by consent of all the people. And as concerning the Senate, order was taken among them, that the name of the *Anthonini* (which had beene attributed to him) should be taken away: and when any speech was to bee made of him, they should tearme him the *Tyberine*, or the trailed through the streetes, because these names would preserue a memoriall of his death. Which (indeed) was worthy and conformable vnto his life; for any good minded man, when he maketh due consideration thereof, will be both satisfied and comforted, approouing the righteous iudgements of God.

The manner of his death, and casting his bodie into the Riuer of *Tyber*.

The decree of the Senate for altring his name.

These thinges are related in the life of this Emperour, by diuers learned and worthy Authours, among whom perticularly, as men of good note and credit, are *Ælius Lampridius*; and *Iulius Capitolinus* speaketh a little thereof, in the life of *Macrinus*. *Spartianus*, in the life of *Septimius Seuerus*; And likewise *Sextus Aurelius Victor*; beside *Eutropius*. And

Aelius Lampridius.
Iulius Capitolinus. in vit. Macrin.
Spartian. in vit. Septim. Seuer.

And becauſe the matters which I haue declared, may appeare hardly to be beleeued: I thought good to alleadge the Authours names, for teſtimony of the truth, and mens further ſatisfaction; eſpecially in ſuch ſtrange caſes, depending vpon ſo great a difficultie of credence.

CHAP. IIII.

The Admirable Continency, both of Alexlexander and of Scipio; And which of them was moſt to be preferred for that vertue.

The ſauour of vertue taketh away the foul ſmell of vice.

HAuing read the abhominable deedes and vices of wicked *Heliogabalus*: mee thinkes, it fitteth beſt, to declare the vertuous actions of ſome Princes, only to take away the foule taſt and ſauour, which our ſences haue receiued by his horrid pollutions. And among the moſt remarkable, I finde *Alexander* and *Scipio*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* made a Probleme, to wit: which of them both was moſt vertuouſly enclined. *Scipio* entring by force of Armes into the new Citty of *Carthage*, among other Captiues and Priſoners brought vnto him: there was a young Gentlewoman (of admired beauty) preſented vnto him. He being then in the very floure of his youth; could eaſily conquer his owne affections, and would commit no act of diſhonour with the Virgine. But after he was informed, that ſhe was of great birth, noble houſe, and affianced to a worthy Lord of *Spaine*: he ſent for her Parents and betrothed Husband, to whom hee gaue (as a dowry) the whole ranſome both for her ſelfe and Father; which (vndoubtedly) was a ſigne of great continency, in a victorious Captaine towards his Captiue.

How *Scipio* entreated a young beautifull Lady of *Carthage*.

We reade likewiſe of *Alexander* the Great, who hauing ouer-come King *Darius* in battaile; his Souldiours took (in flight) the wife and Mother of that powerfull King. This Queene was of ſuch exquiſite perfection in beauty, as in all *Aſia* ſhe had not her equall. She was young, and of a moſt gracious countenance. He alſo was of like years to this Lady, and had no ſuperiour ouer him, to whom hee ſhould yeild an account of his actions. And yet, albeit he was aduertiſed by all his people, of her rarity in beautie: yet would he not haue an euill thought towards her, but ſent an eſpeciall fauourite of his, named *Leonatus*, to comfort her. And, to the end that he might auoid all occaſion of ſuſpition; he would not ſee her, neither ſuffer that ſhe ſhould bee brought before him: but cauſed her to bee ſerued with no leſſe honour and reuerence, then as if ſhe had beene his naturall Siſter. *Hepheſtion*, a Greek Author, hath ſo ſet it downe; *Aulius Gellius* referreth the Hiſtorie to him, and *Plutarch* credibly confirmeth it. And yet neuertheleſſe, *Aulus Gellius* leaueth it in doubt, in which of theſe two great men appeared the greateſt continency.

Hepheſtion. *Aulus Gellius.* *Plutarch.*

How *Alexander* the Great vſed the wife and mother to king *Darius*

The differēce in whom appeared the moſt continency.

It may be ſaide, that they were both equall, becauſe they both determined to containe themſelues, the occaſions being equall: but, for my ſelfe, I would open the way to diſpute on this queſtion. And me thinkes, he that would defend in fauour of *Scipio*, may ſay, that he aſſured himſelfe moſt on his continence; and had very great iudgement therein: conſidering, that he durſt ſuffer ſo ſweete and faire a Virgine, to bee brought into his preſence, by the ſight of whom, no inordinate appetite could ſo preuaile ouer him, as to ſtirre him one iot from his firſt reſolued purpoſe. But it was not ſo in *Alexander*, who ſtood in feare of ſeeing his Lady, and knew not what he might be forced vnto, if he ſhould ſee her. On the other ſide, a man may alleage on the behalfe of *Alexander*, that (in this caſe) he merited more then *Scipio*, and excelled him in one point: to wit, in that he would not ſee the Queene, becauſe hee would not ſinne ſo much as in thought. For in his vertue, hee had a much greater fancy to preſerue his continence, in regard, that (knowing humaine frailtie) he would ſhun all occaſion that might happen, whereby he ſhould be drawne into perill. And heerein we may ſafelie

Scipio preferred before *Alexander*.

Alexander extolled beyond *Scipio*.

ſay

say, that hee equalled *Scipio* in continence; yea, & exceeded him in thought, and diligence for preseruing it. I haue but touched these two pointes, to the end, that euery man may iudge according to his owne mind.

Quintus Curtius. *Diodorus Siculus in vit. Alexander.*

Neuertheless, true it is, that *Quintus Curtius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, doe write in the life of *Alexander*; that hee saw and saluted both the Wife and mother of *Darius*, on the day after the victorie, and that then he vsed wordes of good and true amity. For, as he entred into the place where they were, with a purpose to see them; he was accompanied with his intimate friend *Hephestion*, who resembled him both in age and habits.

Whereupon, the Mother to King *Darius*, thinking him to be *Alexander*; saluted him with such reuerence, as beseemed a Prisoner to behold her Conquerour. But finding her selfe (afterward) to be deceiued; as ashamed thereof, shee lookt red, to excuse her errour, which *Alexander* perceiuing, he said vnto her: *Mother, doe not displease thy selfe for that which thou hast done, because there is no errour committed: for this man is Alexander as well as my selfe.* Declaring by these wordes, that his Friend was another selfe to him. It seemeth, that this visitation contradicteth that which others say, reporting that he would not see these Weomen. And yet notwithstanding, both these opinions may bee maintained. For they which say, that he would not see the Wife of King *Darius*: doe inferre thereby, that he would not immediatly see her, so soone as she was taken, but sent to visite her by *Leonatus*. And after her greefe was in some measure qualified: he went in person, both to see and honour her. But be it howsoeuer, it was an Act of great honesty, and if it were not greater then that of *Scipioes*: yet (in my mind) it may be equalled with it.

The words of *Alexander* to the Mother of K. *Darius.*

The Authors defence of both the opinions.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers Lakes, Springes, Fountaines, and Riuers, the waters whereof haue contained very strange and wonderfull properties.

IN a former Chapter, where we discourst of waters, we made a promise to relate more at large, concerning the effects and properties of some other particular Waters. The first whereof, shall be that of the Lake in *India*, named * *Asphaltites*, or *Asfaltida*, which since hath beene called, *Mare mortuum*, *The dead Sea*. Of this water, many thinges are reported by *Pliny*, *Columella*, and by *Diodorus Siculus*. First of all, one affirmeth, that it engendreth neither Fish, Fowle, or any other liuing thing, and that not any thing (hauing life) can be sunke or drowned therein. So that if a man, or any other Creature be throwne thereinto, bound in such sort, as no way able to moue, stir, or swimme; yet no drowning is to bee doubted, these thinges are declared by *Pliny*.

* A poole full of Brimstone, and neuer moueth.

And *Aristotle*, to yeild a naturall reason for this cause, saith: *That the water of this Lake is grosse, very salt and thicke.* *Cornelius Tacitus* addeth also this propertie, that by reason of some strong Winds blowing thereon; it should vse motion, and yet it stirreth not at all, neither is sailed on. The same Author, and likewise *Solynus* in his *Polyhistor*, saith, that at certain times, there is bred in this Lake a kind of Scumme or Lees, which is a most strong Ciment, & glueth or holdeth more strictly, then any Pitch whatsoeuer, and it is called (by *Diodorus Siculus*) *Bitumen* and *Asfaltis*. Whereupon it appeareth, that the vocable *Asphaltis* or *Asfaltis*, was deriued of this Lake named *Asphaltida*. We read beside of other Pooles and Lakes, which yeilded the like Ciment or Morter; as of one neere vnto *Babylon*, with the Morter whereof, *Semiramis* caused the

Plin. in lib. 5. Ari. in Meteor Lib. 2.

Cornel. Tacit. in Lib.

Iul. Solin. in Polyhist.

Diodor. Siculus Bitumen or *Asfaltis.*

The walles about *Babylon* cimented together.

the ſtones to be knit together, which builded the great and renowned Cittie Walles of *Babylon*. The Riuer *Iordane* (the Water whereof is good and excellent) falleth into this Lake of *Iudea*: but through the diſcommoditie of the Lake, and falling into it; the Water loſeth his vertue and goodneſſe. It is reported, that *Domitian* ſent thither to make tryall thereof, and found it to bee very true.

Plin in lib. 5. Cap. 3. * A Lake dedicated to the God of Hell, and thought to be an entry into Hell.

Pliny writeth of another Water, in *Campania* in *Italy*, named * *Auernus*, neere to the Sea, by the Gulfe of *Bayas*, and this Poole hath ſuch a propertie, that no Bird or Fowle flyeth ouer it, but it falleth downe dead into the Water: The like is ſaid to be in *Puſola*. The Poet *Lucretius*, in rendring a naturall reaſon about it, ſaith: That through the thickneſſe of Trees growing about it, and a mighty ſhaddow thereby occaſioned: a groſſe and infectious vapor ariſeth from it, which meerely ſtifleth the Birdes in their flight. Whereto he addeth, that the chiefe cauſe proceedeth from great Mines of Sulphure, which are in like manner neere it. *Theophraſtus* and *Pliny* doe ſpeake of a Fountaine, named *Lycos*, which is in *Iudea*, and of another in *Æthiopia*, the Waters whereof, haue a like power and efficacy, containing the very property of Oyle; for when it is put into Lampes, it burneth brightly.

Theophraſtus. Plin. in Lib. 5. Cap. 7.

Pomponius Mela, and *Solinus*, writing of *Æthiopia*, doe relate, that there is a Poole or Lake, the Water whereof is ſweet and cleare: and yet notwithſtanding, if a man doe bath himſelfe therein, his body is in like ſort annointed, as if he came out of a bath full of Oyle. The like is affirmed by *Vitruuius*, and he ſaith moreouer, that there is a Riuer in *Cilicia*, and likewiſe a Fountaine or Spring neere to *Carthage*, which haue the very ſame properties.

Pompon. Mela. Iul. Solin. in Polyhiſt.

Vitruuius.

Solinus, *Theophraſtus*, and *Iſidorus*, ſpeaking of two Welles, doe auouch, that if a woman drinke of one of them, ſhe ſhall become barren. And contrariwiſe, if a ſtirrile Woman do drinke of the other Well, it cauſeth her to be very fruitfull. They write moreouer, that there is another well in *Arcadia*, whereof whoſoeuer drinketh, dyeth immediatly. *Ariſtotle* in his naturall queſtions, ſpeaketh of one that is in *Thrace*, which worketh the like effect, and alſo of another in *Sarmatia*. In like manner, *Herodotus* ſaith in his fourth Muſe, and *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe affirme the ſame, that the Riuer *Hypanis*, which is great, and deſcendeth out of *Scythia*, hath his water ſweete and good. And yet notwithſtanding, there is a little Well or Fountaine entring into it, and ſo farre as his ſtream extendeth: the bitterneſſe of the water of this Well, maketh the reſt of the Water in the Riuer ſo bitter, as no man can poſſibly endure to drinke thereof.

Solin. in Polyhi. Theophraſtus. Iſidorus.

Ari. in Quæſt. Nat.

Herodotus. Plin. in lib. 5. Iuli. Solin. in Polihyſt.

The very ſame Authours, and likewiſe *Iſidorus*, doe write of two other Fountaines that are in *Boetia*; the one of which doth cauſe the vtter loſſe of memory; and the other is no meane comfort thereto, procuring withal, that ſuch as drinke thereof, ſhall remember all thinges, whatſoeuer they haue before forgotten. They ſpeake alſo of one Well, which temperateth and appeaſeth the entiſing prickes or Spurres of the fleſh; And then of another, which as ſharpely dooth incite them. There is a Riuer in *Sicilie*, named *Arethuſa*; of which (beſide their recordation of abounding in numberleſſe ſhoales of Fiſhes, and ſuch as ſeeme very good for foode) they write one wonderfull thing, to wit; that oftentimes there hath beene found in this Riuer diuers notable things that were throwne into the Riuer *Alpheus*, which is in *Achaia*, a Countrey of *Greece*. For this cauſe, they doe all maintaine, that the Water of this Riuer, paſſeth through the entrailes of the Earth (from the maine Fountaine) quite vnderneath the Sea, which is betweene *Sicilie* and *Achaia*.

Two Fountaines in *Boetia* of very ſtrange quality.

The Riuer *Arethuſa* in *Sicilie*.

Alpheus a Riuer of *Achaia* in *Greece*.

The Authours that make this report, are ſuch great perſons, and worthy of credit; as they may well giue boldneſſe to any man to write and certifie the ſame. *Seneca* affirmeth it; ſo doth *Pliny*; *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Seruius*, vpon the tenth Eclogue of *Virgill*.

Seneca in lib. 3. de Quæſt. Nat. Plin. in lib. 7. Pom. Mel. lib 2 Strabo in lib 6. Seruius ſup. 10. Eclo. Virg.

Solynus and *Iſidorus* make mention of of a well-ſpring, on the water whereof, if a man (that is to take an oath) do lay his hand; he muſt be carefull that hee take his oath truely and inſtly, for if it be otherwiſe, his eyes will dry vp, and dye

dye in his head. *Pliny* maketh the like relation of another Riuer, which will burne a periured persons hand, swearing thereby, and putting his hand into the water.

Philostratus in lib. 2. de vit. Appol. Thian.

Philostratus, in his second Booke of the life of *Appolonius Thianeus*, saith, that there is a Riuer, wherein if a Man doe wash his hands and feete, after hee hath taken a false and periured oath; he shall be immediatly couered ouer with Leprosie. *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth as much of another Riuer. Now, if it do appear to any man, that these things are very hardly to be beleeued: let him know, that *Isidorus*, a religious, holie, and most learned man, hath at large deliuered these reports out of no meane Authours. As also of *Iacobs* Well in *Idumea*, iustifying, that foure times in the yeare it changeth colour; and that from three moneths to three moneths, it becommeth troubled of it selfe; swelleth, looketh red; then greene; and yet afterward receiueth cleerenesse againe. He speaketh also of a Lake which is among the *Troglodytes*, that three times (by day and night) changeth his sweet rellish into bitternesse, and from bitternesse, to sweetnesse againe. Likewise, of another little streame in *Iudea*, which euery Sabbaoth day, waxeth dry of it selfe.

The writings of *Isidorus* doe carry good credit.

Iacobs Wel in *Idumea*.

A Lake among the *Troglodites*.

And the same is verified by *Pliny*, where he describeth another Fountain, that is in the Countrey of the * *Garamantes*: which in the day time is sweet, but yet so cold, as it is impossible to bee drunke of. And in the night time it is so extreame hot, as whosoeuer putteth his hand thereinto, is sure to burne it; and it was called the Fountaine of the Sunne. Concerning this Fountaine, and that it is a matter of truth, diuers good Authours haue written: As *Arianus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and *Quintus Curtius*, in his History of *Alexander* the Great, and *Lucretius* the naturall Poet, yeildeth a reason for it.

* People in the midst of *Lybia*, next to the *Psylli*.

Arianus. Diodo. Siculus. Sol. in Polybist. Quint. Curtius in Hist. Alexan. Lucre. in lib. 6.

But now I shall speake of a wonderfull thing indeed, concerning the Wel or Fountaine *Eleusina*, which is a reposed, setled, and most cleere water. Neuertheless, if any Instrument be sounded (or plaid on) so neere it, as the water may be said (in opinion) to be within compasse of hearing the sound: it beginneth immediatly to boyle so extreamely, as the water swelleth and seetheth aboue his bounds, euen as if it reioyced at the sound of Musique. This is credibly confirmed by *Aristotle*, in his Booke of the meruailes of Nature; by *Solinus* in his *Polihystor*; and by the Ancient Poet *Ennius*.

The strange Fountaine *Eleusina*.

Arist. in lib de Mirab. Nat. Solin. in Polyh. Ennius in lib 4.

Vitruuius speaketh of a Riuer, named *Chimæra*, the Water whereof is verie sweet: and yet notwithstandidg, where it deuideth it selfe into two small streames or gullets; the one is sweete, and the other bitter. Wherefore it is to be presumed, that it draweth this bitter tast, from the earth where it glideth along, and therein appeareth to be the lesse maruailous. In which respect, as easily may be credited, the sundry properties of so many Riuers, whereof we haue already spoken: which would seeme no matter of wonder vnto vs, if their true occasions were apparantly knowne; no more the Riuer * *Silarus*, (auouched by the same Authors) which conuerteth into stone, any wand, stick, or branch throwne thereinto, as in many other places the like hath beene noted.

The Riuer *Chymera*, recorded by *Vitruuius*.

* A Riuer of *Lucania*, deuiding it from *Picenum*.

There is a Well in *Illirica*, the water whereof is sweete: but it burneth all things put into it, euen as if they were cast into a fire. Also in *Epirus* is another Well, whereinto if a flaming Torch be put, it quencheth it: but let it be put in before it be lighted, and of it selfe it giueth flame thereto. Alwaies till noone, and after, it waxeth ebbe and dry: but as the day declineth, it beginneth to encrease in such abounding manner, that by mid-night it is top-full, and floweth ouer the brimme. It is said, that there is a Well in *Persia*, which causeth their teeth to fall out of their heads, that doe drinke thereof.

The Riuer in *Epirus*, that lighteth a quenched Torch.

In *Arcadia* there are certaine Wels or Fountaines, which doe deriue their Sourse and Current, out of diuers hils & Mountains, whose waters are so extreamely cold; as no vessell, eyther of Gold, Siluer, or any other Mettall can contain them, but whatsoeuer measure is filled there-with, is presently broken in pieces, for they cannot be contained in any other Vessels, but such as are made of the Horne-hoofe of a Mule. We should hardly beleeue, that Riuers (though

Of strange Fountaines or Springs in *Arabia*.

Riuers falling into the earth and rising vp againe great distances of.

(though exceeding in greatnesse) some of them should haue a sudden fall into the earth, concealing themselues there quite out of sight; and yet breake vp againe many miles of. We haue sundry good examples, to ease our doubt in this case: As *Vadiana* in *Spaine*; *Tygris* doing the like in *Armenia*, though it be in *Mesopotamia*; and *Lycus* in *Asia*. There are likewise sundry Riuers of sweete and fresh Water, which entring into the Sea, doe passe along vppon the salt water, neuer mingling there-with. In number whereof, one is betweene *Sicilie*, and an Island, called *Enaria*, vpon the Coast of *Naples*.

Fresh Riuers floating on the salt Seas.

The Riuer *Nilus*.

We know very well, that in Ægypt it neuer raineth, but (euen by Nature) the Riuer *Nilus* disbordeth it selfe, and watering all the Countrey, leaueth it moist, and apt to yeild fruite. There are two Riuers in *Boetia*, one of them is the cause, that such Sheepe as drinke thereof, doe beare blacke Wooll; and the other (in like manner) beareth all white Wooll. In *Arabia* is a Well, which maketh the VVooll of Sheepe, (drinking thereof) to looke Vermillion red: And of all those Riuers that haue this propertie, *Aristotle* hath spoken very largely. The Riuer * *Lyncestris* hath this quality, to make all men drunke that drinke thereof, euen as if it were with wine. In the Isle of * *Cea* (according to *Pliny*) there is a wel, which whosoeuer drinketh thereof, becommeth nummed in all his sences.

Two Riuers in *Boetia*.

* A Riuer in *Macedonia*.

* Where Silk wormes were first found.

A poole in *Thrace*.

In *Thrace* there is a Poole, which causeth the death of him, that eyther drinketh of it, or batheth himselfe therein.

A rare Riuer in *Pontus*.

In *Pontus* also is a Riuer, which yeildeth a kind of stones that do burn, and when any winde ariseth, they breake into a flame, and the more they are in the water, the longer while they burne.

Waters of riuers that cure diseases.

These Authours haue also written of diuers Waters, that doe heale many diseases: whereof one is in *Italie*, named *Zizza*, which cureth all harmes happening to the eyes. Another is in *Achaia*, which if women doe drinke of, that are great with Childe; they shall haue a safe and speedy deliuerance.

For Women great with Child.

Many other there are, that doe cure infinite other infirmities: as the Stone; the Leprosie; the Feauer Tertian and Quartane, whereof more is said by *Theophrastus*, *Pliny*, and *Vitruuius*. In *Mesopotamia* is a Riuer, whose water is most sweet and pleasing to smell. *Baptista Fulgosa*, in his Booke of Collections, recordeth, that there is a well in England, which if any kind of wood be cast into it; in lesse space then a yeare, it is conuerted into stone.

Baptist. Fulgos. in lib. 7.

The same man also testifieth, what likewise is confirmed by *Albertus Magnus*, concerning a Well in the higher *Germany*. And *Albertus* saith, that hee himselfe hauing a little woodden Boxe in his hand, did hold it in the Water: & so much of it as was within the water, became truly stone; but the rest remaining in his hand, continued Wood, as it was before.

An experimẽt made by *Albertus Magnus*.

Fulgosa further relateth the property of another Well, which is very strange indeede. For, if a man do walke about it, looking stedfastly into it, and keeping silence, not speaking a word, or vsing any voyce at all: the Water then continueth (as before) cleare and still. But if he speake (being by it) how little so euer it be, or neuer so low, eyther in going on, or in his returning: the Water presently troubleth it selfe, and beginneth to boyle in very strange manner. And hee deliuereth this vpon his own credit, as hauing (in person) made proofe thereof. For, while he heedfully looked into the Water, not whispering, noysing, or speaking one sillable; he beheld it to be faire and cleare. But when he spake, the water was so strongly mooued and troubled; as if some liuing body had bin in it, to perplexe it in that disorder.

Baptist. Fulgos. in lib. 7.

A wonderfull property in a water.

There is record made of a VVell in *France*, which is extreamely cold; and yet notwithstanding, great flashes and flames of fire haue beene seene to rise out of it. *Pliny* plainely saith, that many men make a conscience, in giuing any credence to these thinges: but they may well say, and assure themselues, that Natures great and wonderfull workes, doe demonstrate their power more apparantly in this one Element of water, then in all the rest beside. And maruailes doe hence arise, in so great number, that we should not repute any thing to bee impossible: especially such as are warranted by so good writers, as those which formerlie I haue alleadged.

A strange wel in *France*.

Plin in Lib. 2. cap. 9.

Nothing should be esteemed impossible.

More-

Moreouer, we are sufficiently enough certified, by testimony of those which haue seene it in our time, that in one of the *Canarie* Islandes; named *Ferra*, a place well inhabited with people, where, both there; and a great space likewise round about it, the Inhabitants haue vse of no other Water (as is very well knowne) but what they can (in a Bason or other Vessell) get from the weeping or distilling, which sweateth it selfe (in some abounding and plentifull manner) out of a Tree, which is in the midst of the Island. And yet, neither at the foote of this Tree, nor in any place neere about, is there any Spring, Well, or Riuer: all which notwithstanding, the Tree is continuallie full of moysture; so that from the Leaues, Branches, & Boughs, into such Vessels as are placed there for the purpose; the Water distilleth forth both day and night, and sufficient store is still fetcht thence; to serue the necessities and seruices of all the dwellers in the Island. And yet wee should hardly beleeue this, if it were but recorded by Writing onelie, and not maintained by liuing eye-Witnesses: Therefore, let no man account that strange, which wee haue already declared: in regard that this Element of Water is so powerfull and necessarie; as his strength and qualities can neuer be sufficientlie knowne.

Ferra in the Isle of the *Canaries*.

Water distilling out of a Tree in abundant manner, for the relieue of a whole Nation.

Simple people will credit nothing, but what they see themselus.

As for the Sea, it is saide to be more hot in Winter, then it can be in Summer, and more salt in Autumne, then at any other time else: but this is a matter of greater marualle, that by throwing Oyle into the Sea; his rage and violence is thereby appeased. Beside, wee know it for most certaine, that into those partes of the Sea, which are furthest off from any firme Land, neuer any Snow doth fall, at what time soeuer.

Heate of the Sea in winter, and sundry other strange properties thereof.

For all which thinges, many good reasons haue beene deliuered; the most part whereof, are attributed vnto the propertie and qualitie of the Earth; and to Mines, where Springes haue their originall, and win their Current into Lakes, Welles, and Riuers. For proofe whereof, it is manifested by that which wee daily behold, both in Vines and other Fruites of the Earth: that they prooue better in one place, then they doe in another; because some are sweete, and others sharpe and sower; some good and very profitable, others hurtfull and mortifferous. The Ayre also becommeth corrupt and pestilentiall, in passing ouer an vnwholesome and noysome Countrey. What meruaile is it then, if Water, which pierceth and washeth the Earth, the stones, Mettals, Hearbs, Plants, and Roots of Trees: should receiue their good or euill conditions, in whatsoeuer strange Nature it be; especially, beeing ayded by the power of the Starres and Planets?

A matter especially to be obserued, concerning waters.

Example of Fruits.

Example of the Ayre, and lastly of the Earth.

CHAP. VI.

On what day of the yeare was the Incarnation, Natiuity, and Passion of our Lord Iesus Christ; And at what Age hee dyed. Of the auncient Houres; And of the errour which is now in our common yeares.

WE haue declared already, in the Chapter of the World, how long the time was since the Creation thereof, vnto those daies of our Lord Iesus Christ, God & Man, when he pleased to take humaine Flesh on him, and to bee borne of the most pure, holy, and immaculate Virgine *Mary*. Therefore I hold it both good and profitable; to relate and specifie, vpon what day of the yeare, and at what houre (with this blessed Natiuity) happened his holie Incarnation, and afterward his death; according to those sacred, true, and approued Historians which haue written thereof. We must vnderstand then, that the Emperor *Octauius* raigning at *Rome*, was the first that properlie might stile himselfe, to be Monarch and Emperour of all the World: for his Vnckle *Iulius Cæsar* was Dictatour onelie, and but for a small time too. This Monarch, hauing also shut vppe the Gates of *Ianus* Temple, and made peace vniuersallie throughout the World; In the two

The Authors reason, vpon what cause he added this Chapter.

Octauius was the first Monarch and Emperour of the world.

and fortith yeare of his Empire, and ſeuen hundred and one and forty yeares from the foundation of *Rome* (according to *Paulus Oroſius*, and others Authours) the fiue and twentith day of December, was our Lord, Sauiour, and Redeemer Ieſus Chriſt borne. Saint *Auguſtine* atteſteth the ſame, following the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, and other Hiſtorians.

Paulus Oraſius. in lib. 7.

Aug. in lib. 15. 18. & 21. de Ser. in Natiuit.

It is further to be vnderſtood, that this day was the ſhorteſt day in the whole yeare: becauſe the Winter Solſtice was then the fiue and twentith day of December. The ſame Saint *Auguſtine* goeth on further, in his Sermons on the Natiuity: and yet notwithſtanding, we ſhall ſpeake hereafter, of thoſe daies of December, whereon we haue the Solſtice in our times. The holie Saints of Gods Church haue alſo written, that the day of our Lords birth, was the Sunday; ſo affirmeth Pope *Leo* likewiſe, and *Vincentius* the Hiſtorialiſt, in his Hiſtories: and the hour of his being borne into this World, was midnight; according as the Church giueth vs to vnderſtand, by this authority out of the Booke of Wiſedome.

Leo Papa. in Diſt. Cap. 75. Quod dic.

Sunday the day of chriſts birth.

Wiſ. 18, 14, 15

Dum quietum ſilentium tenerent omnia, & nox in ſuo curſu medium iter haberet: ſermo tuus Domine à regalibus ſedibus venit, &c. While all thinges were in quiet ſilence, and the night was in the midſt of her ſwift courſe: Thine Almighty word came downe from Heauen, &c.

Of the Angels ſalutation to the virgine, and her conception.

The moſt part of Hiſtorians doe hold, that at midnight alſo, the ſalutation of the Angell was made to the virgine *Marie*; and that ſhe conceiued on a Fryday, beeing the Equinoctiall of March. True it is, that ſome doe maintaine this conception to be in the euening, and at the beginning of the night. So then we may conclude, that his Natiuity or birth was on a Sundaie at mid-night, and his Incarnation or conception on a Friday, at the beginning of the night. Now, according to the moſt common opinion, at the like houre of his natiuity in December, and his Incarnation in March: the death & paſſion of our Lord (according as all do agree) was at the ſame houre of his Incarnation, hauing accompliſhed thoſe yeares, that it pleaſed him to remaine here on earth with men, and that it was the fiue and twentith day of March. S. *Auguſtine* ſaith ſo in the places before alleaged; ſo doth *Tertullian*; S. *Chryſoſtome*; S. *Cyrill*; S. *Hierome*, and other holy Doctors. And it was in the Equinoctiall of the Spring time, according to S. *Auguſtine* in his Books of the Trinity, and his fore-named Sermons. Alſo, *Paulus Oroſius* ſaith, that he ſhould come the fiue and twentith of March, and that this equality of daies and nights, named Equinoctiall, was then in thoſe dayes which wee haue ſpoken of. Prophane Hiſtorians doe ſay as much, eſpecially *Macrobius*, and others. To this purpoſe; there is one thing to bee noted, whereof few people haue made any regard, and I thinke not very many vnderſtood it: to wit, whoſoeuer hath wel conſidered the true courſe of the Sunne, and of the yeare, and the day whereon our Lord came to bee borne; the ſame day cõmeth not now to be as the fiue & twentith day of December, neither his death and paſſion, to be the fiue and twentith day of March, becauſe the Winter Solſtice is aduanced, and is now the eleauenth day of December, and the Equinoctiall of the Spring time, is now likewiſe the eleauenth day of March, little more or leſſe, as any Man may eaſilie know, that hath but attained to any beginning in the knowledge of Aſtrologie. So that, to ſpeake of our inſtant dayes, the yeare of the birth of our Lord, doth perfectlie compleate it ſelfe the eleauenth day of December; and the years of the Incarnation and Paſſion, on the eleauenth day of March. Becauſe now at this preſent, the Sunne effecteth at theſe ſeuerall eleauen dayes, that which hee was wont to doe in thoſe ſeuerall fiue and twenty daies.

Aug. in lib. de Trinit. & in Serm. de Nat. Paulus Oroſius. in lib. 7.

Macro. in lib. 1.

An eſpeciall matter of obſeruation, whereof but ſlender regard hath bin made, concerning dayes and yeares.

The hours of our Lordes birth and Incarnation, compared with the houre of his death and paſſion.

And albeit, it would require ſome length of time, to declare the cauſe of this variation: yet I hold it not much amiſſe to ſpeake ſomewhat heerein, to ſatisfie the mindes of honeſt meaning Men. Let me then tell ye, that this alteration enſuing, by reaſon of the accuſtomed yeare, where-with ordinarie account is now made, and which was ſo ordained by *Iulius Cæſar*: dooth not conforme

A reaſon deliuered, concerning the variation of times

forme it selfe perfectlie with the trie solitary or Solarie yeare, which containeth in it selfe, the true course and reuolution of the Sunne. For the common yeare (as makers of Almanackes, and other Computers of Calenders doe demonstrate) is presupposed to haue three hundred sixtie fiue dayes, and sixe houres. Foure yeares make one day more (by those odde houres) aboue the yeare, which nameth it selfe *Bissextile*.

The common yeare, what it containeth in daies & hours

Neuertheless, in this obseruance, there is a generall errour, because to speake vprightlie; the trie yeare, and course of the Sunne, hath three hundered sixty fiue daies, fiue houres, fortie nine minuts, and sixe seconds or more, which are fiue sixe partes of an houre, or verie little lesse. Wherefore, these sixe houres being not perfected, but remaining defectiue by a sixt part: the foure yeares cannot make an intire day of foure and twenty houres, there wanting two thirds of an houre, and some small matter more beside.

The true year and course of the Sunne.

Then wee may say truely, that this errour is as a small Pilfering Theefe, stealing away (in foure yeares onelie) two thirds of an houre and somewhat more: how much preuaileth hee then in a thousand, sixe hundred, and the ouer-plus yeares? And yet in all this times great space, there are but foureteene or fifteene dayes: which is the cause, that these especiall and remarkeable dayes, are come to the seuerall eleauenth daies of December and March, which were wont to bee on those other seuerall fiue and twentith daies.

A consideration how the error ensueth by the ouerplus-house.

Now, concerning this errour, it may not be said (for all this) to proceed from our Astrologers; for they make their account perfect of the yeare, by the true and intire course of the Sunne. Neuertheless, our Callendarians and Computers, doe hold the common yeare, making it to consist of three hundred sixtie fiue dayes, and sixe houres, albeit that the quantitie is lesse; as wee haue already approoued. By this meanes it happeneth oftentimes, that Easter, and some other of the mooueable Feastes, are celebrated on other dayes then they ought to bee: in regard of the rules and orders, which

The errour proceedeth not from our Astrologers.

Of Easter, & other mooueable Feasts.

our fore fathers obserued in making their Calenders and Almanackes, who held assuredlie in their pre-supposing, that the Equinoctiall continued firme.

Now, considering that this imported nothing to the saluation of mens Soules, little account was and hath bin made thereof: yet it were good (notwithstanding) this errour should bee corrected. And I thinke, in the first generall Counsell hereafter to be assembled; there would bee prouision made for this case, as thereto fitly appertaineth: For many worthy men haue written sundry Treatises on this Argument; as *Stoeflerus*, *Alberius*, *Poggius*, *Ioannes Fernelius*, and diuers others.

Authors that haue written on this alteratiō of daies.

But returning againe to our purpose, to know of what age our Redeemer was when he died, the most part of holie Doctours that haue spoken thereof, doe say: that he was aged thirtie three years and somewhat more; by so much as was from the day of his Natiuitie, the fiue and twentith of December, to the like day of the moneth of March, when hee suffered. Others are of the mind, that hee dyed at two and thirtie yeares, and three moneths: And for eyther of these opinions, there are very apparant reasons, albeit I am loath to weary my Readers with the recitall of them. The Passion of our Lorde, was in the eighteenth yeare of the Empire of *Tyberius*, Successour to *Octauius*; according as *Eusebius* reporteth; and *Beda* in his Booke of Times. As for such as write, that he suffered in the fifteenth yeare of *Tiberius* raigne (as *Eutropius*, *Lactantius*, and others) it appeareth to mee, that they haue much fayled therein, because themselues do say; that hee was borne in the two and fortith yeare of *Octauius* his Empire. So then, considering that this Emperour raigned yet fifteene yeares after, and confirming the time to the age of Iesus Christ: it may bee verie euidently knowne, that *Tyberius* had raigned eighteene yeares, when our Lord and Sauiour suffered. Ouer and beside these things, I remember one more high and especiall matter, found out and noted by *Albertus Magnus*, in his Book of vniuersall occasions, and which (in my iudgment) is very notable, and this it is.

Of our Sauiours age whē he died, sundry opinions.

Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Cap. 7. Beda in lib. de Temp.

The time cōpared by iust account.

Alber. Magnus in lib. de Reb. Vniuers.

A matter well worth the obſeruation.

It being a moſt certaine thing (ſaith he) *as it is approoued by the authoritie of holie Fathers, that our Sauiour was borne, the Sunne then being in the firſt degree of the ſigne of Capricorne, and iuſtly at midnight: in the ſelfe-ſame inſtant, mounted in the Horizon of the Eaſt parts, the ſigne of Virgo. Whereby appeareth, that the Starres declared, that he which was to bee borne of a Virgine, had for aſcendent the ſigne Virgo. And in like manner, when the Sunne of Iuſtice or righteouſneſſe dyed, and was exalted on the Tree of the Croſſe (which was at mid-daie, as the Euangeliſtes doe confirme:) the Plannet of the Sunne was in the ſigne of Aries the Ramme, where it made the Equinoctiall, and where was then his exaltation; And this ſigne was accompanied with thirteene Starres, which might ſignifie Chriſt and his twelue Apoſtles.* I ſet not downe this diſcourſe to any other end, but onelie to ſhew; *That all thinges obeyed, and yeilded themſelues to the will of their Creatour*, as is more amply declared by *Albertus Magnus*.

The exaltation of the Son of Iuſtice.

Now, that it ſhould bee moſt true, that our Sauiour ſuffered at mid-day; I hope to proone it very apparantly. The holie Euangeliſts doe write, that hee was crucified at the houre called the ſixt houre, and that he died at the ninth houre. It is to bee vnderſtood then, that the ſixt houre was iuſt at mid-day. For the Iewes and other Nations deuided (anciently) all the daies of the year, (how great or little ſoeuer they were) and likewiſe the nightes, into twelue equall portions, which they called * Planetarie houres. So that the houres of the daies in Winter, were ſmall or ſhort, and thoſe of Summer great and long; and the houres of the night likewiſe oppoſite.

Of our Sauiours ſuffering at mid-day.

The Iewes diuiſion of daies and nights.

*Twelue for the day, and twelue for the night.

The houres of day began at the Suns riſing, and the houres of the night, at his ſetting: by this meanes, at ſixe houres it was mid-day, and at nine houres, it was three houres after mid-day. For the daie whereon our Sauiour ſuffered, was equall to the night, as we haue alreadie ſaide: and therefore the houres of the day then and there, were equally with ours now heere. In which reſpect, it is to be vnderſtood, that the houres then, were meant for ſuch whereof our Sauiour ſpake, ſaying: *Are there not twelue houres in the daie?* Of the ſame houres it is ſpoken in the Goſpell, of the Vineyard, that the Father of the Family went out at the eleuenth houre, to hyre Worke-men for his Vine-yard, and he payed the lateſt Commers as well as the other, which had been at the buſineſſe from the daies beginning. In regard whereof, the firſt Workemen complained, ſaying: *Theſe laſt haue wrought but one houre, and wilt thou equall them with vs?* Whereby may clearely be diſcerned, that from eleauen to twelue hours, was the ending of the day, becauſe they ſaid; *Theſe Men haue wrought but one houre*: for if thoſe eleauen houres had been as now, then it had beene other-wiſe. Againe, S. *Luke* ſaith in the place of the Paſſion; *That the Sunne was darkned from the ſixt houre, vntill the ninth houre.* Whereby then we may know, that the ſixt houre was the houre of mid-day, and the darkneſſe endured vntill the ninth houre; that is (with vs) three hours after mid-day. For if he had meant at ſixe houres, as now in theſe dayes, it had beene a thing but naturall, for the Sunne to ſet, and bee obſcured at ſixe houres of the euening in March: but the ſixt houre then, beeing our mid-day now, it was therefore a great and wonderfull Miracle.

Math. 20. 12.

Luke 23. 44.

Difference of the houres then and in theſe dayes.

The daie of our Sauiours ſuffering equall with the night.

CHAP. VII.

Of many thinges that happened at the birth and death of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, declared by diuers learned and worthy Hiſtorians; beſide thoſe which are recorded by the holy Euangeliſts.

Albeit that thoſe things certified by the bleſſed Euangeliſts, happening both at the birth and death of Chriſt, were not only great and miraculous, but worthy (beſide) of all Faith and beleefe: yet I account it verie conuenable, to make mention of ſome other admirable accidents, which were ſeene and recorded by other perſons.

Paulus

Paulus Orosius, and *Eutropius*, Writers belonging to *Octauius*, and *Eusebius* also doth say, that at such time as Iesus Christ was borne on earth, there happened in *Rome*, that in a common Inne or Tauerne; a Well or Spring of pure and excellent Oyle brake vp out of the ground, which for the space of a whole day, ran and issued forth incessantlie in great aboundance. It should seeme, that this Spring of Oyle, made application to the comming of Christ, which Word signifieth *Annointed*, in whom likewise all Christians are annointed. And that the common Tauern, whereinto all people were (indifferently) entertained and housed: should expresse our holy and true Mother of Church, the great Inne or common Harbour for all Christians; from whence should continually issue forth, all Christians, Catholickes, and louers of God. *Eutropius* addeth moreouer, that in *Rome*, and the neighbouring places there-about, euen in the full, plaine, calme and cleareſt time of the day; a circle was seene about the Sun, of as bright splendour and radiance, as the Sun in it selfe. The same *Paulus Orosius* further saith, that at the very same time, the Senate and people of *Rome* made free offer to *Octauius Augustus*, to entitle him chiefe Lorde: which hee refused, and by no meanes would accept; prognosticating to himselfe (yet without thinking thereon) that a much greater Lord then hee was then on the Earth, to whom that Title more worthily appertained.

Commestor, in his Scholastick Historie, affirmeth, that in *Rome*, vpon the same day: the Temple dedicated by the *Romaines* to *Peace* the Goddesse, fell in ruines to the earth. For they had formerly consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, to know how long the Temple should stand in good estate, and answer was made them; *Vntill a Virgine should bring forth a Child*, which they reputed to be vtterly impossible, and therefore their temple should stand for euer. Notwithstanding, at the Virgines deliuerance, Mother to the King of Heauen; it fell to the ground.

Hereupon, *Lucas de Tuy*, in his Chronicles of *Spaine* writeth, that hee found in the auncient Historiesof his Countrey (hauing conferred and made iust account of the time) that the very same night wherein our Sauiour was borne, and at the very houre of mid-night: there appeared a Cloud visibly seene in *Spaine*, which gaue so bright a splendor, as if it had beene then the middle time of the day.

It is also to bee remembred, what I haue read in Saint *Hierome*, that at the same time as the virgine fled into *Ægipt* with her young Son; all their false Gods and Images fell downe, and vtterly defaced themselues. Also, the Oracles of those Gods, or Deuils rather, as wee may more iustlie tearme them, wherewith the people in those times were deluded: ceased their idle babling, and neuer afterward gaue any aunswere. This Miracle alleaged by Saint *Hirome*, seemeth to be approoued by that excellent man *Plutarch*; albeit hee was a Pagane. For, without giuing credit to those thinges, nor knowing wherefore they thus happened: hee made a perticular Treatise, of the imperfections of Oracles. For euen then in his time, (which was soone after the Passion of Christ) men began apparantly to perceiue; that Oracles failed, and were ful of defects. And he could alleage no other reason for it, in that Treatise: but that (as he imagined) some Dæmons or Spirits were dead. But he spake this as a man vncapable of Faith; because he vnderstood not, that Spirits were immortall.

Neuertheleſſe, this matter is marueilous, and truely worthy of great consideration, to note how euidently the deuill shewed himselfe (euen suddenlie) to bee ouercome and conquered, and that after our blessed Sauiours death, he remained so confounded: that he neuer durst presume to giue any answere. And the Gentiles themselues, without any capacity of the reason; could haue knowledge of this defailance. By means whereof, *Plutarch* wrote that Tract, wherein he did set downe these words; whereof *Eusebius* maketh mention, writing to *Theodorus*, as of a most notable thing.

I remember (saith he) *that I haue heard (concerning the Dæmons death) of Æmilianus the Orator, an humble, wise, and worthy man, and well knowne to some of you; that his Father comming (on a time)*

Paulus Orosius, and *Eutropius*, Historians in the time of *Octauius*.

A Spring of Oyle arising out of the ground in *Rome*, when Christ was borne.

A bright circle seene about the Sun in the day time.

Commestor in lib. de Hist. Scholast.

Templum Pacis fell to the ground at the birth of Christ.

Lucas de Tuy, Chronicler of *Spaine*, in the Authenticke Historie of *Spaine*.

The downfall of all the false Gods & Idols

Plutarc in Tra. de imperf Orat. The defaylance of Oracles in those daies.

The Deuils plaine manifestation of his foyle and ouerthrow.

Eusib. in Hist. Eccle. & ad Theodo.

Ataman a very skilfull Pilote of Egypt.

by Sea towardes Italy, passing and coasting (in the night time) an inhabited Island, named Paraxis, at what time, all the men in the Shippe were in silence and repose: they heard a graat & feareful voyce, which came out of the Island, and the voyce called Ataman (for so was the Pilot of the Ship named, who was a Natiue of Ægipt.) And albeit that this voyce was heard once or twice by Ataman, and others: yet had they not so much hardinesse, as to returne any answere, vntill the third time. And then hee said: Who is there? Who is it that calleth mee? What wouldst thou with me? then the voice spake much louder then before, and said vnto him. Ataman, my desire is, that when thou shalt passe by the Gulfe, called Laguna: that there thou remember to cry aloud, and giue it to vnderstand; that the great God Pan is dead. This being thus vnderstood, all in the Shippe were in great feare and terrour, and aduised the Patrone of the Shippe, to make no account thereof, neyther to speake one word, or make any stay at the Gulfe: but if the time prooued fauourable; to passe on further, and entend the finishing of the voyage. But beeing come to ioyne with the place, whereof the voyce had spoken and made designement: the Shippe stayed, the Sea was becalmed, and no winde stirred, so that (indeede) they could sayle no further. By meanes whereof, they all resolued, that Ataman should deliuer his message. And that he might the better performe it, he went vp vpon the poupe of the Shippe, and there hee cryed out so loud as possiblie he could, saying: I giue ye to know, that the Great God Pan is dead. But so soone as he had vttered these wordes, they heard so many voyces crying and complaining, that all the Sea resounded their dreadfull Ecchoes, and this wofull lamenting continued a long while, to the no little amazement of all them in the Shippe. But finding the wind immediatly prosperous, they sayled on-ward, and arriuing afterward at Rome; there they declared the whole aduenture. Which comming to the eare of the Emperour Tyberius; hee would needes be further informed thereof, and found it to bee most true.

The death of the great God *Pan*.

The cõming of the ship to the gulfe of *Laguna*.

Ataman deliuereth the message as he was commanded.

Whereby it is plaine and manifest, that (euen in all parts) the Deuils complained on the Natiuity of our Lord, because it was their vtter destruction. For by the supputation of times, it is found, that these things hapned, at such time as he suffered for vs; or a little before, when they were chased and banished out of the world. And hath beene presupposed, that this great *Pan* (according to the imitation of the shepheards great God *Pan*) whom they said to bee dead: was some Maister Deuill, which (as then) lost his Dominion, as all the rest did. Beside these thinges, *Iosephus* the *Iew* writeth: *That in those very daies, a voyce was heard in the Temple of Ierusalem (albeit there was then no liuing Creature in it.) Let vs speedily bee gone, and leaue this Countrey.* That is to say, they plainely perceiued, what persecution they were to suffer, and that he was not far from them, and that their destruction should ensue by the giuer of life. In the *Nazarites* Gospell it is found, that on the day of his Passion; the Gate of the Temple fell dowue, which was so sumptuous, and thought to continue for euer. Thus we may see, what wonderfull things hapned in those times, although the Euangelistes doe make no mention of them; as being no necessary matters, or worth their remembring.

Ioseph. in Antiquit. Iud. lib. 4.

The Deuils euery where complained of our Sauiors Natiuity.

We are likewise to consider, that the great Eclipse of the Sunne, which lasted three houres, so long as Christ was on his Crosse: was no natural matter, like those which we sometimes behold, by coniunction of the Sun and the Moone; but indeede was miraculous, and contrary to all naturall course or order. Therefore, such as are ignorant, how the Sunne becommeth Eclipsed; must know, that it cannot be, but by the coniunction of the Sun and the Moon, the Moone being interposed betweene the Sunne and the Earth. And yet notwithstanding, the Eclipse which happened then at our Lordes Passion, was in opposition, the Moon being at ful, and distant from the Sun by an hundred and fourescore degrees, in another Hemisphere, inferior to the City of *Ierusalem*. To shew that this is true, beside that which is written by sundry good Historians; the Text of the holy Scripture maketh proofe thereof. For it is most certain, that they neuer vsed to sacrifice the Lambe, but on the 14. day of the Moone: which Lambe was eaten by Christ & his Disciples, the very day before his death; according as it was commaunded

Three houres Eclipse of the Sun, while Christ was on the Crosse.

The reason of the Sunnes Eclipse in his vsuall course.

The sacrificing of the Lambe.

Exod. 12,6. Leuit. 23,5.

manded in *Exodus*, and in *Leuiticus*. And on the morrow, which was the Feast of vnleauened bread, Christ (the immaculate Lambe) was crucified; the Moone being then on necessity in her full, & opposite to the Sunne, which then coulde no more Ecclipse the Sunne, then anie other Planet had power to do. Therfore it was very myraculous, contrary to the order of Nature, and onely done by the omnipotency of God, who depriued the Sunne of his light for all that space of time.

Dionisius Areopagita in *Athens*, whē the Sunne was darkned, and his words.

Furthermore, in regard of this admirable accident, *Dionisius Areopagita* beeing on that day in *Athens*: and beholding the Sunne to bee so strangely obscured; knowing also (as a man learned and skilfull in Astrology, & the Celestiall courses) that this Ecclipse was contrary vnto the rule of Nature, he cried out with a lowd voyce, saying; *Either the world will finish, or the God of Nature suffereth.* For this cause saith one, that the Wisemen of *Athens* being amazed heereat, caused an Altar immediately to bee builded to the *Vnknowne God*. And Saint *Paule* arriuing there afterwardes, declared vnto them, what and who that vnknowne God was: that it was Christ our Redeemer, God and man, who had then suffered, by meanes whereof, he conuerted many people to the faith.

An Altar erected to the vnknowne God.

Some haue beene doubtfull and desirous to know, whither this Ecclipse and darkenesse of the Sunne, was Vniuersally thoroughout the whole world; and builded their argument on this; that when the Euangelist saide, ouer all the Earth, that is to say; by a manner of speaking, al the Country thereabout, and *Origen* was of this opinion. But yet wee see, that in *Greece*; and namely in *Athens*, this darkenesse was visibly seene, which maketh me verily beleeue, that such an Ecclipse was vniuersall thoroughout all our Hemisphere, and through all partes where the Sun could be seene.

Concerning she vniuersal darkenesse.

I speake to this end, because in all the other Hemisphere, where it was then night, nothing could be seene, nor the sight of the Sunne be any way discerned. For he cannot illuminate in one instant, but the moitie or halfe of the earth, in regard of the shaddow which hee maketh of himselfe. Neuertheless, wee must know, that the Moone being then in her full, and hauing no light, but what shee receiueth from the splendor of the Sun; and being also in the Hemisphere which is meerely vnder vs, becam then likewise to bee violently ecclipsed and darkened, onely thorough the lacke of the Sunnes beauty and clearnesse. And therefore, it may be iustly saide, that an vniuersall obscurity was thoroughout the world; because, neyther the Moone or the Starres coulde yeelde any light, but what they themselues must first borrowed from the Sunne.

Concerning the Hemisphere vnderneath vs.

An vniuersall darknes thoroughout the world.

CHAP. VIII.

Of many passages and places, quoted and cited by diuers Learned Authours, which doo make mention of Christ, and of his life.

IHaue many times heard sundrie curious questions moued, yet proceeding from men of good Learning; what should bee the cause, that the Gentiles and Ethnickes (in their writings and Doctrines) haue made so slender mention of the life of Iesus Christ, and of his Myracles, they beeing so great in number, yea, so publicke and manifest, especially by his Disciples? Considering, that the Ethnicks make large mention in their Bookes, of other perticuler thinges happening in those times, albeit they were not of so maine importance as the other. Whereunto I answere first of all, that it were meerely against the trueth, to say, that prophane writers haue not spoken thereof, because there are an infinite number, from whome, I haue deduced some examples for their ease, that haue no knowledge in ancient Histories. My second reason to bee considered in this case, is, that the holy Faith, and Lawe of grace giuen by Christ, beganne in him, and by him and his Apostles, they were published to the world, and was embraced and receiued by some, who determined to liue and die therein. Albeit there were others, more obstinate in their sins and vices, that not onely made refusall thereof; but also persecuted it vnto their vtter-

The Gentiles and Ethnicks small remembrancers of Christ.

The Authors first reason of answere.

His second Reason.

The Holye Faith & Law of Grace.

vttermost power. There were yet some others (who held the middle ranke) that though this Doctrine seemed to them to be good: yet for fear of Tyrants and persecuters, with other humaine considerations, that this holie profession would be despised, they likewise grew careless of embracing and entertaining it.

Timerous & weak harted people.

The Worlde diuided into three opinions.

The World then being diuided into three opinions, they which confessed Christ, did notable and maruellous thinges, many of which gaue great testimony of the truth. And amongest this number, were *Dionisius Areopagita*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius Firmianus*, *Eusebius*, *Paulus Orosius*, and many others, who would require too long time to recite them perticulerly.

The first, holy beginners.

The other wicked sorte, that persecuted this profession, as a matter straunge and hatefull to their Law, laboring wholy to confounde it, and to hide the myracles, life and Doctrine of Christ, were such as (in this respect) would haue no speech thereof amongst them; or if they did make any report at all, it was done to this end, onely to obscure, contemn and darken the glory thereof. As did the wicked *Porphyrius*, *Iulian*, *Vicentius*, *Celsus*, *Affricanus*, *Lucian*, and other such like diuelliſh minded men: against whome, Wrote very learnedly, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, S. *Augustine*, and others.

The second, wicked Contemners.

The third number, who for feare, or other worldly considerations, held backe from becomming christians, and to loue and know the trueth: for the verie same causes refused to speake thereof, but if they vsed any litle touch or speech, it was done in scoffing and lying manner, or in a negligent and cursory kinde. All which notwithstanding, euen as when a man striueth to conceale a matter of trueth, vnder the Vaile of lying and deceitful colours, many times it comes to passe, that by a meere hidden property of trueth it selfe, hee that would so faine obscure it, doth disguise and palliate it in such bungerly manner, that his owne lies and trecheries are not only thereby made manifest, but concealed trueth shineth in the fairer luster. Euen so fell it out in this nature, with both these formamed people; for althogh they stroue mainly to exterminate & destroy the miracles of Christ and his Doctrine; yet which way soeuer they framed their speech, something still came from them, whereby their owne malice was apparantly discerned, and the goodnesse of truths Doctrine farre more soundly warranted.

The 3. sort, fearfull time-seruers.

A very excellent comparison of cõcealing the truth.

Allusion to the comparison.

I could speake of many things, which were both vttered and written by the *Sybilles*: but in regard that whatsoeuer they did, proceeded not from their own proper iudgement, but thorow the spirite of Propheſie, and according as God hadde communicated those guiftes vnto them, (notwithstanding they were Infidelles) I will be silent of them, and proceede to other authorities.

The ten famous Sybils, viz. *Persica*, *Libica*, *Delphica*, *Cumea*, *Erythræa*, *Samia*, *Cumana*, *Hellespontia*, *Phrygia*, *Tiburtina*.

Our first and most euident testimony (albeit not the least common) shal therefore bee deriued from our greatest Enemies, among whose number is *Iosephus*, not only a Iew by Lineage and Nation, but also by his life and profession; & these are his very words. *At the same time liued Iesus, a very Wise man, if it bee lawfull to tearme him a man, because indeed and verity, he did wonderful things, and was Maister and Doctor to such as loued and sought for truth. He assembled and was followed by great troopes of Iewes and Gentiles, and he was Christ. And although he was afterward accused by the principall men of our Faith, and crucified: yet hee was not abandoned of them which had formerly followed him: but three dayes after his death, he appeared aliue again vnto them, according as the Prophets (inspired of God) had foretolde and propheſied of him. And euen in these dayes of ours, the Doctrine and Name of christians, perseuereth to thorow world.* Behold, these are the words of *Iosephus*, who wrote of the destruction of *Ierusalem*, as an eye-witnesse of beholding it, which happened forty yeares after the pasion of Christ.

Iosephus in lib. 2. de Antiq.

The destruction of Ierusalem fortie yeares after Christ.

Pilate, in like manner, who had pronounced the sentence of death vpon him did beare witnesse (neuertheleſſe) of his great myracles, commending them by his Letters to the Emperour *Tiberius*. So that he consulted with the senat, to know whether they wold receiue Iesus Christ to be God: and albeit they woulde not consent thereto, yet *Tyberius* expressely prohibited, that Christians shoulde not be abused and persecuted. As concerning the trembling and quaking of the earth, with the darkening of the Sunne, during such time as Christ suffered vpon his Crosse, we haue likewise diuers testimonies

Pilate a Witnes of Christs myracles.

monies of *Ethnickes*. *Phlegonius*, a Greek Historian, of whom *Suidas* maketh especiall mention, reporteth for a wonderfull thing: *That in the fourth yeare of the two hundred and tenth Olympiade* (which by iust account, was in the eighteenth yeare of the raigne of *Tiberius*, and at which time our Sauiour suffered) *There vvas an Eccipse of the Sunne, the very greatest that euer had beene seene, or euer founde to bee written of, and that it continued from the sixt houre, vntill the ninth houre. And that during this Eccliplse, the trembling of the earth was so great in Asia and in Bythinia, that infinite strong builte houses fell to the ground.*

Phlegonius a Grecian born in *Asia*, recorded by *Suidas*

It appeareth moreouer, that besides this *Phlegonius* (who should seem to liue at the verie same time) *Pliny* also felt and wrote of the selfsame matter, for he saith; *In the time of the Emperor Tiberius, the quaking of the earth was much greater, then euer before had beene. By meanes whereof,* (saith another) *twelue Cities were ruined and ouerthrowne in Asia, with infinit other goodly buildings and houses*. So that, the Historiographers amongst the Gentiles, (albeit they knewe not the cause) did not forbeare to write of the Miracles of Christ.

Plin. in Lib. 2.

12. Cities in *Asia*, ruinated by the Earthquake of christes death.

The other Myracle, of the Vaile of the Temple, which rent in sunder, *Iosephus* also giueth faithfull testimonie thereof. Of the cruell murther or massacre committed by *Herod* on poore harmlesse Innocents, mention is made by another Iew, named *Philo*, an Historian of great authority, in his Abridgement of times, where he saith; *Herod caused certain Children to be slaine, and his owne Sonne with them: because he had heard, that the Christ a King promised to the Hebrewes, was then borne.* And this Author liued in the same time of the other *Herod*, named the *Tetrach*, as himselfe hath said.

Ios. in l. 2. de an.

Philo. Iudaic. in Abbreu. Tep.

This History of the Innocents, is yet much more amply declared by *Macrobius*, who was a verie ancient Ethnick, and Latine Historian; for, in discoursing som iouiall and facetious matters of the Emperor *Octauius* (in whose time our Lord and Sauiour was borne) hee sayeth; *The Emperor hauing heard of the cruelty of Herod, both toward his owne Sonne, and the other Children, said; He had rather be a hog in Herods house, then his Sonne.* And this he spake, because the Iewes neuer vsed to kill their Swine, or eate their flesh. This pleasant iest is also alledged by *Dion* the Greeke, in the life of the same Emperor. So that there were great store of miracles, whereof both the Iewes & Gentiles (without thinking on them) beare witnesse to bee doone by Christ, ouer and beside them which are written by Christians.

Macrobius an ancient Ethnick, and Latine Writer.

Dion. in vit. Oc.

What shal we further say, concerning the ancient Emperours, and what opinion they had of our faith; as also their cruell proceeding against Gods seruauntes? The first good Byshop, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule* likewise, were put to death by the commaunde of the Emperour *Nero*, thirty sixe yeares after the death of our Sauiour; and then, was the Churches greatest persecution, whereof the Gentiles spared not to make mention; and perticulerly, *Suetonius Tranquillus*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, who liued in those times and were of great authority. *Suetonius* in the life of *Nero*, speaking concerning some of his ordinances, saith; *He tormented and afflicted (with great paines and punishments) a kinde of people, that cald themselues Christians, and followed a new manner of beleefe and Religion.* And *Cornelius Tacitus*, displaying the deedes of the same *Nero*, saith: He persecuted and chastised with terible torments, a sort of people, which were vulgarly called Christians. And the Author of that Name, was Christ of *Ierusalem*, whom *Pilat* the Gouernor of *Iewry* caused to bee crucified. And by the meanes of his death his Doctrine began to exalt it selfe. Now let vs obserue what some other *Gentils* haue written, who were no way of any lesse reputation.

The auncient Emp. against the christians.

S. Peter & Paul put to death by *Nero*.

Suet. Tranquillius & Cornel. Tacitus.

The words of *Corn. Tacitus*.

Plinie the younger, in one of his Elegant Epistles, demanded of the Emperor *Traiane*, for whom he was Pro-Consull in *Asia*, how he would haue the Christians to be punished, which were accused and brought before him? And the better to informe his Lorde concerning such matters as hee found to bee obiected against them, he wrote thus: Amongst other thinges, these Christians doo rise at certaine houres in the night, and assemble themselues together, to sing Hymnes & songs of praise to Iesus Christ, whome they honor as their God. And beside their meeting in such Congregations, they make solemne vowes, not to do any euill,

Plin. Secund. in Epi. ad Traian.

The accusations laid to the Christians charge.

euill, or any harme to other men: but promise that they wil not steal any thing; that they will not be adulterers; that they will not falsifie their promises or Oathes; & not to deny whatsoeuer is left in their charge and keeping.

The causes why Christians were persecuted.

This *Pliny* saith moreouer: *They feede all together, without possessing any thing, as priuate or perticuler.* Whereby may be knowne, what the exercises of Christians were, and for what cause the worlde abhorred and persecuted them. These things were written by an Infidell and Idolater, threescore yeares after the passion of our Lord and Sauiour. Vnto which Letters, the Emperor returned this aunswere.

The Emperors answere to his Pro-Consull.

Forasmuch, as they are accused of no other abuse or euil doing, let them not in any wise be afflicted or punished, neither make anie further inquisition against them. Neuertheless, when they shall bee eft-soones accused before thee, do thy best to withdraw thē from that Religion: but if in no wise they wil forsake it, yet see that thou doe not offer them any eternity. Howbeit, very true it is, that this Emperor *Traian*, had formerly (and like an Infidell, deceyued by the guile of false accusers) persecuted the Christians.

After him his Nephew *Adrian* succeeded in the Empire, of whom *Ælius Lampridius* the Historiographer Writeth, that hee was an Infidell and an Idolater: and yet neuertheless, he began to honor the Christians, permitting them to liue in their Religion: and himselfe also worshipped Christ with diuers others, and caused Temples to be newly erected. Yet afterward, he altered his minde, and became both odious and cruell towards the Christians, being deceyued and abused by the Maisters of his false Ceremonies, and by the Byshops attending vppon his idle Gods. For they perswaded him, that if any way he fauored the Christians: the whole world wold be conuerted to their Religion, and so the faith of the Goddes should be ouerthrowne. And this is credibly auouched by *Petrus Crinitus*. It is written in the life of *Saturnius*, that a letter was sent from *Seuerinus* the Consull, to the same Emperor *Adrian*; wherin he declared to him, that there were diuerse Christians in Egypt: amongest whom, some called themselues Byshops, whereof no one was found Idle at any time: but

Elius Lampridius in vit. Ad.

Adrian the Emp. perswaded against the Christians.

Read more of this in the life of *Saturnius*, concerning the life and behauiour of Christians.

still seriously employed about one exercise or other, and euen (to the blind and Gowty) all liued by the labour of their hands; and yet they all worshipped one GOD, who also had beene ordered by the Iewes.

The false instigations of the corrupt Byshops.

We read also in the Histories of those times, that this Emperour hauing begun to misintreat the Christians by perswasion of his false High-Priests, there was a certaine Ambassador of his, named *Seranus Eranius*, an Ethnicke, like him that had written the Letter to him, who gaue his opinion, that the cruelty of consenting to oppresse the Christians (being accused of nothing else, but obseruing their Religion, and could not iustly be charged with any other crimes or offences) deserued mittigation. And so by the means of this Letter, the Emoerour *Andrian* inhibited *Minutius Fondanus*, then Pro-consull in *Asia*: not to condemne any Christian, except he were conuinced of some other offence, then that concerning his Christian Religion.

Minutius Fondanus Proconsul in *Asia*.

CHAP. IX.

What opinion the Auncient Emperours did hold, concerning the people that followed Christ and Christianity, by those testimonies which are deriued out of Ethnicke *Histories.*

AFter this Emperor *Adrian* (of whome wee spake in our last chapters) succeeded *Anthonius* the *Debonaire*, or meek, who, albeit he had that Gentle name, yet was hee peruerse and Wicked; for hee misliked the Faith of Christ, and persecuted the Christians. But *Marcus Aurelius* his successor, became therein much more moderate: for in stead of persecuting them, he led them along with him in his Armies, and by their deuout Prayers, he was deliuered from a daunger which hee was in, thorough want of Water, which his enimies had cut from him, wherin God only holpe him, and bestowed Lightning and thunders vpon his aduersaries. Himselfe

Anthonius the meeke succeeded *Adrian*.

Marc. Aurelius was milde to the christians

selfe maketh mention of these thinges in one of his Letters; and *Iulius Capitolinus* speaketh the same; howbeit hee doth not attribute it wholy to the Christians. And these things hapned about 145. yeares, after the death and Pasion of our Sauiour.

Iul. Capitolinus.

About 15 or 20. yeares following, *Ælius Spartianus* (an *Ethnicke*, as himselfe confesseth) writeth, that *Seuerus* was elected Emperor; and hee made a Lawe, prohibiting (vnder great penalties) that no man shold conuert to be either Christian or Iew. After which, *Seuerus*, *Antoninus Heliogabalus* was Emp. whose dissolute life we haue already described; and *Lampridius* reporteth (who wrote his life) that he builded a Temple in *Rome*, dedicated to his God only, and hee woulde haue had the Christians to offer vp their Sacrifices therein; but they by no means would yeeld thereto. The successor vnto this *Heliogabalus*, was the Emperor *Alexander Seuerus*, in the yeare of our Lord, 192. and much ado was made, beecause he would haue become a Christian.

Elius Spartianus concerning *Seuerus.*

Heliogabalus his Temple in Rome.

Alex. Seuerus.

Wee finde moreouer recorded in his History, that hee held a good opinion of our faith, and honoured the Christians verie highly, graunting vnto them places and precincts in Rome, where to haue their Temples and Oratories. Himselfe also had an Oratory wherein he kept the Image or figure of Christ, according as it is testified by *Elius Lampridius*, where he speaketh largely of the Christians. Adding withall, that many Cookes and Tauerners went to the Emperour, to complain against the Christians, saying, *That they had taken their houses and Lodginges from them, therein to make vse of their hypocrisies, and that they obserued a Religion contrarie to that of the Romaines.* To which complaint the Emperour answered: *Hee thought it more conuenient, that God shold there be honoured, then their affayres and vocations be vainly followed.*

The Christians much fauouted by *Alexan. Seuerus.*

The Christians complained on, & the Emperors answere.

This *Seuerus* being dead, *Maximinus* succeeded him, an enemy and persecuter of the Christians: but he liued not long, and finished his dayes by an euill death. After whom; and two others beside, that had but small continuance, the Empire came into the hands of *Phillip*, who was baptized, as diuers do confirme; and the first that receiued the Christians: and yet *Eusebius* maintaineth, that the Gentiles Histories do speake nothing thereof.

The Emperor *Phillip* baptized.

Day by day after (though by small degrees) God gaue illumination vnto the hearts of men; and a great number were conuerted to the Faith, in despight of the Emperors *Decius*, *Diocleſian*, and such other, vntill such time, as (being wearie of persecuting) they dissembled their cruelty, and suffered them to liue peacefully a while: as most plainely appeareth, by a Letter of *Maximinus* the Emperor, companion with *Diocleſian*, which was aboue two hundered yeares after our Redemption: The Letter followeth thus in our Language.

Tyrants wearie of persecuting the christians.

CÆsar *Maximinus*, Inuincible, great High-Priest of *Germany*, of *Egypt*, *Thebes*, *Sarmatia*, *Perſia*, *Armenia*, *Carpia*, and victorious (besides) ouer the *Medes*: And for his Conquestes, named nine times Emperour, and eight times Consull, and Father of his Country, &c. At the beginning of Our Empire, amongest other things which wee determined to do for publicke good, We ordained, that the Order to be held in all thinges, should be conforme vnto the Auncient Lawes, and the publicke Discipline of *Rome* conserued. And by the same means Wee commanded, that the Men which name themselues *Christians*; and who haue left Our ancient Religion, shoulde be presſed, constrained, and enforced to leaue the New which they haue taken; & that they should obserue Our Auncient, established by Our Predecessors. But it being come to Our knowledge, that notwithstanding this command, and rigors vsed against them, to make them obserue it, they haue left off to follow Our Will, and are so firm and constant in their purpose, as neither force, nor any greeuous punishments whatsoeuer, can withdrawe them from their Religion, and cause thē to keepe Ours; but rather, they desire to expose themselues to more bitter Torments and death: continuing still to this day, in the same constancie, without any will or intent to honor any of our Gods of *Rome*: Wee being memoratiue of our wonted clemency and pittie, do purpose to expresse the same towards these Christians. And therefore we do permit, that from hence-forward any man may make and name himselfe a Christian, to haue places

The emperor *Maximinus* his Letter, concerning the christians

The woorthy and constant resolution of the christians.

The Christias bound to doo nothing against the weal-publick.

places for their assemblies, and to builde Temples, wherein to offer their Sacrifices and Prayers. Which License and faculty we graunt vnto them, vnder condition that they shall doo nothing against Our Weale-publicke and Religion; and that (in other things) they shall keep Our Lawes and Constitutions. Moreouer; that in acknowledgement of this permission, they shal stand obliged, to pray vnto their God for our life and health; and likewise for the good estate of the *Roman* Commonwealth, that the City continuing safe and in prosperity, they themselus may liue by their labor in repose and security.

The Christians must remember the Emperour in their prayers

Well may we terme this man a most infortunate Emperor, for if he sought to compell the Christians, to forsake and renounce their faith, as being badde and wicked: why then, would he haue them to praie for him, and tie them to be mindful of him in their Prayers? But this letter maketh sufficiently against him, because himselfe doth thereby testify, what constancy, vertue, and spirit appeared in the Martirs and holy christians, suffering patiently (for so long time) such torments and punnishments, as were inflicted on them for the loue of Christ. Within some while after *Maximinus*, *Constantine* came to succeed in the Empire, who was sir-named the Great, Son to the good Q. *Helena*, that found the Crosse of Christ, which was about 290. yeares after the redemption of mankind. Hee was a good Christian, and performed so manie worthy actions, in the honor of God, and his holy Church, and likewise to the Ministers therein, as would require too long a time to recite. He permitted all men indiffrently to becom Christians, for whom he builded sumptuous Temples: and such as formerly had bin dedicated to the seruice of Idols. were nowe consecrated to the seruice of Christ and his seruants.

The emperor *Constantine* the great, became a good Christian.

Idolaterous Temples reduced to the seruice of god

After this time, although the Church of God suffered some scandales and persecutions, as those of *Iulian* the Apostata and others: yet notwithstanding, dayly, and in many parts of the worlde, Christ became to be publickely adored. And from thenceforward, all Histories are ful of the Saints deeds; moreouer, the most part of the subsequent Emperors, were faithfull Catholickes, as *Theodosius*, *Iustinian*, and others of the same minde. I could alledge many more Authorities of *Ethnick* Historians, who haue spoken of Christ, but this small number shall now suffice me, because they are both famous and of great approbation.

Christ honored in most places of the World.

CHAP. X.

That a man of meane birth or condition; should not therefore desist or forbeare from honourable attempts; but endeauour (by all meanes possible) to winne fame and preferment: With sundry examples tending to that purpose and argument.

Natiue Nobilitie the true Nurse of honor.

WE see, that (euen naturally) men descended of high and generous Linage, do oftentimes beecome the greatest and most excellent persons, by imitating the natiue Nobleness, and ancient vertue of their ancestors. Neuertheless, because there is not any Law or rule so certaine, which admitteth not some kind of exception: this also may be allowed to passe in that number. For many times, a wise, vertuous, learned, and well-disposed Father, doth beget idle, abiect, indiscreete, and bad qualited Children. And yet for all this, if this rule were more certaine, and of lesse infallibilitie, then indeede it is: yet it standeth not as any expresse inhibition, that such are deriued of meane and poor parentage, shold not eleuate their humble eyes, and (by any paine or trauaile whatsoeuer) climbe to the faire abiding of vertue and honor. And so much the rather, because the most auncient, noble, and best esteemed families of these daies, had their sourse & originall from the well-head of vertue, & therby ennobled their succeeding posterity. Therefore, the better to encourage men, to mount vp their depressed minds, and to aime at matters of moment and eminency, I will relate a few examples of some, that haue descended from poore parents, who (neuertheless) becam great men, illustrious and excelling both in Vertue and Nobility.

No inhibition against true & reall Vertue.

A Spurre to humble and lowly minds, none greater then vertue.

We

Viriatus a Portuguize, ſeuere againſt the Romains.

We will begin with *Viriatus* a *Portuguize*, ſo much renowned among Hiſtorians, and eſpecially the *Romans*, in whoſe blood ſo many times hedied his weapon. This man was the Son of a poore Shepheard in the Fields; and all his younger yeares holp his Father to tend his flocks: but his thoughts lifting themſelues vnto much higher occaſions, he lefte this domeſticke and priuate kind of life, depending on tame and harmleſſe Creatures, to purſue thoſe of ſauage and ſterner Nature; and ſo (indeede) became a great Hunter. It hapned afterward, that the *Romaines* comming to inuade *Spaine*, he leauied a great troope of his Companions togither; by whoſe aſsiſtance he gaue the enemy many bolde skirmiſhes, and ſpared not alſo his Natiue friends, onlie for practiſe, and to whet on his youthful ſpirit. He prooued ſo valiant and apte to Armes, that (in very ſhort time) he had won people enowe about him, to make vp an whole army, and ſhew themſelues reſoluedly in the Field. VVith them, he made warre vpon the *Romans*, in defence of his owne Country; and the wars continued aboue 14. yeares: in which time, he won many great & famous victories againſt them. Thus liued he powerfully, honourably, and feared of his enemies: but in the end, he was vnfortunatly ſlaine by Treaſon, to the no little greefe of his VVarre-Companions, by whom, hee was moſt Noblie brought vnto his Graue.

The Romans proceede to make warre in Spaine.

Viriatus ſlaine by treaſon.

Arſaces, King of the *Parthians*, was of ſuch meane and ſimple Parentage, that no mans memorie could make report either of his Father or Mother. After hee had retired himſelfe from ſubiection and obedience to *Alexander* the Great, hee was the firſt that conſtituted a kingdome among the *Parthians*, the people ſomuch renowned and feared of the *Romans*. And by the meanes of his manhood and valiancy, the Kings ſucceſſors (in reuerend reſpect and memory of his name, albeit they helde not the Kingdome by Hereditarie ſucceſsion) were in regard of him named *Arſacides*, as the *Romaine* Emperors tooke firſt the name of *Cæſar*, in affection to the name of great *Cæſar Octauianus Auguſtus*.

The poore birth of *Arſaces* K. of the Parthians.

The Kings of Parthia, namd *Arſacides*

The excellent Captaine *Agathocles*, who for his wiſedom and dantleſſe ſpirit was King of *Sicily*, and made moſt cruell VVarre on the *Carthagenians*, was of ſo poore and humble birth, as at the vtmoſt, he could be ſaid to be but a poor Potters Son: and yet neuertheleſſe, he attayned in time, to the honour and dignitie of a King. Whenſoeuer he made his royal Feaſts and Banquets, among his Veſſels of Gold and Siluer, wherewith hee was ſerued at his Table, hee would alſo haue ſet before him, Cups, Pots, and earthen Veſſelles, to declare that he was not vnmindfull from what pouerty of place his firſt Originall grew. There is another, as memorable an example of *Ptolomey*, one of the chiefeſt Captaines to *Alexander*; after whoſe death, hee was King both of *Egypt* and *Syria*: yet ſuch was his fame, as all his Succeſſors, the Kings of Egypt, were named *Ptolomeyes*, in remembrance of him. This *Ptolomy*, was Sonne to an Eſquire, called *Lagus*, who neuer had any higher preferment, then as a Squire in *Alexanders* Army.

Agathocles K. of Sicilie a poor Potters ſon.

Ptolomy king of Egypt and Syria.

Iphicrates the *Athenian*, was moſt excellent in the Science of Militarie Diſcipline, for he conquered the *Lacedemonians* in a fought battell, and valiantly reſiſted the impetuoſitie of *Epaminondas*, the excellent Captaine of *Thebes*. The ſame was the man, whom *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, elected to be Lieutenant General ouer his Armies, when he purpoſed any Warre againſt the Egyptians. And yet notwithſtanding theſe eminent aduancements: al ſuch as haue written of him, do confeſſe him to be no better borne, then a poore Coblers Sonne.

Iphicrates the warlick Athenian, the Son of a poore Cobler.

I had almoſt forgot *Eumenes*, one of the moſt excellent Captaines that *Alexander* had, both in valour, knowledge, & good Counſell, whoſe life and woorthy deeds of Armes, are written by *Plutarch* and *Paulus Emilius*. This man, although he was not fauoured (like the other) in riches, and the goods of fortune: yet could no man march before him in the Art of warre. For his vertues and glories grew out of himſelf, gaining no aduancement but by his owne labours: he being ſon to a man but of mean condition, & (as ſome write) a poore Carter.

Eumenes recorded by *Plutark* & *Emilius*

Among our worldly Dominions and Gouernements, none euer was ſo great and powerfull, as the *Roman* Empire, and ruled and commanded by many moſt excellent men, both in Manners and Vertues. And yet neuertheleſſe, manie haue

The Romain Empire greateſt of all other.

aſpired and attained to that Soueraigne degree of Authority, who were but of poore and meane deſcent. *Elius Pertinax* Emperor of Rome, was the Sonne of an Artificer, his Grand-father was a *Libertine* (that is to ſay) ſuch a one as ſometime had bin a Bondſlaue, and afterward had purchaſed his liberty. And yet notwithſtanding, in regard both of his vertue and valour, he came to be the *Romain* Emperor. Afterward, to leaue an example to others of poore parentage, and to encorage them to vertuous attempts, hee couered with coſtly & fine carued Marble, all the Shoppes where his Father hadde wrought to get his liuing. Nor was this *Elius* the onely man of meane birth, that attained vnto the Empire; for *Diocleſian*, who made Rome ſo glorioufly ſhine with triumphant victories, was only the ſon of a Scribe or Notary. Some ſay, that his Father was a Booke-binder, and himſelf a bondſlaue. *Valentinian* alſo came to the Empire, albeit he was but a poore Ropemakers Son. The Emperor *Probus*, was the Son of a Gardiner. *Aurelius*, whoſe fame and vertues were ſo great, was of ſuch meane and poore deſcent: that Authors could neuer agree, concerning the place where he was borne. *Maximinus* was the Sonne of a Smith; but others ſay that his Father was a Waggon-Wright. *Marcus Iulius Licinius*, and likewiſe *Bonoſus*, they did both gouerne the Romaine Empire: and yet the firſt was but an huſbandmans ſonne of *Dacia*, and the other the ſonne of a poore ſtipendary Schoolemaiſter.

Elius Pertinax an Artificers Sonne.

Diocleſian was the Son of a Scriuener.

Valentinian, a Rope-makers ſonne.

Probus a Gardiners ſonne.

Maximinus a Smiths ſonne.

M. Iulius Licinius & Bonoſus

Many other Emperors of this degree, were in *Rome*, whom I ſpare to ſpeake of, for breuities ſake, as *Mauritus Iuſtinus*, predeceſſor to *Iuſtinian* and *Galerus*, who firſt were Shepheards, before they came to be Emperors. From this high and ſupreame dignitie, let vs come to the Prelacie of the Romaine Sea, whereto likewiſe men of as humble a condition haue attained. Pope *Iohn*, the two and twentith of that name, was a Shoue makers Sonne, and borne in *Fraunce*, yet by his learning and wiſedome he came to that degree, and encreaſed the patrimonie & power of the Church. Pope *Nicholas* the fifte, formerlie named *Thomas*, was the ſonne of verie poore parents, that went about the Cittie, ſelling Egges & Poultrie. Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, firſt named *Frances*, and a *Cordelier*, was the ſonne of a Mariner, or Sea-faring man. I coulde name a number more, whom purpoſely I do omit; becauſe this dignitie is not to be had by Nobilitie of blood, but onelie by vertue. Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe left vs an example thereof, for the firſt man by him appointed to that Office, is ſaide to bee Saint *Peter*, who formerly ſought his liuing in the Seas, like a poore Fiſherman, but he brought him from thence to bee a Fiſher of men.

Examples of the Byſhops See of Rome.

Pope *Iohn* the 22. a ſho-makers ſon.

Pope *Nicholas* 5. a Powlters ſonne.

Pope *Sixtus* 4 a Marriners ſonne.

S. *Peter* reputed to be the firſt Byſhop of Rome.

Comming now to a ſuruey of Kinges and Princes, we finde, that the Romains elected *Tarquinius Priſcus* for their king, who was the ſonne of a Merchant of *Corinth*, and one that was baniſhed from his owne Countrey. Yet he comming to bee King, enlarged the Confines of his Kingdome, and the number of Senators, as alſo of his Cauallerie. Hee inſtituted new eſtates for the ſeruice and Ceremonies of their Gods; ſo that the people neuer repented themſelues for electing him their King, although he was a ſtraunger to them. *Seruius Tullius*, who was likewiſe King of Rome, raigned long time with verie great victories, and triumphed three ſeuerall times, in pompe and power of an excellent King: and yet hee was knowne by many, to be the ſon of a poor Bond-woman: from whence (for euer after) he held the name of *Seruius*.

Tarq. Priſcus, a Merchantes ſonne.

Seruius Tullius the ſonne of a poore bond woman.

The Kings of the *Lombards*, although they were not of ſuch Antiquity, as the Kings of Rome, yet (in due reſpect) they had as great puiſſance. The third of them being named *Lamuſius*, was the ſonne of a poore common woman, who was deliuered at the ſame time, of two other Sonnes. And yet, like a lewde and wicked woman, ſhe threw them into a deepditch wherein was ſome ſmall ſtore of Water. It fortuned, that King *Agelmond* paſſing that way, eſpyed the Infant (well-neere) drowned in the Water. And hauing a Launce then in his hand, hee touched it gently with the end thereof, to perceiue further what it was. But the Infant (as young as it was) feeling himſelfe pierced with the Launces point, caught holde thereon with his hand, and would not let it go. Which when the King beheld, woondering not a little, that ſo young a creature ſhold declare ſo much ſtrength, he cauſed him to bee taken foorth of the water, and to bee nurſed with great care and

Lamuſius K. of the Lombardes a Strumpets ſonne.

K. *Agelmond* finding the yong child in the water, cauſeth it to bee well nurſed.

and coſt. And becauſe the name of the place (where hee found him) was called *Lamus*, he was ſir-named *Lamuſius*, and became ſo greatly fauoured by Fortune, that he was King of the *Lombards*, & his ſucceſsion continued to King *Albouinus*, in whoſe time that Kingdome was vtterly ruined.

The reaſon of calling him *Lanuſius*.

Another accident (of no leſſe raritie then this) happened in the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, where a man named *Primiſlaus* (Sonne to a Peazant of the Countrey) was choſen to be king, euen when he was labouring the ground in the fields. For, the *Bohemians* being then in ſome doubt, whom they ſhould elect to be their king, ſent foorth a Horſe vnbrideled into the wilde fields, ſuffering him to run whither ſoeuer he would, being fully determined to elect him their King, with whome the horſe ſtayed.

Of *Primislaus* K. of Bohemia

A ſtrange election of a king

It came ſo to paſſe, that the horſe made his ſtay directly before *Primiſlaus*, euen as he was holding the plough in the field: whereupon they made choiſe of him to be their King, and hee gouerned them both excellently and wiſely. He ordained many good and profitable Lawes, and encloſed the Citty of *Prage* with ſtrong walles, performing many other notable things.

Great *Tamberlaine*, whoſe woorthie deeds are in ſome meaſure before remembred, was but a Heardſman at his beginning. The valiant and vertuous Captain, Father to *Frances Sforza*, whoſe ſons and ſucceſſors euen to our time, haue continued Dukes of *Millaine*, was borne in a poore Villaine, called *Cotignol*, and Son to a needie labouring man. But being naturally addicted to Armes, and endued with a dauntleſſe ſpirit: hee forſooke his Fathers ſilly vocation, and followed a band of Souldiers paſsing thorough the Countrey, and ſo became a very famous Warriour.

Great *Tamberlaine*.

The Father to *Frances Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*.

Caius Marius, Conſull of Rome, being iſſued of poore parents, and born in a ſilly Country Village, called *Arpinum*, was one of the beſt and worthieſt Warriors in his time, as is well known to the whole world; for hee was ſeauen times choſen Conſul. During which ſpace, he won many great victories, and had two magnificent triumphs in *Rome*.

Caius Marius Conſull of *Rome*.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, the Princely Father of eloquent *Latine*, and moſt lerned in all Diſciplines, was Conſull in Rome, and Pro-conſul in *Aſia*: and yet notwithſtanding, his original was from the poor *Tuguriole* of *Arpinum*, the moſt abiect & meaneſt parentage that could be. *Ventidius* a poore mans ſonne, was a Muleter: but leauing that baſe vocation, hee came to be of note in *Cæſars* warres, thorough whoſe fauours, only by his vertue and valour, he came to bee Commannder of a band of men, afterward Marſhall of the Field, next to the High Prieſt, and then Conſull of Rome.

M.T. Cicero, Conſull of Rome, and Pro-conſul in Aſia.

Ventidius a poor Muleter his rare Fortunes.

In fighting againſt the *Parthians*, he ouercame and triumphed ouer them; and was the firſt man that brought the moſt apparant & notable victory from them. It would require too long a labor, to ſet downe examples of meane deſcended perſons, who (thorough Learning, Vertue, and Knowledge) haue attained vnto great degrees and renowne. *Virgill* was no better then a poore Potters ſon; and yet he was the beſt Poet amongſt the Latines. *Q. Horace*, *Euſtatius*, and *Pepinus*, all excelling in Poeſie, yet the ſonnes of enfranchiſed Bondſlaues. The admyred Phyloſopher *Theophraſtus*, was the Son of a Botcher, or mender of Garmentes. And *Menedemus* the Phyloſopher, vnto whome the *Athenians* erected a coſtlie Statue, onely in regard of his Learning, was a meane Handy-crafts mans Sonne. By al which examples we may eaſily perceiue, that a man of what condition ſoeuer he be borne, may (if himſelfe wil) attaine to greatneſſe, if he but followe the ſteppes of Vertue; for which there is no better Schoolemaiſter then paine & trauel; yet not wandering out of the way to Heauen. For he that ſwerueth from that only path, the acquiſition and aduantage of the worlds glorie, cannot ranſome his ſoule from perpetuall and neuer-ending torments.

Virgil a poore Potters ſonne

Horace, *Euſtatius* and *Pepinus*.

Theophraſtus and *Menedemus* Phyloſophers.

CHAP. XI.

Of diuers things which happened to the Emperor Iustinian, *and many other of his time: with some memory also concerning* Lodouicus Sforza.

Iustinian the Emperor, named by some Iustine.

IN the year 686. the Empire being reduced to *Constantinople*, *Iustinian* the 2. was chosen Emperor, albeit (by some others) he hath beene named *Iustine*, being but a bad Christian, and addicted to most Wicked inclinations. At the beginning of his raigne, his affaires succeeded very well, because the Sarazins (who had vsurped *Affrica*) made peace with his Captaines. But in regard of his cruelty, he was ill-affected, so that he receiued deserued punishment. For, in the tenth yeare of his Empire, a Conspiracy was contriued against him, by *Leontius* a Senator of *Constantinople*, and *Galenius* the Patriark, euen at such time, as he imagined himselfe to bee in his very greatest prosperity.

A conspiracie plotted against *Iustinian*.

This *Leontius* armed with the peoples fauour, and some of the cheefest of the Empire, came to the Pallace, where without finding any resistance, he tooke *Iustinian*, and cut off his nose. Some others do report, that hee did cut out his tongue likewise. And entitling himselfe to be Emperor, banished *Iustinian* to the Towne of *Cherronesus*, on the *Pontique* Sea, where he remained alone, poor, and so disfigured. *Leontius* hauing thus attained vnto his owne intention, and seeing himselfe permitted Emperor in peace, he sent one of his Captains, named *Iohn*, into *Affrica* against the Sarrazins, who as yet kept possession there. Hauing gotten the victory ouer them, and left his armie there in such good order and equipage, as best he could, he returned home vnto *Leontius*, to render an account of his imployment.

Iustinian taken his nose cut off, and banished to *Cherronesus* by *Leontius*, who made himself Emperor.

But in the meane while, one named *Asimarus*, attained to some respect in the Army, and afterward was called *Tiberius* by the Soldiers. This man (by generall consent) taking vppon him to be Emperor, matters succeeded so happilie with him: as (with all diligence) hee came to *Constantinople*: where laying holde of *Leontius* (who had beene Emperour three yeares) he caused his Nose to be cut off, according as he had dealt with *Iustinian*, & commaunded him prisoner into a Monastery, to make his torment worse then death to him; and yet afterward, did put him to death also.

Asimarus, otherwise called *Tiberius*, chosen Emperor.

In like manner, he expulsed and banished into *Cephalenia, one named *Phillippicus*, because he dreamed, that an Eagle had seated her self on his head: which (by presage) appeared to him, that the Empire should come into his command. By which meanes, *Tiberius* continued Emperor peaceably, and raigned sixe or seauen yeares, without feare of any man. In which quiet time of gouernment, the deuill preuailed so farre with him, that hee must needs determine the death of *Iustinian*, as doubting least hee should deuise some machination against him. But *Iustinian* getting aduertisement therof, fled for safety to the house of a Prince of *Barbary*, by whom he was kindly entertained, with promise of his daughter in mariage, and many other great matters besides. Thus remaining there in some hope, and no further cause of feare appearing vnto him: he had secret intelligence, that his new made Father in Law (for a summe of money promised by *Tiberius*) meant suddenly to seize him, and sende him forthwith vnto his enemy. Which made him vndertake a second flight, & betake himselfe to the King of *Bulgaria*, named *Ouellus*, by whose assistance (hauing promised to receiue his Sister in Marriage) he leuied an Armie, which he conducted with him against *Tiberius*, and ouerthrew him in battaile. Which hee neuer could haue done, if *Tiberius* would haue permitted him to liue in quiet, without molesting him in his exile: for this now prooued *Iustinians* best helpe vnto the recouery of his Empire, though not of his Nose, which he had in a manner forgotten, but was vtterly hopelesse of, hauing had experience of Fortunes power, who (for all this fauour) frowned agayne on him.

*An Iland in the *Ionian* Sea beyond *Corcyra*.

The death of *Iustinian* deuised by *Tiberius*.

Iustinian to be betrayed againe, and therefore enforced to a second flight.

Beeing come vnto *Constantinople*, hee found *Leontius* there in prison, who had disfigured his face, and thrust him into ba-

Iustinian foiled *Tiberius*, and recouered his Empire again

banishment: in requitall whereof (after many torments) he caused both him and *Tiberius* to be put to death; and as many times as he remembered the cutting off of his nose, one of them that had conspired against him, was sure to dy. When he was fully re integrated in his dignitie, he began to thinke vpon one thing, which was the cause of loosing his Empire againe: for he would needs haue that *Philippicus* put to death, of whome wee haue already spoken, that was banished for the Dreame of the Eagle, and liued quietlie in his exile, not thinking on any thing to be contriued against him.

The death of *Leontius* and *Tiberius*.

Iustinian purposeth the death of *Philippicus*, for his dream of the Eagle.

In like manner, he quarrelled with the Inhabitants of *Cherronesus*, saying; That they hadde not well entreated him in the time of his exile; and therefore, leauied men to worke his intention, albeit he was most earnestly desired, to be compassionate towardes the poore banished man, whose offence was nothing but an ydle dreame; and yet he would by no meanes be disswaded. Hereupon, when *Philippicus* perceiued the Emperour to bend himselfe against *Cherronesus*, like a man wholly desperate, euen on meere constraint, he tooke courage to defend himselfe: and hauing no other remedie, with so many men as he could assemble together, hee went against *Iustinian*, vanquished him in fight, and cut off both his head and his Sonnes; which being done, banished as he was, hee made himselfe Emperor.

Phillipicus resolued to defend himself, & cutteth off Iustinians hed and his Sons.

In this manner, it pleased Fortune to play with *Iustinian*, vntill she had bereft him both of life and Empire. And the very same successe she bestowed on *Phillippicus*; for at the end of sixe months, one, named *Anastasius*, arose against him; and after he had pluckt out his eyes, he tooke the Empire from him, retaining it in his owne possession. And yet but for the space of a yeare only: because about that very time, another man, called *Theosus*, banded his power against him; and causing him to bee shorne a Monk, deprined him of the Empire also.

Anastasius taketh the Empire from *Phillipicus*.

Thus you may see, how Fortune shewed her true fickleneſſe, both with *Iustinian* and diuers other, in making exiles Emperors, & Emperors exiles, restoring to the dispossessed, more then they had before; that her despoyle of them might bee the more notable, prouing in the end cruell to them all; not dooing anie good to one, in regard of the euill endured by each other; for from some shee tooke that which shee gaue to others, to take away all from them in the conclusion.

A true testimonie of Fortunes frailtie, both in Iustinian & others

At the beginning, she would bestowe but little on them, vntill shee had lifted them vp to lofty estates; and shee exalted them the higher, to make their downfall the lower; giuing them aboundance, because she scorned to take final things from them. She would not suffer any of them to die in his prosperity, but hee must see himselfe dispossessed of all, before he dyed. Now, albeit these Histories wer most true, and might well haue serued for other mens examples: yet, in following successe of times, euermore one or other would be climbing, and grewe desirous of Empire: As whosoeuer readeth *Biondus*, *Platina*, *Antoninus*, and other good Authors, may fit their owne turne, with many more like Histories.

The downfall of Great men should serue as examples to others.

Hauing thus related, howe Fortune delt with many, now I purpose to declare what course she tooke with one man only, who was Duke of *Millain*, named *Lodowick*, Brother to *Galeas Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*, named by some *Iohn Andrea*, whom he nourished and brought vp, and slew in the Church of S. *Stephen* in *Millaine*, as hee was there present at the hearing of Masse; albeit, they were both Sons to the famous Warriour, *Frances Sforza*.

This *Lodowick* was educated with his other Bretheren, in great estate and power, as beeing Children vnto one of the most Woorthy Princes of his time: and who was in like manner, a verie Famous Soldiour. By the death of *Galeas*, a Sonne of his (Named *Iohn*, and verie young in yeares) remained his successor, in the tutelage and Gouernment of *Donna* his Mother; and of one, called *Chico*, a Native of *Calabria*, who hadde beene much fauoured, by the father and grandfather.

The true History of Lodowick Sforza.

This *Chico*, immediately banished the Bretheren vnto the deceased Duke, by meanes whereof, *Lodowick* (being one of them) wandering as a Fugitiue thorowe straunge Countreyes, learned to taste the mutabilities of Fortune; or, to speake more truely, of the World. And indeed his griefes must needs bee great, beholding

Lodowick, and his Brethren banished.

ding (at an instant, and at the verie enterance of his youth) his Brother slaine by treason, and the right of his Nephewe, which in reason he ought to administer, to be in the hand of a stranger, of base & wretched condition; in regard whereof, little assurance was to bee had of his life. Neuertheless, this Wheele turned, and he (like a man of wisedom and courage) sought the meanes of fortunes fauor and assistance, and found it. For hee entered forcibly into *Millaine*, and expeld thence both *Bonna* and *Chico*, whereby he continued a peaceable Gouernor of al the Fathers goods. His Nephew was so weake, and himselfe so valiant, that he ruled all, for the space of aboue xx. yeares: during which time, his great wisedom and spirit so ordered al things, that he increased the publick good both in war & peace; *Millaine* growing rich, feared, and well affected throughout *Italy*, and himselfe perticulerly very highly esteemed. He atained to great honors in the time of peace, but much more in war, especially that which the *Florentines* then had, against Pope *Sixtus* the 4. and against *Ferrand*, K. of *Naples*. In which warre the *Florentines* were in danger to be destroied & ruined: but the authority of *Lodowicke* was their speedy remedy, reducing them to peace and safety. King *Ferrand* also hauing lost some places in those warres, which hee had in *Calabria* against the Turk: he gaue him present succour both with men and money, whereby those losses were quickly recouered.

Lodowick forcibly entered into *Millaine*.

Lodowicke sole Gouernor aboue 20 yeares

Lodowicks great honors won in warre and peace.

By Armes likewise, hee defended the Duke of *Ferrara*, against the power of the *Venetians*, who had brought him to such extreamity, as he could no longer make resistaunce. And then the *Venetians* making war vpon him, he withstoode them so powerfully, as he entred into their landes, and brought it in compasse of his owne power, to agree peace with them when he pleased, and no sooner. At another time, the king of *Naples* being much molested by some great men of his coun try, that rose in rebellion against him: he lent him such aide and support, as kepte himselfe within his owne Kingdome, and al his estates. *Genes* rebelling against him, and *Benna* his Sister in Law, hee brought them vnder his obedience: and gaue such supply to the Duke of *Sauoy*, whose subiects would not endure his gouernment; that he made them obediently to submit themselues to him. Knowing also, that Pope *Alexander* the 6. so soone as he was elected, fell into great necessity, hee succoured him graciously with a great sum of mony. He maried the duke his nephew to the King of *Naples* daughter, & gaue his Neece as wife to *Maximilian* King of the *Romaines*. He reseated the Marquesse of *Saluces* in his estate & possesions. After all these prosperities, his nephew *John* died, leauing a childe very young: wherefore, he as absolute Lord, by the permission of the Emperor *Maximilian*, entitled himselfe Duke of *Millaine*.

His defending the Duke of *Ferrara* against the *Venetians*.

His helpe to the King of *Naples*.

His aid to the D. of *Sauoy*.

The martiages of his nephew & niece

At this time he was aged, standing on the height of his honours and successes; when fortune began to turne her backe vpon him, and the *Venetians* became his enemies, in fauour of *Lewes* the twelfth, King of *France*, who pretended the Dutchy of *Millaine* to appertaine to him in the right of his Mother. For this cause, he had war on both sides; and although he was a very potent Prince, yet notwithstanding, either because he grew distrustfull of his people, or helde himselfe not strong enough to withstand such combustions, without the backing & assistance of some of those Princes, who had receiued from him so many helpes and good turnes; hee resolued not to attend the shocke or brunt, but taking the best Order (for all things) that hee could deuise, forsooke his estate, which in lesse then a month, was vtterly lost. And yet not long after, Fortune kindled some sparkes of hope againe; for beeing fled into *Germany*, hee found there such succour and assistance, as at the expiration of 5. moneths, he returned with a great army and his entraunce prooued very successefull, because he tooke many places and towns in his owne territories, and was in good hope to recouer all.

Fortune turneth hir back on him, after all his good successes, and in his age.

A flattering smile of faire hope againe.

But when he stood ready for the fight, not onely the *Switzers* refused the battaile; but they seized him, and deliuered him into the Frenchmens handes, who led him with them into *Fraunce*, where (at length) he dyed prisoner in the Castle of *Lockes* in *Touraine*. It nothing auailed him, that he had been rich and mightie, for Fortune gaue him all those Glasse Felicities, to loade him (in the end) with the more greater Aduersities. These are the very best blessinges, that this

The *Switzers* deliuerd him to the *French*, and his death in *Torraine*.

this World can afford vs. Wherefore I say, he that hath least, and least desireth; liueth in the most contentment & assurance. O that men then would rest satisfied with such goods as they haue, making vse and seruice of them in peace, and as God hath bestowed them on them: for I haue read of diuers, who haue coueted many thinges, which (after the enioying of them) haue beene the onely cause of loosing their liues, and God knoweth best, what became of their Soules, by such extreame dealing.

He that hath little, is sure not to loose much.

CHAP. XII.

What opinion the Romaines, and others (our Ancient Predecessors) had of Fortune: How she was numbred among the Goddes. In what forme and figure they vsed to paint her. With apparant proofe, that (among vs Christians) there is no Fortune; because all thinges are referred to God.

Because wee haue shewne the instability of the world, by sundry examples of men, which some haue falsely attributed to Fortune: I hold it fit and reasonable, that we should a little conferre in this case, on those vanities holden by the *Gentiles* and *Ethnickes*, and afterward to conclude with Christians. Among those other errours, which the wise Philosophers held, concerning humaine sapience (they beeing depriued of the true and diuine) this was the chiefe and principall occasion. For, in not knowing the causes whence effects proceeded, neither vnderstanding who made and ordained them: many among them, tearmed them to be the workes of Fortune, with all sudden happenings, and things neuer hoped, or before thought on. And yet they could not be contented to stay themselues there (Fortune being nothing else, but a meere imagination without Essence) but many of them verily beleeued, that Fortune was a Diuinitie, and a particular Goddesse: to whom they ascribed all humaine accidents, whether they were of prosperity, or of aduersity. To her they referred gouernance and administration, of all things eyther good or euill. Nay, this follie tooke so strong a head, that *Virgill* named her *Almighty*; And *Cicero* in his Offices, dared to vse these words: *What is he, who knoweth not, that the power of Fortune is most great equally in good and euill? Because, if shee doe ayde vs with her prosperous winde, wee shall come to the issue of our desires: if she deale contrary, we shall be afflicted euen to extreamity.* *Salust*, an eloquent and learned Historiographer, saide: *Fortune is the Lady and Mistresse of all thinges.* *Iuuenall* consented with them, saying; *If Fortune please, of a simple Aduocate, thou shalt be made a Consull: but if she be contrary, thou sha't of a Consull, become a sillie Aduocate.* So that they ascribed all powerfulnesse to Fortune.

Vpon what cause this Chapter is induced.

The onelie ground of the Philosophers errors.

Fortune reputed to be a Diuinity and Goddesse.

Virgil in lib. 8. de Aenei.

Cicero in lib. 2. Officijs.

Salust his opinion of Fortune.

Iuuenall his words.

And yet notwithstanding, it is a wonderfull thing, that beeing in this opinion; they would blaspheme so mightily against her, imposing names and Epithites on her, which were voyd of any reuerence and honour. *Pliny* said, *Vndoubtedly, in all the world, in all places, at all houres, and by all persons; onely Fortune is inuoked, she onely is called, she onely accused and pursued. She alone is thought vpon, commended, and blamed with iniuries and reproaches. She onely is honoured, esteemed; yet reputed mutable, and (by some) blinde, vncertaine, inconstant, treacherous, and fauourable to the vnworthy. To her folie, is referred all expences and receipts, and in all matters and reasons of Mortall men, she filleth vp all the Pages of our rationall book.* So that, by these wordes, wee are in a most subiected condition, for if we shal repute Fortune to be a God or Goddes; we must thereby approoue God to be most vncertaine.

Plin. in lib. 2. Cap. 7.

How Fortune is both blamed and honored.

In those elder daies also, they made Statues and Images to her, in sundrie shapes and figures, according to such effects as they perswaded themselues to be in her. Whē they attributed victorie vnto her; then they formed her strong and manly, and they had a Temple likewise, perticularly dedicated to inuincible Fortune, which (according to *Titus Liuius*) was built by *Camillus* the Consull,

Variety of Statues and Images erected to Fortune.

A Temple built to Fortune by *Camillus* the Consul

full, with the prey and spoyle which he tooke from the *Hetrurians*. And long time after it was ordained, that her sollemne Feast should be celebrated, on the fiue and twentith day of Iune: because, as on that day, *Hasdruball* was defeated and foyled; and King *Massinissa*, a Friend to the *Romaines*, the selfe-same day vanquished King *Siphax*.

Another temple built out of Rome to Fortune.

Moreouer, the *Romaines* erected another Temple to her, about two little miles from Rome, where she was figured in the shape of a Woman; because in that place, *Coriolanus* comming in Armes against his Countrey, hauing listened to the entreaties of his Mother: became gracious, and returned, pardoning *Rome*, which he had formerlie determined to sacke and spoile, euen from the top to the bottome. Into this forme of a Womans mounted Statue, the deuill made his entrance, giuing answere therein many times, and so reputed to be an Oracle. They had another Temple also, which was dedicated particularly to euill Fortune, and such was their blindnesse in deuotion, as they verily beleeued, that he who was deuoutly addicted to this Fortune; all things should happen well vnto him. But hee that did the contrary, all thinges with him should turne to vnhappinesse. Of all which delusions and abusings, the Deuill onely was the Authour, to make men relye and trust on him the more confidently. As it happened to *Galba*, who hauing taken a Collar or Chaine of Gold from this Image of Fortune, to bestow it (as an offering) on the Goddesse *Venus*, as it is recorded by diuers Historians: Fortune her selfe appeared to him the night following, and threatned him, whereon (soone after) his death ensued.

A third Temple dedicated to euill Fortune.

The Deuill is the Authour of these deludings.

Galba, his taking a Chain of Gold from the Image of Fortune.

The vanitie of these people was so extreame, that they had also another Statue, of a bearded Fortune, perswading themselues; that such youthes as did hold her in veneration, should the sooner haue Beardes and comely proportion: but such as contemned her, should both want beards, and all good disposition. All these things they did, for diuersitie of respects and considerations: and yet their maine intent, was to signifie the whole power, which (according to their opinion) remained in her, and the contrarietie of her nature, they declared also in diuers kinds.

A Statue of bearded Fortune, to send young men beards.

The Philosopher *Cebes*, painted her in the shape of a Woman, but furious, blind, and without vnderstanding: hauing her feete placed vppon a round stone, thereby to demonstrate her instabilitie. *Vupalus* was the first in *Greece*, that made an Image to Fortune in the Citty of *Smyrna*: she had the Heauens ouer her head, and in one of her hands a Horne of aboundance. The *Scythians* made her a Woman without feete, hauing (neuertheless) handes and wings. Others figured her with the stearne or guide of a Shippe in one of her hands, and in the other a *Cornucopia*: inferring thereby, that she gouerned all thinges, and graunted blessings to the World. Others made her of Glasse; because she was fraile, and broken in pieces with the least mischance.

Cebes his figure of Fortune.

Vupalus his picture of Fortune.

The *Scythians* Fortune.

Diuers shapes and figures of Fortune.

There were others, who painted her turning a Wheele, on the top whereof some were seated; others climbing to get vp, and others thrown down quite vnderneath it. One tearmed her to be like a Comedie, wherein some persons entred (one while) like Kings and great Lords, and presently changing their Garments, entred againe like Slaues & Seruants: because our humaine life is gouerned in like manner, for men are to day rich and pompous, but to morrow poore, abiect, and miserable. *Socrates* compared her to a publike place, or disordered Theater, wherein many times it commeth to passe, that the best persons sit in the worst places. Those of ancient times, described her to be blind, and, to that purpose, *Apuleius* hath these words in his Golden Asse. *Not without cause, did men of old learning, paint Fortune to be blinde: considering, she continually bestoweth riches on peruerse people, & such as are vnworthy of them, neuer making any good election among men; but most commonly fauoureth and communicateth her selfe to wicked people, whom (if she had eyes) she would fly and shunne.*

Compared to a Comedy.

Socrates his comparison of Fortune.

Apuleius in his Golden Asse, concerning Fortune.

There are an infinite number of authorities, which might bee produced, concerning the good and bad names attributed to Fortune. *Valerius* and *Claudian* called her *Enuious*. *Ouid* in his *Fasts* tearmeth her *strong and doubtfull*; and in his Epistles, *wicked*. *Iuuenall* in his Satires,

Valerius Maximus. *Claudian.* *Ouid in Fast.* *Iuuenal in Sat.*

Satires, calleth her *Vile and peruerse*. *Lucian*, *Traitresse and periured*. *Siluius Italicus*, *Craftie and subtile*. *Virgil* in one place, calleth her *Omnipotent*; and elsewhere he raileth on her, saying; shee is *Inconstant, faithlesse, and disloyall* *Cicero*, of whom we haue already spoken, and who attributed vnto her so much power as to entile her; *The Guide and conduct of Men in liuing well*: saith yet beside, *That there is nothing so contrarie to reason and constancie, as Fortune is.* And yet neuertheless, the vanity of the ancient *Romaines* was so great, that they would adore her, whom they knew to be blind, false, and inconstant, building Temples to her. And so curious were they in imployment of their superstitions; that the Emperours of *Rome* kept the Image of Fortune, in the very same Chambers where they vsed to sleepe: and when any of them dyed, shee was transported from his Chamber, into that of his Successour.

Lucian.

Cicero in lib. de Orat.

The vanities of the ancient Romaines.

The superstition of the *Romaine* Emperours.

The first that erected a Temple to her in *Rome* (according as *Titus Liuius* declareth) was *Seruius Tullius*, sixt King of the *Romaines*. Yet *Plutarch*, in his Booke of the *Romaines* Fortune, saith (of virile or manly Fortune) *That albeit Martius, fourth King, was the first that builded a Temple to her: yet it was Seruius Tullius, that imposed many names on her, for each of which names, they made her a Temple.* One to manly Fortune; others to little Fortune; prosperous Fortune; aduerse or bad Fortune; and to triumphant Fortune, with other such like names.

Seruius Tullius Plutarc. in Lib. de Rom. Fort.

The names of Fortunes temples.

The Temple of virile or manly Fortune, was builded neere to the Riuer of *Tyber*, and (according to some others) hard by a Lake or Poole. In this Temple, all such Maides as were of marriageable yeares, came and presented themselues in great deuotion, despoyling themselues into their Smocks, before the Statue of Fortune. If they had any blemishes or imperfections on their bodies, they would discouer them vnto her: beleeuing verily, that Fortune would keepe them hidden and concealed, and order the matter in such sort, that such as were to enioy them in mariage, should neuer perceiue them; this is testified by *Ouid* in his *Fasts*, & much more beside.

The Temple of manly Fortune, for marriageable maides.

Ouid in lib. de Fast.

Now, as the power of the Romains grew to encrease and enlarge it selfe, so much the more was this Religion of Fortune aduanced; and still new Temples were builded to her, answerable to such names as wer imposed on her: not onely in *Rome*, or there-about, but likewise in diuers Countries of *Italie*. This then must be our conceipt, that not only these vanities, but many more which might be discouered to this effect: were meere deceiuings, and deluding of men walking in darknesse, confiding onelie in their owne knowledge and wisdome. For, according to truth, all things that can bee done in the vniuersall World, be it in Earth or in Heauen, yea, or in Hell: they proceed from the vnsearchable prouidence, and supreame wisedome of God. They ensue neither by Fortune, Chance, or Aduenture: for all things haue their being in him, and so are continued in their course and order.

The enlarging of Fortunes religiō.

How men are to iudge according to truth.

Moreouer, be it that among vs men, (thorough want of knowledge and vnderstanding oftentimes) some causes are begotten of others, which come not by accidentall Chance: yet in the end, all thinges make their stay on the first and chiefest cause, which is God, the Motiue, Maker, and Gouernour of them all, and this is that truth, which ought to bee beleeued, knowne, and held, by euery true and faithfull Christian.

God the motiue, maker & gouernour of all things.

Lactantius Firmianus, wisely mocked such men, as attributed the accidents of this World to Fortune. And Saint *Augustine* in his Retractions, denyeth that, which (by common manner of speaking) he had formerly attributed to Fortune, concerning the happy successe of a man. In the same place also, he commendeth *Dauid*, because hee ascribed all his tribulations to the iudgment of God: and so ought euery Christian to hold, that all thinges still doe proceede from God.

Lactantius Firmianus.

Aug. in lib. de Retract.

Many of the Ancients had some tast of this truth, for *Salust* could say: *Each man is the principall cause and motiue of his owne Fortune*. And in his Proheme to the Warre of *Iugurth*, he saith. *Sloathfull and negligent persons, make their complaint on Fortune, without any occasion.* *Iuuenall* in his tenth Satire, speaketh more

The words of *Salust.* *In Prohem. Bel. Iugurt.*

Iuue. in Sat. 10.

cleare-

clearely: *That where Prudence is, Fortune hath no power or dignity, although we make her to be a Goddesse, and extoll her to the Heauens.* Other Philosophers there were, who although they said; *That Fortune (of her owne proper vertue and power) could not do any thing:* yet they credited, that she was the Minister and Instrument of the Diuine prouidence; as if God should stand in neede of some other, to performe his workes for him, which is no lesse vaine, then those opinions before recited, and others that might be heere remembred, which I auoyd for prolixities sake.

The opinion of some Philosophers.

Neuertheless, I could wish that simple Christian people (too ignorant in many thinges) would forsake that bad Custome which they haue held ouer long: in making their complaint on Fortune, when any thing happeneth contrary to their hope or expectation. For it is an infallible rule, that there is not any thing whatsoeuer; but God is the only disposer thereof, and recourse should be made to none but him, in all our wordly wants and necessities.

An aduise to ignorant Christians.

CHAP. XIII.

That ouer and beside the properties of Elementary thinges; There are great store of other concealed and wonderfull properties, which be not of the Elements.

SOme of the ancient Philosophers, hauing discouered by their knowledge, infinite properties and vertues of herbs, Plants, & Stones, I speak of those which the Spirit and industry of Men could hardly attaine vnto, but that necessitie, and time (ioyned with experience) haue declared, and from whence so many remedies and benefits haue descended; In regard also, that humain vnderstanding neuer taketh rest, or can bee satisfied in perfectly knowing things, vntil it reach also their causes and reasons, and beholdeth their qualities and effects: It hath therefore beene the occasion, that men haue made narrow search, and dyuing into their originall, from whence such power and vertues should ensue, and haue found (in this contemplation) certaine occasions, which they could know and vnderstand, consisting particularly, on some naturall principles and apprehensions, of the qualities of the Elements, whereof all inferiour things are composed. And such are the causes and properties of those thinges, which we call Elementary; as to make hot, to coole, to moysten, and to dry, which name themselues, as principall or first qualities.

Desires and affections in men, are sildome capable of any rest.

The naturall qualities of the Elements in their seuerall degrees.

These Philosophers did likewise know, that these proceeded from the foure Elements; Water, Earth, Ayre, and Fire, whose qualities are Colde, Drought, Moysture, and Heat. There are beside, sundry other qualities in things, which they knew also to deriue themselues of the Elements, and by the mixtion of them; and they were named second qualities: As one thing had the property to asswage; another to mollifie; sundry other in their kindes; to strengthen; to comfort; to be sweet or sower. Which forces or properties, are found in thinges composed of the foure Elements, although they know none of the foure Elements simply; but because the commixture of them causeth such properties.

Other deriuations of the Elements, tearmed second qualities

Therefore, such men as did vnderstand whence the causes proceeded, did hold them for cleare and certaine. Neuertheless, there are other proprieties and vertues in thinges, which name themselues concealed and meruailous: because no man knoweth from whence they come, neither is their reason any way vnderstood. Howbeit, a Man may plainely perceiue, that they deriue not themselues from the Elementary qualities: and of such thinges as these wee purpose to speake, as of matters most desired, and least apprehended. We see that the Adamant or Load-stone, otherwise called the Calamite, exalteth peeces of Iron and Steele from the ground, which doe poize the fourth part of his weight; as any occasion may easily make manifest, although we well know, that this quality proceedeth not of the Elements.

Of other secret and wonderful things, not knowne from whence they proceed.

Example of the Adamant, Loadstone, or Calamite, which hath no elementary quality.

It is neither the heat of Fire, which causeth

causeth it, nor the drineſſe of the earth; but another hidden and ſecret vertue. Moreouer, this Calamite Stone, hath not this propertie perticular to it ſelfe, but dooth communicate it to other things.

To approue the truth heereof, if one whet the point of a Knife thereon, the point receiueth and pertaketh ſo much of his vertue; as it will take vp a Naile, a Needle, or ſome other ſmall peece of Iron or Steel, without any touch (then) of the ſtone it ſelfe. In like manner, a Needle touched with this Stone, receiueth another meruaylous propertie, for being at his owne liberty; it prepareth and turneth it ſelfe towardes the Pole Articke, or Northerne Region. Vpon which occaſion, Marriners did inuent the vſe of the Compaſſe, not knowing how or whence that this vertue commeth.

Of a Needle touched by the Adamant ſtone.

It is knowne likewiſe for a thing moſt certaine, that a very little Fiſh, called in Greeke * *Echeneis*, and in Latine *Remora*, if it cleaue faſt to the Keele of a ſhip (though it float neuer ſo faſt vnder ſaile:) it with-holdeth it from ſtirring, and will not let it goe. And yet wee know it a matter impoſſible, that this can be done by ſtrength of Man: neyther can this Fiſh (beeing ſo ſmall of it ſelfe) doe it by any power it hath; but by ſome hidden vertue and propertie.

* A Sackſtone or Sea Lamprey, a verie ſmall Fiſh, that can hold a ſhip a floating vnder ſayle.

Agarick, purgeth Phlegme; Rubarbe, dryeth and expelleth Choller; and the Hearb called *Epythimon*, cleanſeth away Melancholly, yet no man knoweth, frō whence theſe concealed vertues doe proceede.

Of Agaricke, Rubarbe, and Epithymon, purgatiue Drugges.

If I ſhall be anſwered, the reaſon enſueth, becauſe theſe Drugges are hot: it ſhould then as well follow, that *Orpiment* (which is hot alſo) ſhould work the like effect: and yet we ſee, that (of his owne Nature) it heateth and reſtricteth. The *Oſtridge* eateth and conſumeth Iron, and that by ſome ſecret property, and not in regard of her heat: for the Lyon is much more hotter, and yet cannot doe it. Quailes do feed on *Helleborus*, without receiuing any hurt at all thereby; and yet if other Birds do eate thereof, they die immediatlie. Fire burneth and conſumeth all things: and yet we read it (and auouched by good Authours) that the *Salamander*, and a Fly, named by the Greekes *Pyranſta*, by ſome ſecret in Nature; Fire is to them both life and nouriſhment. I read, that a man, if hee haue a Dogge with him, and doe ſmite an Adder once, thee dyeth: but if he ſtrike a ſecond blow, ſhe reuiueth againe.

Orpiment.

The Oſtridge eateth and digeſteth Iron.

Quailes eate Helleborus.

The Salamander, and the Fly Pyranſta.

Of the Adder

The *Iaſper*, and ſome other Stones, haue the power to ſtench bleeding. The precious Stone called a Carbuncle, gliſtereth, and brightly ſhineth in night and darkneſſe. The Iacinth (according to ſome Writers) is good againſt thunder and lightning. The *Turqueis* is helpfull, to keep a man from caſuall falling: For, by breaking it ſelfe againſt the Liuer Veine, it preſerueth the man from any harme. The Diamond is good for Weomen great with Childe. Now, if demaund be made, from whence ariſeth all theſe admirable properties, few Men (I am perſwaded) can make any anſwere.

Of ſundry precious ſtones, and their vertues.

In theſe powers and properties ſo ſecret and wonderfull, there is another thing worthy of conſideration, to wit; that ſome of theſe thinges, do containe the power wholly in the matter alleaged, and in part. According as we haue ſpoken of the Fiſh *Echeneis*, or *Remora*, that is able to retain the ſwifteſt courſe of a Shippe: this is not proper to any one part of the Fiſh, but to the whole body. In like manner, the ſhaddow of the *Hyenna* maketh the Hounds hoarſe and broken voyced: but it is to bee vnderſtood, that it is the ſhaddow of the whole body, and not any part thereof. There are other things, whoſe properties conſiſt not onely in whole, but alſo in part. As the Hearb Selandine (tearmed in French *Eſclere*) which is good for the ſight, both in whole and in part; the roote being as good, as the Leaues and Seedes. Of other thinges, there are ſome that haue theſe ſecret vertues in part only by it ſelfe; as we read concerning the eyes of a Wolfe, if they firſt behold a man, before he do behold the Beaſt, the Man becommeth hoarſe and wheezing.

The power of theſe properties conſiſting wholly in the thing, and not in part.

Not onely in the whole, but alſo in part.

In part onely; and not all.

The *Hyenna* alſo, hath a particular property in his eyes: for, if he looke on a Beaſt, ſeated any where to reſt himſelfe: the looke onely maketh the beaſt ſleepy, and ſo drouſie headed, as he hath no ability to ſtirre himſelfe. The *Baſi-*

liske

liske onely hath poyſon in his eyes, and killeth with his very ſight. It it ſaide, that the Hart of a Dogge hath this property, that if a man beare it about him; it cauſeth all Dogges to auoid and ſhun him. And the Gaule of a Goat beeing put into a Veſſell of Braſſe, and ſet in a place where Frogges and Paddocks are; they will all preſently gather about it.

The Hart of a Dog.

The Gaule of a Goat.

Here we are further to obſerue, that ſome one of theſe thinges, and namely in Beaſts; do not containe the property, but while they are liuing, and then by death they are loſt: yet ſome others do continue after death. As the Eagle, who in her life time is victorious ouer all Birdes or Fowles: likewiſe after death, her Feather being put among others, it deuoureth and conſumeth them. The Skinne of a Lyon, ſpoyleth the Skinnes of other Beaſtes: And the Skinne of a Wolfe, eateth and conſumeth the Skinne of a Lambe. We behold alſo in Hearbes, that after they are withered and dryed; yet they ceaſe not to keepe and preſerue their properties. Theſe vertues, and diuers other, haue both beene ſeene and knowne by mens curious Inquiſition, who yet haue refuſed to tearme them ſecret or concealed vertues, becauſe they did not hold them for certaine: albeit they had made good experiment of them, and no one of them could deliuer the cauſe, whence any of theſe vertues ſhould proceede.

Properties in ſome thinges, during life, & in others after death.

What vertues men haue found by ſearch, they will not confeſſe.

Alexander Aphrodiſeus, in the beginning of his Problemes, tearmeth them *Vnknowne Vertues*, ſaying moreouer: *That they are knowne to God onely, the Authour of all thinges*. There are likewiſe ſome other writers, who haue diſcourſed on the properties of diuers thinges, making the cauſes of them, to bee as matters out of their knowledge; and of this minde were *Theophraſtus*, *Dioſcorides*, *Iſaac* the *Iew*, and many others. And yet notwithſtanding, there were others beſide, who being loath to confeſſe their ignorance in theſe thinges; gaue them yet ſome originall, but were very different in their opinions. *Plato* and the *Academickes*, attributed the originall of this vertue, to the *Idea* of all thinges immediatly; which they intended to be God, as the Originall, beginning and firſt cauſe of all. Other naturall Philoſophers, attributed the cauſes of theſe operations, to Celeſtiall Spirits, or Angels.

Alexan. Aphro. in Problem.

Theophraſtus. Dioſcorides. Iſaac. Iudaic.

Naturall Philoſophers.

Albertus Magnus thinketh it to come, from the eſpeciall forme and ſubſtance of each thing: whereto conſenteth *Leonardus Camillus*, in his ſecond Booke of the Myrror of Stones. *Hermes*, and many other Aſtrologers, with whom alſo ioyneth *Marſillius Phicinus*; attributing the whole power to the Starres and Celeſtiall figures. And this is the moſt common opinion which wee follow now adaies: although it appeareth that they hold one opinion by conformity of ſubiect, arreſting all vpon God, who is the firſt cauſe and Creator of all things.

Alber. Magnus.

Leonard. Camillus.

Marſilius Phicinus.

The opinion of *Plato* and the Scholiſts.

But returning to our Starres and Planets, which are the Inſtruments and Gouernors of this neather World: for theſe ſecrets and perticular properties whereof we haue ſpoken, ſhould ſeeme to forme their deriuation thence. It is then to be vnderſtood, that theſe ſecret powers in thinges, are in a like manner diuers and variable, as they be ſubiected to diuers and variable Starres and celeſtial Images. Becauſe that of the ſundry natures and forces of influction, which the Starres haue with their light (conſidering the Celeſtiall motion in inferious thinges, which perticularly they are ſubiected vnto) the particular excellencies in any thing is cauſed. And therby moreouer happeneth, that one thing may haue two vertues, and ſecret properties, onely by the influence of diuers Starres. And theſe powers beeing ſo ſinguler, doe worke the much greater effectes and efficacy; when the elementary qualities of the thinges, are not thereto repugnant and contrary. And becauſe examples will make theſe matters the more cleare and euident; wee will giue ye a taſt of ſome. But whoſoeuer is deſirous of further information; let him read *Porphyrius*, *Sineſius*, *Marſilius Phicinus*, *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour of Stones, *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Albertus Magnus*, and others.

The ſtars and Planets, Gouernours of our lower World.

The diuerſity of Natures in the ſtars, cauſeth diuerſity of vertue in things.

The Elementarie qualities not repugnāt.

Marſil. Phicin. in lib. de trip. vit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of many meruailous properties in sundrie things; And to what Stars and Planets they are subiected naturally.

The vertue of Saffron receiued from the Sunne.

FIrst of all, we will speak of Saffron, which hath the power to awake or rouse vp dull spirits, and his vertue goeth immediatly to the hart, procuring ioy, gladnesse, and smiles. It is saide, that these properties are imparted thereto, by particular influence of the Sun, wherto it is subiect: and by him therefore is assisted, thorow his subtile nature, splendant and Aromaticall. Mirrhe, Incense, Balme, wood of Aloes, Spikenard, these also are subiect to the sun. It is said moreouer, that Gold, in being of the nature of the Sun; hath therefore the vertue, to comfort and glad the hart, & to be shining. The same Sun also giueth vertue to the *Carbunckle*, to be so splendant in the night, and to bee powerfull against poyson. The propertie which the Iacinth hath, against thunder and lightning, is held to proceede from the influence of the Planet *Iupiter*: for which cause it hath beene thought very conuenient, that a man should alwaies carry it about him. The Eagle-stone, beeing commonlie found in an Eagles nest, among al other vertues, is meruailously proper for women great with Child, and at the time of their deliuerance: which is occasioned by the vertue of *Venus*, and of the Moon; and *Rasis* affirmeth, that he hath made experiment thereof. If a man be but touched with the hearbe Piony, otherwise called *Kinges-bloome*, or *Rose of the Mount*, especially of that which is the Male: the party so touched, shall be defended from the falling sickness. And this onely commeth by the Sunnes influence, to whom this hearb is alwaies subiect. The Corall, and the Chalcidony, which is a kind of *Onix*-stone, doe contain the selfe-same efficacy, thorow the perticular influences of *Iupiter* and *Venus*.

Other things subiect to the Sunne. Gold.

The Carbuncle.

The Iacinth, by Iupiter.

The Eagle-stone by *Venus* and the Moone.

The Hearbe Pyony, by the Sunne.

Corall and Chalcidony, by *Iupiter* and *Venus*.

By the vertue of the Sun, and which it communicateth to Ginger: it is receiued among meates, and is very proper against weakenesse and emptinesse of the stomacke. *Iupiter* lendeth vertue to Sage, and maketh it soueraigne against the Palsie. Those beasts which are subiect to the Sunne, and doe receiue influence from him: are couragious and valiant, affecting superiority and dominion ouer others. Among whom is the Lyon, much more then all the rest; the Crocodile and the Bull, and according as one Planet or one Starre yeildeth aduantage of influence more then another, either vppon beast, or any other thing: euen so is the influxion thereby receiued of superiority in excellency, either in beasts or other things subiected to this Planet. And therefore you may note, how it hapneth to the Lyon, of whom we haue already made relation, that he standeth in feare of the Cock, & flyeth from him. The reason is, because they are both subiect to the Sunne, and the Cocke is superiour in that order or degree, by meanes whereof, he danteth the Lyon. The power and vertue of the Adamant, is infused by the Celestiall Image, cald *Vrsa minor*, or *Charles waine*, which containeth seauen and twentie Stars. Now, because Steele is subiect to these Stars, and the stone is by them more qualified, or raised into the higher degree: it vrgeth thence the sufficiency of moving or attracting, and so by *Vrsa Minor* is this vertue imparted vnto the Stone.

Some do hold, that the Eagle is subiect to the sun; others say, to *Iupiter*, & that this perperty is deriued from *Iupiter*, that it can (at no time) bee smitten with lightning or thunder. But if we speak of the cause concerning the Sun, & his influence: then she is said to haue another wonderful property; which is, to be chiefe Lady; to make all other Birds stand in feare of her, and to haue the most pure, cleare, and perfect sight beyond all other. Beside, that her Feathers should consume them of other Fouls, whensoeuer they are mingled together. The Moone imparteth as much vertue, to the stone cald *Selenitis*, which is found in *Arabia*, whereof *Plinie* speaketh, saying; *Within the body of this Stone, the Moon apparantly sheweth her selfe, and*

Ginger, by vertue of the Sunne.

Sage, by *Iupiter*.

Beasts subiected to the sun, and how they receiue their vertues.

The Lyon & the Cocke, both subiect to the Sunne.

The Adamãt, subiect to *Vrsa Minor*.

Opinions concerning the Eagle, by the Sunne, or by *Iupiter*.

The Stone *Selenitis*, gouerned by the Moone. *Plin. in lib. 9. Cap. 3.*

increaseth or decreaseth, as shee doth her course in Heauen.

Of Cats, subiect to the Moone.

Cats haue a peculiar-property by domination of the Moone, that the haires which grow on their eye-edges, do increase or decrease euery day, according to the diurnall course of the Moon, and her aspects: as any man may apparantly behold, at what time he pleaseth to make proofe thereof. Among the very worthiest Stones of the Sunne, that which hath the most power, is the stone called *Pantaurus*, which is reported to be first found by *Apollonius Thianeus*. The Sun giueth such force and vertue to this Stone; that it draweth all other Stones vnto it, euen as the Adament doth Steele or Iron: and hee that beareth this Stone about him, cannot sustaine any harme by poyson. It is saide moreouer, that this one Stone hath included in it, the properties and vertues of all other Stones. *Pliny*, and all the rest doe affirme, that the Stone called *Acates*, by the domination of *Mercury*, helpeth greatly his eye-sight that carrieth it about, causing him to speake freely and liberallie, and yet it is wholly poyson. *Mercury* in like manner, by influxion which he bestoweth on some Beastes, that are subiected to him, as Dogges, Apes, Foxes, and other such like, enudeth them with wonderfull vnderstanding, craft, and subtilty.

Pantaurus the most excellēt stone of the Sun, a preseruatiue against poyson.

The Stone *Acates*, subiect to Mercury.

Beasts subiected to *Mercury*.

The Palme and the Laurell or Bay-Tree, are likewise subiected to the Sun, and from him doe receiue their perticuler properties; against lightning, tempests, and stormes, as also against all venimes and poysons. By the same occasion, the Ywe, Cedar, and the Ashtrees, are proper against venimes, and doe hold their perfect greeneneese all the yeare long. In like manner, the Stone, called *Heliotropium*, whereof *Pliny* and many other do report wonderful things; to wit, that it prolongeth life, and that it maketh a man constant and verie well willed; moreouer, that it can cause a man to walk inuisible: all these properties are deriued vnto it by influence of the Sun.

The Palme & Laurell, subiect to the Sunne.

The Stone *Heliotropium*, subiect to the Sunne.

The Iacinth Stone, by communication of the Sune, to whom it is perticularly subiect, and also to *Iupiter*, if a man doe beare it about him, and touch his flesh there-with neuer so little: it defendeth and preserueth him from all poysons, as also against al euill vapours and corrupted ayres. It gladeth and comforteth the Hart and Spirit, and is reputed beside, to make Men or Weomen very amiable, and well enclined. There is likewise another kind of Iacinth, named the *Chrysolite*, which shineth with a golden colour quite thorow, and perraketh of the Suns vertue: it is also very good against frenzy or madnesse, melancholly humours, as also against strange imaginations and euill visions.

The Iacinth, to the Sunne and Iupiter.

The *Chrysolite* to the Sunne.

The *Scarabe*, which is otherwise commonly called the Beetle-flye, a little old Creature, is maruelously subiect to the Moon, and thereof is found both written, and by experience: That she gathereth or maketh little pellets, or little round bals, of Mens Excrements, and therein encloseth her young Egges, keeping the Pellets hid in the ground eight and twenty daies; during which time the Moone maketh her course, & the nine and twentith day shee taketh them foorth, and then hideth them againe vnder the Earth. Then, at such time as the Moone is conioyned with the Sunne, which wee vsually tearme the New Moone: they all issue forth a-liuey and flye about. The Moone also hath Sbueraignety and dominion ouer many thinges, and particularly on such as are white and greene, and (among Mettals) ouer Siluer especially. For this cause, all Trees (in the encreasing and waine of the Moone) doe extend or shut vp their moysture and strength. Also, all Birdes or Fowles, which haunt and liue in Riuers, or Marishes and marine places, are subiect to the Moone. And likewise the Camelion, who receiueth (from her) his property of changing, and altring into such colours as are laid before or neere him.

The Scarabe-Fly, subiect to the Moone

Coniunction of the Sunne with the Moone.

The Moones power ouer thinges white and greene.

The properties of *Myrabolanes* are infinite. They doe nourish and preserue the life of all such as shall often eate them. They prolong youth; strengthen the senses and Spirits of Man; causing quickneese of memorie; comforting the stomacke; and chearing the heart. All these guifts and vertues, doe proceede from the Planets *Iupiter* and *Mercurie*, according as it is testified by very many learned and great personages. The Iasper stone, by influence of the

The East-Indian Plum, called a Myrabolane Plum, subiect to *Mercury* & *Iupiter*.

The Iasper stone, subiect to Saturne.

the Planet *Saturne*, hath the power and vertue to mittigate and remooue the prickings of the Flesh; and to stay excesse of bleeding at the Nose, or any wound receiued. Heere might wee enter into a much larger discourse, of many other properties (verie strange, great, and mernailous) and singuler qualities, both of Stones and other things, which the seauen Plannets, and principall Starres (being in the Orbes of the Heauens) doe graunt by their influence to thinges heere beneath. But those which wee haue already related, shall serue and suffice. And now, we will proceede, to speake of such vertues in certain things, as do ensue from the fixed Starres of the eight Heauen, which haue great domination and power ouer those thinges, that partake with such qualities, which the other Planets giue influence vnto.

Concerning the fixed stars of the eyght Heauen.

Medusaes head, subiected to *Iupiter* and *Saturne*.

The Starre called *Medusaes head*, yeildeth force and vertue to the Diamond, and to the Hearbe called *Mugworte*, or Saint *Johns* Hearbe: causing them that carry them about them, to be bold and hardy of heart and Spirit; and this Starre is of the nature of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*. The Starres, named the * *Pleiades*, haue power ouer Christall, and ouer Fennell-seede: And thence it ensueth, that these are comfortable and beneficial to the eye-sight, because that these Starres are Lunarie and Martiall. The selfe-same Hearbe *Mugworte*, *Mandrake*, or *Mandragon*; *Mint* or *Mints*; the *Saphire* and the *Rubie*, doe receiue their influence from the Goate-Starre; and it is saide, that whosoeuer weareth them in Ringes or otherwise, shall bee pleasing and amiable.

*The seauen Stars, subiect to the Moone and *Mars*.

The Saphire and Ruby, to the Goat.

The vertue whereof we haue last spoken, is likewise imparted to the *Agate* Stone: and it is reported to proceede also, from another Celestiall Image, called the *Little Dogge*. The vertue of the Emeralde, and of Sage, is communicated vnto them by the Virgines-Starre, or the **Starre** that appeared at Christs birth. The power of the Stone *Celidonius*, of *Celandine*, and of *Mastick*, to represse mellanchollie humours; commeth from the Starre called the *Lyons Hart*, or the *Royall Starre*, which is of the Nature of *Iupiter* and *Mars*. The Blood Stone, receiueth his vertue of staying or stanching bleeding, from the Starre called *Arlameth*, or *Bootes* in Greeke. The *Topase* Stone, and the *Trefoyle* or *Three-leaued-grasse*, which containe the property of Chastity, to represse the Flesh, and to cause ioyfulnesse in the bearer of them: doe receiue their vertue from the Starre named *Alpheta*, or the *Septentrionall Crowne*; being of the nature of *Venus*, and of *Mars*. The *Amatist*, and the Hearbe called *Aristologie*, or *Aristolochia Sarmentitia*, *Saracens Hearbe*, commonly tearmed *Long Hartwort*, or *Birtworte*, and Saffron also; doe cause a faire complexion, and viuacity of Spirit in him that beares them about him, and are said to be the meanes of chasing away euill Spirits. All which vertues are imparted to them, by the Star cald the *Scorpions Hart*, of the nature of *Iupiter* and *Mars*.

The Blood, to Bootes.

The Topase and Trefoile, to the Northerne crown

The Amatist and Aristology, to the Scopions hart.

By these examples then, concerning the secret properties of thinges, which proceede not from the Elements, but by the influence of Starres they ought to bee highlie esteemed, and not misprized; especiallie, because they haue beene written by such worthy men, and approoued by good experience. We likewise read in the third Booke of Kinges, and in the eight Chapter of Wisedome; that *Salomon* knew the occasion of thinges, the Natures of Creatures, and the vertue of Hearbes. *Iosephus* also (because I would not be ouer-long) writes in his Booke of the *Iewes* Warres, of a Roote named *Barharas*, growing neere vnto a place called *Mecheranta*, and saith, that it shineth in the night time like fire, and hath the vertue to cure such as are possessed with Spirits, beside diuers other excellents properties.

None of these proceeding from the Elements.

Ioseph. in lib. de Bel. Iudaic.

A Roote that cureth men possessed with Spirits.

The stone *Celidonius*, *Celandine*, and *Mastick*, to the Lyons heart.

But there is so much labour bestowed in the gathering thereof, as verie few or none can attaine vnto it; because although they see and discerne it a farre off: yet notwithstanding, when they approach neere vnto it, they can neyther take or touch it. And yet by much endeauer (making experience of that which the Deuill, or rather the Angell pleased to discouer) it grew to be found out, that a man, bathing him-

A dangerous aduenturing to gather the root.

selfe in the Vrine of a Woman, when she spendeth her floures; might both touch, take, and gather it. Neuertheless, he that thus tooke it vp, was sure to dye, except he carried such another like Root thither with him. Or, for his greater safety, when hee should see the root (after bathing as before is said) he must dig the earth round about it, and fastning a strong Cord about the root; binde a Dogge as fast to the other end thereof, who seeing himselfe so strictly hampered, with strugling and striuing would plucke vp the Root, and then die immediatly. This beeing thus done, any man might then safely come to it, and make vse thereof for his best seruice. The Authors that doe auouch the truth of these things, are they whom I haue alleaged in the former Chapter, and many others beside, of whom I spare to spake, to auoyde tediousnesse.

CHAP. XV.

¶ *That brute Beasts haue enstructed many Men, in sundry Medicines, and Remedies for hurts receiued; And in the properties of great store of other thinges.*

IT is no matter deseruing meruaile, if men haue attained to the knowledge of the properties of things: considering that beasts (by meere naturall instinct) are very skilfull in the knowledge also of many things, which they can apply to themselues as cures and Medicines. Nay, we may presume to say further, that Beasts haue shewen and declared Medicines to men; by beholding how they haue healed themselues, and found out their owne Remedies, without other helpes. Notwithstanding, we al know wel enough, that men neither could, or can skill of any cures; but such as they haue heard of, and learned from others that went before them.

Beasts intelligent in curing their owne harmes.

In regard whereof, *Pliny* had good cause to say: *That men ought to be thankfull to Beastes, for many medicines and remedies, which they haue learned of them.* The hart first shewed vs, that the hearb called *Dittanie*, or *Dittander*, is good to draw out an Arrow-head, or the pieces of the Shaft, when he is wounded there-with: because the Hart himselfe (being so hurt) vseth it as his onely remedy. *Aristotle* saith, that the Wilde Goats of *Candie* doe obserue the verie same. Harts also, when they are bitten or stung by a venomous kinde of Spiders, called *Phalanges*; they heale themselues by eating *Creuisses*, though other do hold, that it is by an Hearb growing in the water. The property of the hearb *Celandine*, otherwise called *Esclere*, was taught vs by Swallowes, to be apt and conuenient for our eye-sight; because they make vse thereof, to the eyes of their young ones.

Dittany, cald Garden Ginger.

Arist. in lib. de Anim. Cap. 12.

Spiders called Phalanges.

Celandine for the eye-sight.

The Tortoise, by eating wilde Marierome, defendeth himselfe against Serpents: and thereby the property of the Hearbe was first found and knowne, to be good against poyson. The Weezell eateth Rew, or Hearb-Grace, when he purposeth to fight with Rats. Wilde Boares doe heale all their diseases or harmes, with feeding on Iuy, or the Hearbe called *Ale-Hoofe*, and some say on *Creuisses*; especially such as the Sea throweth vp on the shoare. The Snake or Adder, to dispoile himselfe of his writhen skinne; keepes in the earth (in the Winter time) feeding on nothing but the iuyce of Fennel. And to cleare his eye-sight, which he hath much impaired and offended, by being so long vnder-ground in darknesse; he rubbeth and streaketh his eyes vppon Fennell, which the Greekes called *Marathrum*, that both restoreth and cleareth his eie-sight, and thereby may the vertue of this Hearb be wel known. The Bear being poysoned by the Hearbe named *Mandragoras*, *Mandrake*, or *Mandragon*; doth purge his body by the eating of Ants or Pismires. There is no Hearbe, how venomous soeuer it bee, that can hurt the Hart, Stag, or Red-Deere; if he haue eaten of a Thistle or Cardoone, which is called by learned *Pliny*, *Cynata*. The Dragon, by feeding on wilde Lettice, purgeth and cureth any harme receiued. It hath beene daily obserued, that Dogges, by eating on an Hearbe, which

Wilde Marierome, good against poyson

Rew or hearb Grace.

Iuy, or Ale-Hoofe.

Iuyce of Fennell, for the eye-sight.

How the Adder cleareth his eye-sight.

Ants a purge for Beares.

Plin. in lib. 8.

Wild-Lettice

Plin. in lib. 10. Cap. 7.

which *Pliny* saith he knew no name of (though others haue tearmed it Dog-grasse, or Knot-grasse) haue prouoked themselues to vomit, and so cleansed their stomackes, when they haue been very sickly. Ringdoues or Woodculuers, Iayes, Mearles, or Black-Birds, & Partridges, do vse the leaues of Laurell or Bayes for their purging. Other Pidgeons, Turtles, and Fowles, to purge themselues; doe take *Pellitories*, which *Pliny* calleth *Helxine*, which is an hearb that groweth vpon wals. Drakes, Mallards, Wild-geese, and other Fowles of Riuers or waters, do serue themselues also for their health, with an hearb called *Sideritis* or *Feuerfew*. Cranes and such like Birds, make vse of Marish-Rushes.

Dog-grasse, or Knotgrasse

Laurell or Bayes.

Paritarie, or Pellitory of the Wall.

Sideritis, or Feuerfew.

The Bird named *Ibis*, when she feeleth her selfe not well disposed; purgeth her body by the meanes of her owne beake or bill, with Water comming forth of her lower parts. And *Pliny* saith, that (by this Bird) men learned how to remedy themselues by Glisters. When a Dog doth receiue any wound whatsoeuer, if hee can reach thereto with his tongue; he hath no better meanes then licking the sore, and so helpeth himself. When the Panther (which *Auicenne* calleth a Leopard) hath fed on a venomous hearb, named * *Pardalianches*: he recouereth himselfe, by eating the dung or excrements of men. Which being knowne to Hunt-men, they conuay it into a vessell (apt for the purpose) and hang it on the highest branch of a Tree, where the Panther staying, and labouring by hopefull meanes how to get it; the Huntsmen haue opportunity to kill him. *Aristotle* writeth hereof, and *Pliny* much more amply then he; so doth *Albertus Magnus*. And *Pliny* saith moreouer, that by the meere enstructions of these Creatures: men both haue, and may learne to auoyd many perils; yea, and death sometimes. *Because* (saith he) *when any house is in danger of falling, Rats and Mice do get them gone, and quite forsake it*; declaring to men, that they should do the like. Spiders also do shun all such wals as run to ruine, or are like to be ouerthrowne. Whereto he addeth; *That Swallowes will neuer stay, or build their nests, in places ruinous, or ready to fall.*

Ibis a Bird of Egypt.

Plin. in Lib. 8.

A kind of *Aconitum*, called Leopards-bane.

Arist. in lib. Anim. Plin. in lib. 6. Albert. Mag. in Lib. de Anim.

Rats & Mice.

Spyders.

Swallowes.

CHAP. XVI.

Of many Beastes and other Creatures, that (by meere instinct of nature) haue fore-knowledge of things to happen afterward. And that diuers little Creatures, haue caused some Countries to be desolate and vninhabited.

NOt onely the natural instinct of some beastes, hath been sufficient for vs, in giuing vs knowledge, concerning the innated properties of diuers thinges, and what vse or seruice we might make also of them, either for Phisick, Medicines, or otherwise: but many more of them beside, as well earthy as ayry, haue knowledge of the mutation of times, and when any rough winds, raines, tempests, or fair weather shall ensue, and thereof doe deliuer apparant signes to men, euen as true predictions. For example, when Sheep do mount and skip about the fielde, as seeming very iocond and merry; it prognosticateth immediat raine. The like is declared to vs by the Oxe or Bullocke; when he licketh himselfe against the haire; and lifteth vp his Nose towardes Heauen; or loweth and snuffeth on the ground, striuing to feed ouer-hastily, & more then he was wont to doe. When the Ewe diggeth the ground with her foot; and Goats, when they sleepe too nere one another; when Ants also walk the thickest, and more then in vsuall numbers, meeting together confusedly, all these are manifest signes of raine. If Lyons dislodge themselues, out of one Countrey into another; it is a certaine signe, that the yeare following shall be droughty. *Ælianus* writeth of the Goats of *Lybia*, that they knew the comming of the Caniculer or Dog-daies, and declare both by smell and shew, when it is likest to raine. When Wolues are noted to enter houses, to walk on ploughed Lands, or approch neere to people; it is said, that they doe it, to shun some great tempest neere at hand.

The rare intelligence & vnderstanding in many Creatures.

The skipping of sheep.

The licking of Oxen, and nosing the ayre.

Ewes, Goats, and Antes.

Dislodgings of Iyons from one soyle to another.

The Goats of *Lybia*.

Wolues walks

Fishes also haue wonderfull proper-

Dolphines playing in the water, and troubling the water.

ties, in knowing & expressing the changes of times. When Dolphines leap and play in the seas, discouering themselues aboue the Water: it is then saide, that great winds will arise from those parts, whence the Dolphines seeme to come. And when they trouble the water, and but bath or beat themselues therein; it is a signe of serenity, calme and faire weather. When the Frog is heard singing loudest, and more strongly then his wont: it is a plaine shew of raine and tempest. Birds likewise are not voyd of this priuiledge, for wee can speake as much, or rather more of them (to this purpose) then of all the Beasts. When the watery Foules do leaue the Sea, & enter farre vpon the Land, it is a signe of stormes, raine, and tempests. If Cranes fly in the ayre & make no noise; it presageth fair weather. But if they cry, and fly out of order; then looke for the contrarie. When the Crow flyeth directly towardes the Sea; it prognosticateth raine, as also when she keepeth still on the Sea shoare, in melancholly manner, and her notes are sorrowfull. If the Owle sing (after her manner) in rainy weather, it denoteth a suddaine change to faire breaking vp: but if she sing in calme and sweete weather, it is an immediate signe of raine. *Plutarch* saith, that when the Crowes notes come from a hoarse voyce, and he flappeth or beateth his Winges; it is a signe of winds and tempests. The same is also to be gathered, if when the Sun is low declining into the west, Rauens, Crowes and Pyes flocking together, do sing, mount and fly vp towards heauen, and then descend downe againe, renewing their former notes: these are saide to be predictions of cold and windie raines. The congreating of many white Fowles iogether, doth ordinarily proceede from some great tempests and stormes.

When Houshold Poultry, as Cocks, Capons, Hennes, &c. doe beate their Wings, and mount vp, (merily chattering or reioycing) it is an euident testimony, that they feele winde and raine approaching. When the Larke singeth very early in the morning, and Duckes doe willingly bath themselues, with picking, imping, and pruning their Feathers with their billes; it is a relation of wind and tempests. When the Swallowes flye so neere vnto the Water, that they seeme to smite it with their Winges; it fore-telleth raine presently to follow.

Ælianus affirmeth, that the Snite knoweth the waxing and waining of the Moone. But gentle Friends, I feare I haue beene too vnseasonable in the precedent examples, therefore I will cease any further pursuite in that kind: but will now speake of certaine Beasts, which haue expelled and driuen people out of their Countries and dwellings; yet being no Creatures of hugenesse or stature, but very weake, little and smally regarded. *Ælianus* writeth (to this purpose) concerning diuers places in *Italy*, where mighty multitudes of Rats, made such spoile and destruction of the Roots of Trees, Hearbes, and Grasse: that the Inhabitants (not knowing how to kil or spoile them) endured extream famine, and were enforced to forsake the Country. *Marcus Varro* testifieth, that a great Towne in *Spaine*, beeing builded in a sandy ground, was so delued and vndermined by Conies: that in the end it sunke, and was quite ruined, to the great danger of the people.

Not haue these things happened only in firme and maine Land; but also in Islands enuironed with the Sea, where both Rats and Mice haue so aboundantly swarmed, and with such vnresistable boldnesse: that the Inhabitants haue bin glad to saue themselues by flight. Hereof beareth testimony *Gyarus*, or *Gyara*, one of the Iles of *Cyclades*, or *Sporades*, in the *Ægæum* sea; which (by the means of this vermin) became vtterly desolate, and no way habitable. The same Authors doe further report, that there was a Towne in *France*, which also fell into ruine and dispeopling, thorow the ouer-abounding of Frogs and Toades. The like chance happened in *Affrica*, by Locustes, or Grashoppers. *Theophrastus* recordeth another Countrey, which was vninhabitable by Caterpillers. Another Prouince in *Lybia*, all the men were thence expulsed by Lyons. Now, wee hold it no great disparagemẽt, for men to be surmounted by lions, when humaine weakenesse is sufficientlie declared, by that which *Pliny* reporteth, concerning a Prouince on the limits

The Frogges singing.

Of Sea Fowls comming on Land.

Cranes flying in the Ayre.

The Crow fly ing to the sea.

The Owles song.

The Crowes hoarse note.

Rauens, Crowes, and Pyes flocking together.

White Foules assembling to gether.

Our houshold Poultry.

The Larkes early singing, and Duckes bathing.

Swallows flying neere the Water.

Beasts expelling men frõ their habitations.

Rats compelled men to fly their country.

A Towne vndermined by Conies.

Islands swarming with Rats & Mice.

Frogges and Toades destroyed a Towne in France.

The like done by Caterpillers.

Plin. in lib. 9.

limits of *Ethyopia*, where Antes, Scorpions, and other little Wormes; ſuch as the * Palmer Worme, were the meanes of exiling thence all the dwellers.

*A Worme with manie feete, called in Latine *Bruchus*, or *Campe*.

Flies alſo forced the Inhabitantes of *Megara* in *Greece*, to leaue their Countrey: And Waſpes did the like to the *Epheſians*. *Anthenor* writing of the Iſle of *Crete* (with whom alſo ioyneth *Ælianus*) ſaith, that a great multitude of Bees, chaſed al the dwellers out of a City, and vſed their Houſes in ſtead of Hiues. Manie other like ſtrange things haue happened in the Worlde, which are to bee read in ancient Hiſtories.

Of Waſpes & Bees.

CHAP. XVII.

The ſubtle and ingenious deuiſe of Archimides *the Phyloſopher, to know there by, how much Siluer was mingled with Gold, in a Crowne of Gold (by a Golde-Smith) without any breach or iniurie done to the Crowne in the triall.*

The great skil of *Archimedes*.

HIſtorians haue declared themſelues, to be neuer ſlack or weary, in reporting the ingenious inuentions of ſpirite, and great skil of *Archimedes* the Syracuſan, but eſpecially, in Aſtrology and Geometry. Among all which, I purpoſe to relate a verie ſinguler conceit, notably deuiſed by himſelfe, according as it is reported by *Vitruuius*. This Phyloſopher liued in *Syracuſa*, a Citty of *Sicily*, at ſuch time as *Hieron* raigned there, a verie rich King, & highly beloued of the *Romans*.

Rich *Hieron* k. of Sicily, did make a crown of Golde for his Gods.

In the ſecond warre of *Carthage*, this King cauſed a Crowne of Golde to bee made by a Goldſmith, which was a verie excellent Worke-man, becauſe hee had made a promiſe thereof to his Goddes, and Religion bounde him to the performance. After that the faſhion, price, & value was agreed on, which indeede was great: the King commaunded ſo much Gold to be deliuered to the Workman, according as he purpoſed the iuſt weight of the Crowne. With great ingenuitie and admirable skill, the Goldſmith made this goodly Crowne, and of the ſame Gold which had been deliuered him: neuertheleſſe, like a cunning and craſty deceiuer, hee had falſifyed it, by intermedling ſome quantity of Siluer among the Golde.

The Golde-ſmith falſified the Crowne with Siluer.

The Crowne beeing thus finiſhed, it was preſented to the King, who cauſing it to bee waighed, and finding his full waight, was well contented, and thoroughly ſatisfied the Workeman for his paines. But being (within a while after) certified, that there was a ſuſpition of ſome Siluer to be mingled among the Gold: the King grew exceeding deſirous to knowe what quantity of Siluer there might be, yet without defacing or breaking the Crowne.

Archimedes being a man of no meane eſteeme in that Countrey, made tender of his ſeruice (in this caſe) to the King, & the whole truſt and charge thereof was repoſed in him. Sitting alone by himſelfe, ſtudying by what meanes he might beſt accompliſh this difficult triall; it chanced, that his Bath ſtood readie prepared by him; for they held it as a religious cuſtome, to cleanſe and waſh their bodies, before they enterprized on any doubtful occaſions.

Archimides vndertaketh the Crowns triall.

As he entered into his Bathing Tub, which was full of Water, he conſidered (as Learned men doe hardly omitte anie thing, without obſeruation) that ſo much Water did ouerflow the Tub, as his bodie had emptied in place thereof. Making vſe of this conceite in further iudgement and vnderſtanding, hee departed thence ioyfully; aſſuring himſelfe, that he had found what he ſought for.

He findeth out his means of trial very ſtrangely.

Heereupon, he cauſed two Ingots to be made of equall waight; the one being of Golde, and the other of Siluer; & the ponderouſneſſe of each Ingot, was equal to that of the Crowne. Afterward, he had a Veſſell made for him of ſufficient greatneſſe, apt and correſpondent to his owne intention, which he filled with water, and then did put therein to the Ingot of Siluer: when preſently came foorth of the Veſſell ſo much water, as elſe would haue ſupplied the Ingots place. Now, to knowe what quantity of water this ouerflowing amounted vnto, ſubtilly he took forth the Ingot, and by another Veſſel or Meaſure for the purpoſe, he kept iuſt ac-

The manner how he made his experiment by Ingots of Golde and Siluer.

count

His valewing of the waters ouer-flow.

count of ſo much Water, as then did fill vp the veſſell againe. So by this account and meaſure (for he well vnderſtood the Ingots waight) hee knew what quantitie of Water, the marke or waight of Siluer had ſent out of the veſſell, by meanes of the reſt remaining ſtill in it, and by the poize of the Ingot.

When he had made this eſtimation, perſwading himſelfe, the mark or waight of the Siluer, ſupplied the roome of ſo many meaſures of water, he would then make the like proofe of the Gold, which was of anſwerable poize to that of ſiluer. But there iſſued not forth any ſuch ſtore of water, as formerly did, when the Ingot of Siluer was in the ſame place, although they were both equall in waight: becauſe that (as euery man knoweth) the anſwerable weight of Gold doth not fill vp ſo much ſpaciouſneſſe as that of Siluer; and therefore, it ſheddeth the leſſe water.

Triall made of the water, by both the Ingots.

After he had taken forth the Gold, he filled the Veſſell by the ſame meaſure, as he formerly did to the poize of Siluer, & in counting the meaſures as they were put in, he alſo kept iuſt reckoning, howe much water each mark or waight of gold & ſiluer, had truly deliuered out. Which being done, keeping ſtil in memory both the meaſures, he tooke the Crown made by the Goldſmith, containing the ſame weight with either of the Ingots of Gold and Siluer; and putting it into the veſſel, the water ouer-flowed according to the greatneſſe thereof.

Triall made by the crown it ſelfe in the water.

Hereupon, hee tooke it out agayne, and meaſured the Water, which ſufficed not to fill vp the veſſell. And ſo he found, that it had throwne forth more Water, then the Ingot of Gold had done, & leſſe then the Ingot of Siluer: wherby he perceiued, how much there wanted in iuſt poize, to make each meaſure meete and anſwereable to the other; whereupon he began to make his account in this manner.

In what manner *Archimedes* made his valewation, by trial of the Crowne, and both the Ingots.

This Crowne did eiect forth ſo manie veſſels full of Water, more then the Ingot of Gold hath done: then conſequently, there is as much Siluer mingled with the Gold in the Crowne, as it hath caſt or thrown out more Water then the Ingot of Gold did, which is eaſie to be vnderſtood. For, if the Crowne had bin intirely all Gold, it would haue emptied no greater a quantity of water out of the veſſell, then the Ingot of Gold did: but becauſe it hath caſt forth more, that more giueth plainly to bee knowne, that ſubſtaunce which it hath of Siluer mingled with it. For we know very wel, that two Ingots (conſiſting of one weight, and of one ſelfeſame Mettall) muſt neceſſarilie be of a like bodie and quantity; & therefore, beeing put into a Veſſell full of water, they muſt voide out a like quantitie of Water; in regarde, that two bodyes cannot be in one and the ſame place. But by putting the body of the Golde or of the Siluer into the water, the water muſt needs voide out, and yeelde them place; and ſo much the greater the bodie is, ſo much the more water it emptieth forth. And hence it enſueth, that the Crowne ſent out more Water, then the Ingot of Golde; becauſe the Crowne made vſe of the place with equall poize.

Conſideration of the Crowne, by the Ingot of Gold.

Verily, this inuention of *Archimides*, was ſubtle and ingenuous; albeit manie other thinges (of much greater importance) were found out by the ſpirite and induſtry of this man. And ſuch as are deſirous to know more ſinguler matters concerning him: let them read *Plutarch* in the life of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Titus Liuius*, in the fourth and fifte Bookes of the third Decade. Where they ſhall find, that the Engines and frames onely, made by the inuention of *Archimedes*, were ſufficient (for long time) to defend *Syracuſa* againſt the *Romaines*. And amongſt other thinges, recitall is made, that no ſtrength of men, beeing able (with infinit Inſtruments) to draw a great Ship out of the Water, *Archimedes* onely brought it foorth, euen as if it had floated vppon the Sea.

Plut. in Vit. Marc. Marcel. Tit. Liui. in lib. 4. & 5. Dec. 3.

A great Ship brought out of the water by *Archimedes*

While the *Romains* maintained their ſiedge before *Syracuſa*, hee deuiſed ſuch Engines, that by throwing great grapling hookes of Iron from off the Walles, faſt bound by equall counterpoize in the City, he mounted a Gally aloft in the ayre, which deſtroyed and ſunke many men in the Sea. For he could let it fall when hee liſted, and daſh both it ſelfe & other Gallies in pieces: ſo that by this meanes, and other grapling Inſtruments, hee would dragge the enemies Gallies and Shippes ſo powerfully, that they ſhould breake & ſplit themſelues againſt Rockes, they being no way able to make reſiſtance. He framed

A gally mounted aloft in the Ayre, to deſtroy other Shipping.

framed the like Engines vpon the Lande, whereby he could daily destroy manie of the enimies. And such was the bold withstanding, which *Archimedes* performed within the Cittie; that *Marcus Marcellus* (a most excellent Captaine of the Romaines) was enforced to chaunge his course of martiall discipline for assayling the Cittie, because he saw himselfe in verie great perill, and his people in confusion.

Mar. Marcellus a Noble Captaine of the Romanes, enforced to forsake his siege to Syracusa.

For *Archimedes* had thrown such feare and terror among the Romaine soldiers, that when they beheld but some chain or silly beame, descend from off the Cittie Walles, they would runne backe and retire with all possible speede only to auoid the daunger. so highly were they feareful of the Engines and Instruments, daylye deuised and performed by this excellent man.

Cicero attributeth also to this famous Phylosopher, that hee first inuented and made the materiall Spheare, wherein the eye might easily apprehend the motions of all the Planets, with their course, passions, and Aspects. And *Claudian* sayth, that he made one of Christal; which seemeth also to haue beene confessed by *Ouid*. He was no lesse studious & contemplatiue, then learned and skilfull. But at length, when *Syracusa* was surprized and taken by force after so long and admirable resistaunce made by *Archimedes*: *Marcellus* prohibited (vppon paine of death) that no man should be so bolde as to kill him, although hee had beene the death of so many worthy Romains. Neuertheless, a Souldier finding him by chance (and not knowing him) as he was making a figure vpon the ground, the soldier demanded what hee was: but others say, that he commanded him, to go along with him to *Marcellus*. *Archimedes* returning him no answer, either that he would or would not, but was seriously busied in minde about his Circle; and the Soldier growing angry thereat, slewe him; which was verie highly displeasing vnto *Marcellus*, who made him an honorable and worthy Sepulchre.

Cic. in Lib. 1. de Tusculan.

Cla. in Lib. 4. Ouid. in lib. 6. de Fast.

Archimedes slaine by a *Roman* soldier and much bemoaned by *Marcellus*.

This is written by *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Titus Liuius*, and *Plutarch*. *Cicero* reputeth it as a great glorie to himselfe, that he found the Graue of *Archimedes*, and maketh high account thereof. For, (saith he) *The spirit and industry of a Learned man, hath much more power then a thousande thousand ignorant mens.* By the endeuour of Wisemen, fierce and terrible Beasts haue beene made tame; strong things haue beene reduced to weakenes, and weake matters made strong. By them a small number haue beene victorious ouer a great: because a disordered multitude, and without industry, do but break themselues, and runne vppon their owne ruine.

Cicer. in lib. 1. de Tusculan.

The endeuor and industrie of Wisemen.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the manner, whereby Socrates *perswaded* Alcibiades, *to beecome an Orator.*

ONE of the verie hardest matters in mine opinion, yet most commendable for a man to haue in himselfe, is to speake in such sorte, that hee may giue occasion thereby, to be listened vnto with heed and attention. For this cause, Orators that spake publickely in elder times, were highly praysed: how much more then beseemeth this excellent quality, in such as are Preachers now adayes? Which beeing well considered by *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, and hee but young in yeares; he durst not make anie publick speech, albeit it was a vsual thing, and necessarie for the cheefest men in the Cittie, amongst which number hee was one.

To speak well and orderly is a difficulte thing.

Alcibiades fearfull to speake in publicke.

The great Phylosopher *Socrates* taking notice therof; and being desirous to giue him encouragement, with perswasion also to become an Orator, hee practised a subtle and cunning meanes, whereby he ouercame such fearefulnesse in him, and the ouer-curious consideration, which preuailed too much with him. For, meeting him one day in the streete, among a great multitude of people of diuerse degrees, he saide vnto him; *Tel me* Alcibiades, *Art thou not affraide to speake before this Cobler?* Whereto hee answered, *No truly* Socrates. Then hee demaunded againe: *Art thou then more timerous, to speake before a Trompet? Shalt thou stand in*

Socrates practiseth to imbolden *Alcibiades* in speaking, by diuers questions.

in more feare of him, then of this man? Alcibiades, said no; and that he stoode not in feare to speak before any such people. Then *Socrates* named many other men, who were of trades and mean condition; naming afterward, men of great quality, whereto *Alcibiades* still replyed, that hee durst speake before euerie one of them.

Socrates his Allusion vnto his former demands.

Then *Socrates* said vnto him; *The people are composed of all such as I haue named vnto thee, and not of any other: and of all these, the Athenian Auditorie (where thou oughtest to speake) doth consist. So then, this auoyding of feare, in speaking from one to one, should take away all terror in thee, of speaking to them when they are assembled together: for they which before stood deuided a part, are but then vnited in one Congregation.* By which reason, *Alcibiades* was conquered; and making due consideration thereof, hee lost the false feare that before had possessed him; then making practise of this exhortation, hee became afterward a most excellent Orator. Whereby may be obserued, of what value good Councell is, when it is giuen in due time and season.

CHAP. XIX.

The beginning, and the causes of the Factions of the Guelphes *and the* Gibelines.

IN the time of the Emperor *Frederick*, second of that name and of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, betweene whom was great discord & contention: there were two factions of people, in the Citty of * *Pistorium*, or *Pistoia* in *Italie*: the one whereof, was called the *Panciatiques*; and the other, the *Chancellers*. Now it fortuned, that two Brethren; the one called *Guelph*, and the other *Gibeline*, held diuers opinions in this City; whereof some followed the one side, & others the other. From whence it proceeded, that of these two verie famous men, one part began to entitle it selfe the *Guelphes*, and the other, the *Gibelines*: And that side which was the *Guelphs*, expulsed the *Gibelines* out of the Cittie. And because it was a matter somewhat note-worthie, to behold two Brethren of such contrary disposition, each of these factions woon the fauour of many neighboring people. So that euen as a contagious Pestilence, this diuorce of amity, dispersed it selfe by little and little, thorough all *Italy*; and all causes and Controuersies, must bee discussed and discided by the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*.

*Pistorium, or Pistoia in Italie.

The Original of the Guelphes and the Gibelines.

This fire beeing thus fatally kindled; the Emperour *Frederick*, who was a Capitall enemie to the Pope, beeing at that time in the Cittie of *Pisa*, in the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, and forty: and not knowing which faction woulde be on his side; and which would pertake with the Pope, made publicke declaration, that he vndertooke the name & part of the *Gibelines*. Which being done, hee managed cruell warre vpon the *Guelphes*; and by reason of this open publication, all *Italy* diuided it self into these two names; and therby grew great scandals and mortalities in euery Citty: yea, euen in perticuler Families, where the Sonne deuided himselfe from his Father, Brother against Brother, Wife against her Husband. Yet vpon no other ground, but because the one affected the *Guelphian* faction, and the other the *Gibeline*, and so pursued each the other. It was daily seen, that the stronger side ruined and ouerthrew houses to the grounde, following still on the weaker, euen to vtter hauocke and destruction: and such was the continuance of this quarrell, as neuer were greater cruelties heard of, betweene the Infidels and Christians, in their greedieste furies.

The Emperor *Frederick* enimy vnto the Pope.

All Italy deuided into the factions of the Guelphes and Gibelins.

Antoninus, Arch-byshop of *Florence*, writeth; that by these factions, fiue and thirtie of the verie woorthiest houses in the Cittie of *Florence*, were raced to the earth; and that those contentions were thoroughout all *Italy*. Many people bearing name with the Emperour, expelled the *Guelphes* wheresoeuer they came, and the *Gibelines* did the like by them. The greater part of Rome, by taking the Emperors cause in hand, had alreadie runne into too much forwardnesse: which the Pope perceiuing, he made a solemn procession, wherein he carried the Keyes of Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paule*, desiring of God,

Antoninus Arch-Byshop of *Florence* in his Historie.

A solemn procession made in Rome by the Pope, and after an Oration to the people.

God, that this cruelty might bee rooted vp out of mens hearts And after the procession, hee made a publicke Oration to the people, or rather a Sermon, declaring what folly it was, for men so to persecute and kill one another: onely in fauour and affection vnto two perticuler Names, which the Deuill had brought into the field, for the generall spoile and ruine of all *Italy*.

The Emp purposed to destroy all the Guelphian faction.

Moreouer, hee declared manie other things of such great efficacy, as compelled the people to leaue their wilful opinion, & to take part with the Pope against the Emperor *Fredericke*, who was in very good hope to destroy all the *Guelphian* faction. These bleeding woundes (for the sinnes of men) continued too long a time in *Italy*, and was the death of manie thousands of men, beside a great number banished, and greeuously oppressed, infinite faire buildings destroyed, and many goodly houses burned. The Authors that record these thinges, are *Platina*, in the life of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in the thirde part of his Histories, and many other men of great knowledge.

Plat. in vit. Gregor. 9. Anton. Sabel. in par. 3. Hist.

CHAP. XX.

Of the first Martyrs: And of the Persecutions of the Christians.

IESVS Christ our Sauiour came into the world, to instruct men in the truth, as himselfe testifieth in Saint *Iohn*, saying: *For this cause am I come into the World, that I might bear witnesse of the trueth. Whosoeuer is of the truth, heareth my voice.* By these wordes, the Iews conceiued enuy against the son of God, so that they would putte him to death, without any cause of offence. And thus truth begot hatred to men; such as were professours thereof, and for their loue to the truth, they grew to be deadly malliced and persecuted, especialy if they did but speake in truths defence. Therefore, the first persecution which Christians suffered, began by the Iewes. For, as the Apostles (following the tracke and steppes of their Maister) proclaimed the word of trueth, and S. *Peter* (more then any of the other) reproued the *Iewes*, because they had killed Christ, and exhorted them therefore to repentaunce: they entered into such violence and fury, that they stoned Saint *Stephen* the Deacon, who (almost two yeares after the Pasion of our Redeemer) disputed in the full Synagogue, against the *Alexandrians*, *Cyreneans*, as also against them of *Cilicia* & *Asia*. Among whom, though manie of them coueted to appeare most learned, yet could they not resist one man onely: but being confounded by Celestial wisedome (wherein the young man was graciously enstructed) they enuironed him with rage and indignation; and hardlie could containe themselues from layeng hands on him, vexing in their hearts, and grinning their teeth against him. But he being full of the Holy-Ghost, hauing his eyes eleuated to heauen, there he beheld the glory of God, and Iesus standing vpon his right hand, whereon he saide; *Behold, I see the Heauens open, and the Sonne of man standing on the right hand of GOD.* Whereat they all cried out aloude, and stopped their eares, and running on him as with one consent, they threwe him forth of the Citty, and stoned him vnto death with stones. Thus S. *Stephen* being the first that publickly defended Christs Religion, was martired, that is to say; bare witnesse or testimony, by torment and death, which hee willingly suffered, only for the Faith of Iesus Christ; for the word Martyre in Greek, signifies a Witnesse. Saint *Iohn the Baptist*, more then a Prophet, and not ignorant in these thinges to come, was the first man slaine for defending the truth; to wit, because hee detested the incestuous marriage of *Herodias*, according as Saint *Luke* saith; or after the saying of *Iosephus*, beecause the number of the people which came vnto him, made *Herod* suspitious of some new Commotions, whereby he feared to lose his Tetrarchs place. In which respect, it may well be said, that S. *Iohn Baptist* was the first Martir. But, as all the Mysteries of our Christian Religion, did receiue beginning at the Pasion of our Sauiour Iesus Christ (according to Saint *Hierom* against *Iouinian*, who saith, *The Gospel also was not before the Crosse of Christ.*) So by this reason, S. *Stephen* the Leuite, of whom

Acts 7,58.

The extream mallice against S. Stephen for the truth.

Acts 7,56,57.

The worde Martyre in Greeke expresseth a Witnesse.

S. *Iohn Baptist*, the first man slaine for the truth.

S. *Iohn Baptist*, the first Martyr, reputed by some.

Hier. cont. Iouin.

The Iewes enemies to the sonne of God

The first persecutions of christians beganne by the Iewes.

whom we formerly spake) being the first of all Christians that suffered death for the name of Iesus Christ, is held to be the first Martyr.

S. *Cyprian* his words, approuing iust *Abel* to be the first Martyr.

Saint *Cyprian*, deriuing the matter from a much longer continuance, attributeth that degree of Honour to Iust *Abel*, saying; *Most deare Bretheren, let vs follow Abel the Iust, in whom Martyrdome began, when hee was the first slaine for his righteousnesse.* But we discourse heere of the beginning of Martyrs, and the other opinion is the more receyueable.

S. *Peter* & S. *Paul* put vnto death by *Nero*, the second persecution against the Christians.

After Sainr *Stephen*, the cruell Emperor *Nero*, vnderstanding that Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, preached the Doctrine of the Gospell at *Rome*, labouring to introduce a new kinde of Religion, beeing very wrathfull thereat, he made no long delay, vntill hee hadde put them both to death, which was the second persecution against the Christians: for the first was mooued by the Iewes, as we haue shewn already.

Some neuertheless doe allow this of *Nero* to be the first, as being first begun by Commission from the Emperors: and this wicked man, to make Christians far more odious to the Romaine people, bethought himselfe of such wickednesse as after followed. Hauing exercised all kinds of cruelties, euen as a plague to humain generation, both in refusing to pitty and pardon his owne Countrey, and defacing and depopulating all the auncient buildinges, desiring (as some haue Written) to see a Fire, which might bee like to that of *Troy*; the verie greatest and chiefest part of Rome Citty, hee caused to be burned.

The cruelties of *Nero* to his owne Countrey.

This flaming fire, continued the space of sixe dayes, and as many nights, whereby the Temples, houses, and goodes of numberlesse Cittizens, were consumed. And then to set a colour on this impiety, and stand in defence of such a shameless act, he imposed the blame and horror of this ruine, vppon the innocent obseruers of the truth, and produced diuers, falsely to accuse the Christians, to make them culpable of so great a dammage: whereupon, many of them were imprisoned, and some dearely paide the price of their liues. But that the Christians were innocent of such wickednesse, *Cornelius Tacitus*, an enemy to the name of a christian, is constrained to confesse it, where hee saith; *Those men, not so much for the Fires fault, as because they had the hatered of al, were conuinced.*

Malicious dealing in *Nero* against the Christians.

Afterward, he saith; *To their Deathes were added slanders and disgraces. They were couered with the skins of diuers wilde Beasts, and then torne in pieces with Dogs. Some others were Crucified; and others, when day light serued not to burne them; they made darke night look like bright day, with the flaming Fires wherein they consumed them.*

Corn. Tacitus concerning the christians in their persecution.

Domitian ordained (afterwardes) the third persecution against the Christian Church. *Traian* the fourth. *Marcus Antoninus*, *Lucus Aurelius*, and *Commodus* the fift, *Seuerus Pertinax* the sixte, *Maximinus* the seuenth, *Decius* the eight, *Valerian* the ninth, *Aurelianus* the tenth, and *Diocleſian* the eleauenth, counting that performed by the Iewes. For, if wee begin with *Neroes* time, then there are but ten in number, according as som Historians haue obserued: and that was the most cruell and longest in continuance, of all the other.

The persecutions in the succeeding of the emperors

Nero his persecution the cruellest of al the other.

Holy Bookes were burned, Churches raced and ruined. And if any Christian had the dignity or office of a Magistrate, it was taken from him, and beeing depriued thereof, he remained infamous. The seruants that attended vpon Christians, could not bee manumised, that is to say; they could not bee freed, or enioy their liberty, as enfranchised men should doo. In like manner, men of warre, and Christian Soldiers, were compelled to sacrifice to the Heathen Idols, or to lose their liues.

Extreamities inflicted on Christians.

Finally, *Maxentius*, *Licinius*, and *Maximinus*, who ioyntly helde the Empyre with *Constantine*, did very great annoyance to the Christians: but the three first being slaine (as they iustly deserued) *Constantine* remained Emperor alone, who gaue certaine and assured peace vnto the Christians. Which worthy professors, notwithstanding so many great persecutions, & cruell torments inflicted on them by Tyraunt Emperours, neuer failed in their faith, neither regarded the Commands and Menaces of Infidell Princes, but still maintained their Christian Religion; and chearefully (for Gods cause) yeelded their bodies to whatsoeuer Torments were prepared for them, to the end, that they might winne the perpetu-

The emperor *Constantine* gaue peace to the christians

all

all Crowne of glory, and beare in theyr hands the Palmes of Martyrdome. For as the Apoſtle ſaieth, *Hee that hath not fought couragiouſly, ſhal not bee Crowned.* Ephes. 6, 16. Our Sauiour alſo giueth vs the ſame verie ſame counſell, when he ſaith: *If anie man wil come to me, he muſt deny himſelfe, and take vp his Croſſe, and follow me.* Math. 10, 38. Like Wages is promiſed vnto ſuch as followe him, where he ſaith; *Hee that looſeth his life for my ſake, ſhall finde it.* Math. 10, 39. Seeing then, that the entrance into Heauen, muſt bee thorowe many aduerſities and tribulations, true Chriſtians ought patiently to endure all iniuries and opprobious ſpeeches, for the name of the Sonne of God, and account themſelues happie therein: for by them the way to eternall glorie is laide open.

CHAP. XXI.

Of ſuch men and Nations, as haue been reputed to bee the firſt Inuenters and deuiſers of diuers things.

The Lydians. HE *Lydians* a people of *Aſia*, inuented the ſportes or Games of the Cheſſe-play, the Dice, and the Tennis; wherupon *Rhodiginus* ſaith, *Ludi a Lydis videri poſſunt appellati.* The Egyptians. The Egyptians found out the burning of Lampes. *Anacharſis* of Scythia. And *Anacharſis* of *Scythia*, deuiſed the Bellowes, wherewith to kindle fire. *Pyrrhus* K. of Epyre. *Pyrrhus*, King of the *Epirotes*, was the firſt that had Couriers, Poſts, or ſwift riders. Meſſages by Poaſts. For, as hee had three Armies in diuerſe parts of the world; and himſelfe remayned continually in the Cittie of *Tarentũ*, he would haue newes from *Rome* in one day; out of *France* in two dayes; out of *Germany* in three dayes; and out of *Aſia* in fiue dayes; yea, and that in ſuch manner, as his tydings ſeemed rather to flye, then brought on rode waies.

The firſt kind of Inke to write withall. The firſt Inke wherewith our elders vſed to Write, was made of a certayne Fiſh, called *Xibia* or *Xiphia*: which afterwardes they conuerted to blacke colour: then to a Vermillion; next to Azure, and at length compounded it with Gum Arabick, Gaules, Vitrioll, and Wine; or rather water. The firſt Bolters for meale, or Searces of haire, had their beginning in *Fraunce*: and *Spaine* yeelded the firſt Siues. Boulters and Searces.

Looking glaſſes. *Praxiteles* was the firſt Inuenter of the Looking-Glaſſe, which was then called the Siluer Glaſſe, in the time of *Pompey* the Great; but it is not certainly known, who deuiſed the Glaſſes of Steele, Iron, Lead, Chriſtall, and of other commixed matters. Corne and bread. *Ceres* found out Corne, and enſtructed the maner alſo, how to knead, molde, and make Bread. To her is aſcribed likewiſe, the making of Wicker Baſkets, or Panniers of Oſiers. Baskets of Oſiers. *Pſeaſippus* gaue firſt inſtruction for making of hollow Tunnes, or Veſſelles of Woodde, which now a-dayes are called Caske. Tuns or cask. *Medea* inuented the meanes to colour Weomens haire; and *Abatis* to poule or cut the haire, when it grewe too long. Colored hair. The *Thebanes* deuiſed Hunting. Hunting. *Rhecus* and *Theodorus* of *Sarnia*, were the inuenters of melting and Caſting of Mettalles, whereof they made Images or Statues to the Goddes. Melting Mettals.

Cuiraſſes, corſlets, Targets &c. The *Curetes* in the Iſle of *Negropont*, (who were the *Corybantes*, *Sybils* Prieſts, and *Idæi Dactyli*) found out Iron & ſteel, wherewith they made Cuyraſſes, Coreelets, Targets, and other defenſiue Ornaments for the body. Spinning linnen & woollen *Cacus* was the firſt Theefe knowne to bee in *Italy*. *Arachne* of *Colophonia*, found out the vſe of Linnen, and to ſpin thread: And *Cloſterius* (ſaide to be her ſonne) deuiſed the Spindle for Wooll. Spinning cotton Wooll. *Pamphyla*, a Grecian Ladie, was the firſt that gathered Cotton from off old Shrubbes, hanging looſely thereon. And hauing waſhed and Combed it, faſtened it on a Diſtaffe, and ſo ſpunne it, enſtructing afterwarde how to weare it for cloath.

Chariots or Coaches. *Erictbonius* the Athenian, found out the meanes how to make Horſſes drawe Chariots or Coaches. *Iupiter* inuented the Militarie or Warlicke Enſigne, making it of Red colour, wherein was alſo figured an Eagle. Enſignes for war, & what was vſed inſted of them. And our ancient Forefathers, inſtead of Enſigns did bind bundles or handfuls of Hearbes vppon long Poles, which in *Latine* were called *Manipuli*; and they that carried them, were tearmed *Manipulares*.

In the time of *Auguſtus*, there was one named *Hoſtius*, who made Mirrours or Looking-Glaſſes in ſuch ſtrange maner,

Strange Looking Glasses, deliuering as strange representations.

that they presented any thing to seeme much greater then it was; for a mans finger would therein appeare to bee as long and great as the measure of his arme. Another made a Glasse likewise, wherein a man might behold another mans figure, and not his owne. He made some beside of such quality, as being set in an vncertaine place, nothing at all would bee discerned: but being brought thence, many semblances might be discouered. He had one Glasse perticulerly, which woulde shew all shapes the wrong way, or vpside downward; and one thing also shoulde seeme in many formes. Diuers other things might heere be spoken of: but because their very best is but idle and vaine, I am the more willing to ouerslip them.

CHAP. XXII.

Of manie Famous and Woorthy men, that haue contemned and despised Riches.

WE read of diuers illustrious and great personages, that neglected and made no account at all of Riches: but they of most honor and renowne, were *Valerius Publicola*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and the most iust *Aristides*. All these men dying, were buried with the money of the publicke purse, in regarde of their pouertie and lacke of wealth. After the death of *Epaminondas*, whose victories were so famous, and spoiles so manie by him atchieued, there was no other moueable found in his house, but onlie the Iron head of a Launce. This was the man, that refused two * thousande Crownes, which *Iason* (a Prince of *Thessalt*, and a Confederat with the *Thebans*) sent him as a guift. But hee rather affected, to borrow of a Cittizen of *Thebes*, fiftie Drachmaes of Siluer (which could be of no greater value then fiue crownes) to maintaine himselfe in the voyage and expedition which hee had vndertooke, and with so small store of money, hee entered in Armes into *Peloponnesus*. Afterward, *Artaxerxes* the great King of *Persia*, sent him thirtie thousand pieces of Golde, of his money called * *Daricks*: In regard whereof, he grew verie seuearelie angry with *Diomedes Cyzicenus*, saying vnto him: *Hast thou dared to enterprize so long a Nauigation, as hoping to corrupt* Epaminondas? *Returne againe, and say to thy King, that for as much as he would giue to purchase the good and welfare of the Thebanes, he shall haue mee as his friend, without any of this cost: but in seeking to do the wrong and iniurie, tell him, I am his chiefest enemy.*

After that *Marcus Curius*, Consull of Rome, had ouercome the *Samnites* in battaile; Ambassadours were sent from them, who brought him a great quantity of Gold and Siluer, as a gift; yet finding him sitting by a Fires side, scraping, and putting roots into a pot, that they might seeth for his Dinner; and to them hee returned this answere: *Beare all this Golde and Siluer backe with yee, and bestow it on such Captaines, as scorne to dresse their own dinners in earthen vessels: For, I desire no greater riches, then to be the Lorde of such Plate, and the possessions within them.* As if he would haue saide; Hee that contenteth himselfe with such a dinner, hath nothing to do either with Golde or Siluer. But, in commanding ouer such as haue them, they seeme thinges more great and honourable, then if hee himselfe had them.

Of this Honourable Band were *Apollonius Thyaneus*, *Paulus Emilius*, *Phocion*, *Attilius Regulus*, *Quintus Cincinnatus*, *Fabritius*, *Sextus Emilius*, *Carus* & *Marcus Manlius*. *Abdolominus*, being created King of the *Sydonians*, immediatly refused the Kingdome: as knowing verie well, what trauailes and troubles were hidden & enclosed, vnder the vain splendor of wealth and riches.

The Poet *Anacreon* in like manner, hauing receiued (as a guift) from *Polycrates* the tyrant of the *Samians*, fiue hundered Attique Talents, continued two Dayes and two Nightes, without anie sleepe. At length, to free himselfe from the Torment whereinto this present had brought him, hee re-deliuered the guifte backe vnto the Tyraunt, with Wordes well beseeming so fayre a minde, in so meane a Fortune to make such a refusall.

Seneca vsed to say, *Hee was a great man, that made imployment of earthen vessels*

Val. Publicola. Menen. Agrip. Aristides Iustus

Bap. Fulgoso, in lib. 4. cap. 4.

Iustin. in lib 6. Plut. in Apoth.

* *Erasmus* saith 500 crownes, for victuall & prouisions fit for his armie.

* An auncient Coine, with the Image of *Darius* on it.

Epaminondas to *Diomedes Cyzicenus.*

M Curius conquering the *Samnites.*

His answer to the Ambassadors.

The Application.

A band of Riches scorners

Abdolonius K. of the Sydonians.

The Poet *Anacreon*, & *Polycrates* the tirant.

The saying of *Seneca.*

sels, as if they were of Siluer: but much greater is that man whosoeuer, that vseth Siluer, as if it were earth. *Crates* the *Thebane* Phylosopher, at his departing from *Athens*, to followe his studie in Phylosophy, threw all his substance of Gold and Siluer into the Sea, holding it for an infallible Maxime, that hee could not possesse Vertue and Riches together. The like did *Socrates*.

Crates the Phylosopher of *Thebes*.

The Inhabitants of the Ilands *Baleares*, would neuer haue any Golde, Siluer, Silkes, nor precious Stones to bee seene in their Countreyes. Whereby such happinesse befell them, that for the space of foure hundered yeares, in all which time, they had warres with the *Romains*, *Carthagenians*, *Gaules*, and *Spaniards*, yet not any one of these nations euer stirred, to go make a Conquest of those Countreyes, becausse they knew assuredly, that they hadde neyther Golde or Siluer to make pillage of, and bring away with them.

The dwellers in the *Beleares* Ilandes had neither Gold nor Siluer.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Sentence or Verdict of Apollonius Thyaneus, *against an Eunnuch to the King of* Babylon, *who was found somwhat too familiar, with one of the kings faire fauourites.*

Apollonius in his Booke of Hierogliphical letters, writeth; That when the Egyptians woulde make a representation of loue, they did set down the figure of a grin or snare: onely becausse (as I thinke) it conducteth vs daily to a most miserable condition: *Philostratus* writeth, that in the time of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, an Eunnuche was found in loue pleasures (as his abilitie would permit him) with one of the Concubines to the King of *Babylon*, the verie faireast and best beloued beyonde all the other. Being take in the act, he was dragd (by the haire) out of the *Serralia*, from the other Women, by his Eunuchs, and brought before the King. To whom, the most ancient of the Eunuches declared, that he had found by heedfull obseruation, how the Eunuch was become amorous of the Woman, and thereof had giuen him admonishment, that he shold not speake to her, nor (in anie manner whatsoeuer) touch her necke, breasts, or hands, and abstaine also from helping to put on her Garments. All which notwithstanding, he had beene now surprized in bed with her, and found in performing the veneriall act.

How the Egyptians figured Loue.

Philin vit. Apol. Thyan. lib. 1 Cap. 23.

The *Serralia* is the place for the Concubines of the King.

The King waxing extreame angrie at this report, turned himselfe towardes *Apollonius Thyaneus* (who was at that time in his Court) saying: What punishment do you deeme fittest for me, to inflict vpon this Villaine? Whereto *Apollonius* answered: *It is enough (O King) to let him liue.* How! (replied the King, as ashamed of this answere) doo not you iudge him worthy of many cruell deaths, that dared so boldly to violate my bed? *My answere* (quoth *Apollonius*) *doth not imply any pardon to bee graunted to him, but rather to lay the heauier torments on him, by suffring him to liue. For, so long as he shall remaine aliue, he must abide infinite afflictions, too sharpe and difficult for him to endure. Hee shall not be able to eate or drinke, to receiue any pleasure in shewes, sports, or Pastimes, which easily may delight both you & yours. His heart will faile him oftimes, his dreams and sleepes wil be gastly and fearefull, such as are saide (most especially) to pursue amorous persons. Then neuer doubt Sir, but loue wil force him to feele most bitter and insupportable Martyrdomes. For like vnto the silly Fly, the miserable man wil follow both Fire and death, and yet at an instant, both life and death shal appeare most hateful vnto him.* Such was the answere of *Apollonius*, which the King found to bee so wise and pleasing, that being thereby perswaded, the Eunuch enioyed the benefite of life.

The disspleased K. craueth aduise for the Eunuchs punishment of *Apol. Thyaneus*.

The answere of *Apollonius*.

The Eunuch permitted to inioy his life.

And to speake vprightly, Loue is an extreame passion, a meere fury or madnesse in a Woman, and a quenchlesse heate in a young man, whose vttermost refuge is death onely. And for this cause, *Epictetus* among other definitions which he made of death, called it, *Numen Amatum*, becausse Louers do oftentimes call death to helpe them, and seeme as if they would run willingly thereto, as vnto their surest Anker-hold, as another saith. Who is it but knoweth that loue took away the

Epictetus in his cōference with the Emperor *Adrian* of long life.

Examples of loues violéce in diuers.

sences of Wise *Salomon*, and made him violate the Sacred Lawe? Loue mooued *Biblis* to be enamored on her owne Brother *Caunus*; and *Pasiphae* to companie with a Bull. Of manie other inconueniences Loue hath been the only cause. But to come again to our precedent purpose.

The Authour returneth to his matter, concerning Eunuches.

Some few dayes before this disaster happened to the Eunnuch, *Apollonius* (who had made some obseruation thereof) fell into discourse with his companion *Damis*, concerning the power and ability of Eunuches, in the acte of venery, beginning thus.

A conference betweene *Apollonius* and his friend *Damis*, of Eunuchs abilitie in venery.

Friend *Damis*, I am now considering with my selfe, what reason barbarous nations haue, to imagine modesty in their Eunuchs, & to make vse of their seruice waiting on their Wiues? I thinke (aunswered *Damis*) the cause is cleare and manifest; yea, euen to a childe. For after their spermaticke Vesselles are cut away, which inciteth carnall embracing and action, they may be permitted to keep their Wiues, and are expressely employed in that charge, euen as if they suffered them to lodge in bed with them. You conceit then (replied *Apollonius*) that the power of affecting and knowing Women carnally, is by that meanes quite taken from them? Both the one and other answered *Damis*, in regard, that if the part be taken from them, whereby the body is prouoked vnto the acte of *Venus*, I am of the minde, that they cannot haue any inclination to loue.

The power of affecting, and carnally knowing.

You haue a present testimony (answered *Apollonius*) that Eunuchs can and do loue; and that desire which is introduced by the eye, cannot be quenched in them, but continueth still hot and vigorous in the body: and many things may be alledged, whereby your reasons will be easily confuted. If there do consist any such Art in man, as can gouerne and expell such desires and affections out of the minde: it appeareth then to me, that Eunuchs shold not by any probable reason, bee reckoned or admitted in the number of chaste and temperate men. For, you hold those men to bee wholly depriued of Loue, as constrained thereto, by such an act of violence done on them. Whereas the Office of temperance is, that hee which coueteth, affecteth, or desireth, should not be surmounted or ouercome

Of the desires & affections of the minde.

The Law and office of temperance.

by lasciuious affections and Concupiscences: but wholly for to abstaine from them, and not to bee vanquished by any greefe or passion, which induceth desire to the matter coueted or affected. All this is saide by *Apollonius* in *Philostratus*. But if the Eunuches thorough defect of the Instruments of generation, haue not the power to engender, and to auoyde foorth seede: yet notwithstanding, they are manie time ouercomes with heates, and striue with themselues, both to know and to abuse women, euen as wee do oftentimes behold, that Geldings wil offer to leape and couer Mares.

Phil. in vit. Apol. Tyan. Lib. 1. Cap. 23.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ *An excellent and memorable example of Continencie, in the famous Prince* Frances Sforza.

AM loath to omit a verie singuler example of continencie, in the most honourable and worthy Prince, *Frances Sforza*, well deseruing to bee compared with those of *Alexander* the Great, and warlicke *Scipio*. He being Coronell Generall of the *Florentines*, at such time as *Casanoua Chasteau*, and *Forteresses des Luquois*, was surprized by force of Armes. During the sacke of that small Cittie, certaine of his Soldiers had taken a young married woman prisoner, of admirable beautie and faire perfections. As they drew hir forcibly out of her house, she cried to them, that she would submit her selfe vnto the Count *Frances*, and not vnto any other. They that thought to haue made vse of her for themselues, hearing her voluntary Challenge, and dreading the displeasure of the Count, made no long delay, but forthwith brought her before him. The Coronell *Sforza*, who in regarde of his youths verdure, sweet disposition & complexion of body, was much addicted to carnall pleasures, albeit he was violently surprized with the young Womans rare

Frances Sforza the Count, Coronell of the *Florentines*

The young Woman was brought before Count *Frances*.

rare beautie: yet notwithstanding, hee demanded of her, whither shee woulde more willingly yeeld her self to him, then remaine in their power that had taken hir as their prize? Whereto the young woman answered, that shee would alwayes be ready to obey his will, 'prouided, that he should deliuer her out of their hands, that then detained her as their prisoner. Heereupon, Count *Sforza* commanded that she should be carried to his Tent.

A second demand of the Count to the faire young woman.

Night being come, before hee would go to bed, he demanded of her againe, if hir former resolution did yet hold or no, or whether she had changed her purpose? Whereto she answered, that shee helde the same opinion which shee did before. Which when the Count perceiued, he commanded her to prepare her selfe, for shee should lodge with him that Night. She was no sooner entered into his bed, but espying the picture of the virgin *Mary* (which the Count both in custom and Deuotion, had alwayes hanging as a fair Table in his Tent) beeing stroken full of feare and shame, weeping incessantly, & kneeling with great reuerence, she vttered these words to the Count. *My Lord I beseech yee, for that Holy Virgines sake, whose remembrance and figure is heere fixed before vs, that you would bee pleased to preserue my Chastity, and by your clemencie to restore me, not polluted but vnstayned, to my late married Husband, who is among the rest of your prisoners. And although I made ye promise to submit my selfe to your will, and am heere subiected to your pleasure: yet no other respect moued mee thereto, but onely to be freed from them, vvho doubtlesse would haue rauished mee. And in regard of the Iustice and pietie, that I haue often heard to be alwayes in you, those vertues are my firme hope and perswasion, that I shal (by you) be defended from al shame & violence.*

The speeches of the young woman vnto Count Sforza being in his bed.

A rare testimony of continency, both for time, place & oportunity.

These words, accompanied with floudes of teares, which showred downe her faire cheekes, found such gracious enterance into the benign and generous hart of the Captaine; and so great was his continency (considering he had a Woman of such exquisite beauty, and in his naked bed by him, being also his captiue and prisoner taken in warre) notwithstanding all these aduantages: vnchast, hot, and lustfull appetite was quite extinct in him; and presently he leapt foorth of the bed, leauing her there to rest in safetie. On the morrow morning, hee sent to make enquiry for her husbandes, whose ransome he payed to his Soldiers out of his owne money. And then deliuered his Wife vnto him, with a solemne Sacred Oath, that he restored her as chaste, vntoucht or vnknowne of him in any vnciuill manner whatsoeuer, as when she was brought a prisoner to him. The Husband falling to the ground on his knees before him, with sighes and teares spake in this manner: *Honourable Lord, your deedes do amply declare, the great renown which euerie where is iustly famed of ye, to wit; that there is no man liuing on the earth, that can equall yee in humanitie and clemencie. The highest God, who can do all in all, wil giue you sufficient recompence for vs, that can returne no conuenable guerdon vnto your worth and vertues.*

The words of the husband to the Count.

The Count would haue giuen them great stoore of Goods and Mooueables, taken as pillage in the City: but the yong Woman would not accept of any. Affirming, that when her Neighbours should see such guiftes, they would repute them to be the prizes of her lost honour, and so she should liue in endlesse infamy, which she desired rather to shunne, then death it selfe. So, hauing leaue and License to depart from Count *Sforza*, they were safely conducted home to their house.

Bountie and humanitie in Count Sforza

CHAP. XXV.

Of many Woorthy and Learned men, both Ancient and Moderne, vvhose endes and deathes haue beene wretched and miserable.

Themistocles the *Athenian*, being banished by enuy in the Cittizens of *Athens*, withdrew himselfe to K. *Artaxerxes*, by whō being constrained to warre against his owne Countrey, hee made a willing chaunge of death for life, by drinking the blood of a Bull. *Gallus* the Poet slewe himselfe. *Demosthenes* the

Plu. in vit. The.

Amia. Marcellinus in lib. 17.

Athenian, hauing incurred the displeasure of *Antipater*, successor to *Alexander*, fled into *Calabria*, an Iland in the *Ægæum* Sea, where he was entrapped by the Sergeants of *Antipater*: and hauing taken a pen, as if hee purposed to Write therewith, hee suckt vp certaine poyson, (enclosed therein) and so died. *Plinie* was burnt to death, with the fire of Mount *Etna*, which at this present is called *Gibello Monte*. The same end also had *Empedocles* the *Agrigentine* Poet.

A high Hil in Sicily, out of which ariseth horrible smoake and flames of fire

Many other worthy men likewise haue dyed as miserably: among whom was *Socrates*, that (by commaundement of the Magistrate) dranke the iuice of Hemlock in prison, and died by the draught. *Thales Milesius* died of drought, by heate of the Sunne as he was beholding the *Gymnick Playes. *Zeno* was slaine by the commandement of *Phalaris* the Tyrant. *Anaxarchus* died by command from *Nicocreon*, in strange diuersity of torments; and being ouercome with the extreamitie of paine, he bit off his tongue betweene his teeth, and threw it in the Tyrantes face. *Archimedes* the Phylosopher, and most excellent Mathematician, was slaine by the Soldiers of *Marcellus*. *Pythagoras* was burned aliue by the *Cylonians*, as *Plutarch* saith: But others write, that warre being moued betweene the *Agrigentines* and *Syracusans*, *Pythagoras* going forth to succour the *Agrigentines*, was massacred (with seuenty of his Schollers) in a fielde of Beanes, by the *Syracusans*.

Laer. lib. 1. c. 10

*Plaies of naked & anointed men.

Plut. in Moral. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

Anacharsis was slaine by his owne followers, because he would haue enduced the Religion and Goddes of the *Grecians* into *Scythia*. *Diodorus Cronos* the Logitian, dyed with sorrow and shame, because he could not resolue a question in Sophistry, which was propounded to him (in iest) by *Stilpo*. *Aristotle*, after hee had lost the grace and fauour of *Alexander*, not knowing the nature and cause of *Euripus*, which is in *Chalcis*, that is to say, the flowing and ebbing of a Sea, that happeneth continually seauen times, in the space of a day and night, returning into *Aulis* of *Bœotia*, being a Hauen in *Eubœa*, grewe weary of his life, only through griefe and sorrow conceiued, because he could not render a sufficient reason for it; and some say, that he drowned himselfe in the Sea, and in the same place. His scholler *Calisthenes* had his Nose and lips cut off, and

Pl. in li. 7. c. 53.

Greg. Nazian. in Orat. cont. Iul. Imperat.

being shut vp betweene two walles, dyed of the disease which the Greekes called φθειρίσις, and the Latines, *Morbus Pediculoris*. *Marcus Tullius Cicero* hadde his head and hands cut off, and his Tongue pulled out. *Terence* the Poet, drowned himselfe with greefe, because he had lost 108. Comedies which were Written in *Greeke* by *Menander*, and had bin by him conuerted into Latine. The Poet *Lucretius* hauing drunke an amorous potion, fell into such a fury, that he slew himselfe with his owne hande, being aged about forty yeares.

Cœlius Rhodiginus in l. 9. c. 36.

Seneca, being compelled by his Scholler *Nero*, to make choise of what kind of death he best affected, caused a Veine to be opened in his foote, as he helde it in a Bason of water; and so by the meanes of loosing his blood, lost his life also. *Auerroes* was crushed to death with a wheele which went ouer his stomacke. *Iohn Duns*, otherwise called *Scotus*, reading in *England*, in a sudden tumult of schollers, was slaine with the stabs of Bodkins, such as (in ancient times) they wrote withal in Table-bookes of Woodde, or on the Barkes of Trees. But if I were to sette downe the miserable ends of all the learned men in elder dayes; no mean or reasonable compasse could containe mee. Therefore, I will conclude this Chapter, with rehearsall of some more Moderne and later. *Frances Petrarcke* dyed suddenly. *Domitius Calderinus* died of the plagu. The Reconciler or Peace-maker, was burned after his death, hauing liued but a small while. *Laurentius Laurentianus*, the Physition of *Florence*, drowned himselfe in a well. *Petrus Leonis*, of *Spoletũ*, Physition and Astrologer, was likewise throwne into a Well by the commaund of *Peter de Medicis*, because during the sickenesse of *Lawrence de Medicis* his Father, he had giuen good hope of his life, by saying, that there was no daunger of death in his disease, as he collected by the rules of his starres, and yet he died. Sir *Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor of England, was beheaded at *London*, for withstanding King *Henry* of *England*, in his claime of supremacy.

An ill reward of a scholler to his Master.

Volat. in lib. 21.

Learned men of our Moderne times.

*A Cittie of *Vmbria* in Italy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

¶ *Of a simple Groome, borne in Cremona, who vainely perswaded himselfe, that he was the Pope. And of another, that beleeued he was the Emperour. Of diuers others also, who had sundry strange kinds of folly in their braines.*

DIsitions haue generally held opinion, that there are many & sundry kinds of folly. Not many yeares since, there was a meane Groome or Seruant (borne in *Cremona*) in the Citty of *Millayne*, who verily perswaded himselfe, that he was the Pope, and had formed a Consistory of Cardinals, Arch-bishops, and Bishoppes, in his Chamber. At a certaine houre in the day (when he had obtained leaue of his Maister) he would seate himselfe in a Chaire, like a new created Pope; deliuering forth his feete to be kissed, entertaining Ambassadors; making Cardinals; dispatching Bulles; and ordaining Officers for the See Apostolique. This honourable kind of folly (wherein he conceiued wonderfull pleasure) beeing qualified and remooued out of his braine: he would returne home againe to his accustomed seruices, without any disturbance, or appearance, that hee was any such manner of man, but onely when his idle fit was vpon him.

Folly in some heads, hath a wonderfull kind of perswasion.

Folly (for the time) mightily preuaileth.

Triumpho de Camarino, a Horse-keeper o. *Vrbine*, who imagined him selfe to be the Emperour.

The Lord *Pedro de Vbaldini*, a worthy Gentleman and Knight in the Citty of *Vrbine*, had a Horsse keeper, named *Triumpho de Camarino*, who when hee came first into his seruice, made it in condition of his bargaine: that hee would haue one houre in the day allowed him, for his owne pleasure and recreation. During which while, hee would locke himselfe close within a Chamber, where no one could come to him without his owne permission: and there he spreads a Curtain of black Cloath vpon the Wall, whereon the Pope was painted with his Cardinals, euen as when he holdeth his full Consistorie, with many Kinges, Princes, Lords, and Christian Captaines. He taking vpon him to be the person of the Emperour (as in his mind he was verily perswaded so to be) hauing a Crowne of Paper vpon his head, and a Bedstaffe (for a Scepter) in his hand: he sate down as among them, and began in the Popes person, to propose diuers thinges concerning the State of Christendome, after this manner.

The Oration of the imagined Emperor (being *Triumpho* the Horsekeeper) but deliuered in person of the Pope.

My deare Brethren and Children in Iesus Christ, the effect of our meeting thus together; is to aduise ye, that you loue one another with mutuall affection. And likewise to command ye, to gouerne your people in all pietie, laying downe Armes, and ceasing Warres among your selues; onelie to fight for the defence of the Christian Faith, afflicted and vexed by Infidels and enraged Turkes. If you doe not (with high and resolued courage) embrace this my proposition; you will at length loose the grace of this world, and the glory of Heauen, and be sent into the infernall Kingdomes, where you shall be tormented eternally. Wherefore, my most happy Children, vnderstand my words louingly, and follow my counsell. *Triumpho* hauing deliuered these and diuers matters more, in name of the Pope, spitting oftentimes betweene, for shew of greater pontificality: he would answere afterward in the Emperours name (whose habit hee seemed to haue on his backe, and Crowne vpon his head, with these words.

Triumpho his answer, as in the Emperors person.

Saint Peter, you haue said very well, and it would be very fitting, to doe as your Holinesse hath propounded. But would you haue Men to beleeue your perswasions? Begin then your selfe (like a good Pastor) to giue vs good example. And if you cannot doe it: I intend (for mine owne part) to enioy my Kingdomes, without any feare of Turkes, or of Hell it selfe, where I am sure there is some good abiding. For this last night, I dreamed that I was there, in exceeding great contentment, and pleasure of minde. There did I play at Tennis, with many great Lords and Barons. Afterward, we mounted on light and swifter Coursers; then either Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, *or* Iberia *could euer yeild the like. At length, as I was iesting and playing with some of the fayrest and wantonnest Ladies of the world: I espied Lucifer (whose teeth stuck a great way out of his head) issuing forth of a proud*

Triumpho his dreame of being in Hell, & what pleasures he saw there.

proud Pallace, to get vp on Horſebacke. And as I purpoſed to run towardes him, to hold his Stirrup with great reuerence: one bad me that I ſhould not goe, for feare he would deuoure me. Neuertheleſſe, I went on boldly without feare, and the gentle Lord gaue me the kindeſt entertainement, that the world could affoord, ſaying to me. My Sonne, thou art now, and at all times ſhalt be moſt hartily welcome hether. And hauing mounted on horſebacke, hee rode thorow his Kingdome, which is inhabited with many people. Afterward, as I was parting thence to goe to dinner; a Gentle Squire came, and ſaid vnto me: Whither goeſt thou Chriſtian Emperour? Thou mayeſt dine heere. Then I anſwered; Doe Men eate in this place? Excellently well and gallantlie, replyed the Squire. Why then (quoth I) if there be ſuch good cheare heere, I wil depart no more from hence, no, in deſpight of Saint Anthonies Beard: ſeeing a man may triumph euer heere, ſpend the time iocondlie, and lead a merrie life. As for you Holy Father (ſpeaking to the Pope) I vnderſtand, that ſuch pleaſures as you take, are domeſtick and priuate, yet more then all other mens, with your children the Cardinals of the holie See, which ſhould be much more lawfull for me. *Triumpho* hauing deliuered theſe dreames and idle fancies, giuing a loud ſhout: caperd vp from the ground, and began to diſcourſe of great actions, Warres, and garboyles. And taking vp a Curry-combe in his hand, before the ſuppoſed Kinges, Princes, and Lordes, (in name of them all) hee vttered more friuolous ſopperies, then I am able here to write, or relate vpon. And bethinking himſelfe, that his houre or limitation was (by this time) expired; for, at ſome of his priuacies, his follies would extend into more length, then they did at another: he left his Chamber, departing thence with his Bridle, Spunge, & Curry-Combe, to execute his Office about his Horſes, to make cleane his Stable, and diligently performe all other ſeruices, without any opinion of his precedent conceited dignity.

The Lord *Pedro* meruailing not a little, how the Groome of his Stable ſhould daily beſtow this licenſed hour: concluded to make ſome proofe thereof, and ſee how his affaires were then managed. Whereupon, hiding himſelfe one day in the next lodging to *Triumphoes* Chamber; at a rift or cranny in the Wall, he wonne an eye-ſight to the whole paſtime. Calling ſome other of his Houſhold-Seruants beſide, to bee partaker in this Comicall ſport; where they heard all the Horſe-keepers enterparlance with his owne opinion, and ſaw euerie iot of his fantaſticke behauiour. At laſt, when the Lord *Pedro* perceiued that his mans ſerious buſines was almoſt concluded, he called out aloud to him, ſaying; *VVell done Triumpho, I am highly glad, both of thine owne conſolation and thy Countries, that of a poor Horſe-keeper, thou art become the Emperor of Chriſtendome. Let mee therefore entreat thee, while Fortune holdes thee thus happily on the height of her wheele; thou wouldſt bee pleaſed, to haue ſome remembrance of thy poore Maiſter.* *Triumpho* hearing himſelfe thus called, and perceiuing his priuate conceit to be diſcouered: ſtood amazed like a Bell-founder, when his Mettall hath not taken good ſucceſſe. And ſuch was his fury, that he ſnatcht his Curtaine from the Wall, and with it he inſtantly forſooke the Houſe, without taking leaue of his Maiſter, or any one elſe: nor could it at any time after be knowne, whether he went, or what became of him. By this we may obſerue, that it is the naturall property of a Foole, to thinke himſelfe wiſe.

And therefore I conclude, that in this World there is no greater quietneſſe, then for a Man to content himſelfe with his owne eſtate, as did this poore *Triumpho de Camarino*: who perſwading himſelfe to bee an Emperour, the meere imagination auailed as much with him, as if he had bin really the very man indeede.

Thraſyllaus Axoneus fell into ſo ſtrange a follie, that he verilie beleeued, that al the Shippes which arriued in the Port or Hauen, were his owne. And therefore (vpon this ſtronge perſwaſion) alwaies before they came to take landing: with a chearefull countenance, and hart highlie contended; he would walke forth (a large diſtance from the road) to meete them as they came. In like manner, when they did ſet out againe on any voyage, either for the Eaſt or Weſt: he would beare them company a great way, and praying them to bee care-

The Deuils kindneſſe to *Triumpho.*

The concluſion of *Triumpho*, in his ſerious conſultations.

Bridle, ſpunge and Currie-Combe, the Trophees of this imaginary Emperour.

Triumphoes Comedy was diſcouered by his Lord and Maiſter.

The words of Lord *Pedro* to *Triumpho.*

The fury of *Triumpho* vpon his diſcouery.

Contentation is an eſpeciall benefit.

Elianus in his fourth Booke calleth him *Thraſyllus.*

Atheneus in lib 12. Cap. vlt.

careful of his goods and Merchandizes, wish them all fortunate successe. This humour being noted by his Brother *Criton*, newly there arriued with his Merchandise from *Sicilie*: he caused diuers wise and learned Phisitions, to take paines for his recouery, who in helping this fond humour, robd him of his chiefest contentment. And beeing afterward remembred of this strange folly: he would sigh many times, & sollemnly sweare, that hee neuer liued more pleasingly, then while that perswasion held him, because in all that time, hee neuer felt any greefe, sadnesse, or annoyance. They make report of another Man, who kept diuers Cats, wherein he took great delight and pleasure; perswading himselfe, and telling to others, that they were Lyons.

Aelianus in lib. 4. Cap. 7.

Aristotle declareth, that there was a Man in *Abydos*, who beeing ouercome with a foolish humour, would go daily to the Theater, & there (as if he would recite a whole Comedy himselfe) performe al the actions in such cases required, not respecting who beheld or heard him; and yet this humour afterward left him. He saith moreouer, that there was an Hoast in *Tarentum*, who would walke abroad all the night time, and diligently attend his businesse all the day, carrying (both night and day) the Key of his Hoastory hanging at his Girdle; neuer loosing it, neither could it bee stolne or got from him, by very cautelous and crafty attempts.

Arist. in lib. 6. de Anim.

Arist. vbi. sup.

Plutarch reporteth in his *Morals*, that the *Mylesian* Virgines were ouercome with a wonderfull folly; for, without any respect, teares, entreaties, and perswasions of Parents and Friends, they would suddenly strangle and hang themselues, neither could any remedy bee found to preuent them. At length, the *Mylesians* being assembled in the Senate house, to deliberate on this strange inconuenience: one among them (being a very graue and wise man) aduised them to make a Law, that if any more of them should so destroy themselues, of what condition soeuer she were, she should be stript starke naked, and so bee laid in the midst of the Market-place, to be shamefully seene of all the world, and haue no other buriall allowed her. This councell being generally approoued, and published by Edict: the Virgines were thereby stricken with such feare and terrour, that the humour which made them dreadlesse of death, immediatly ceased. As being more fearefull and respectiue of dishonour and infamy, then of paine or death: because they could by no meanes endure, that their naked bodies should be seene, either aliue or dead, and shame (after death) they reputed to bee a Virgines highest dishonour.

Plutarc. in Moral. Cap. 9. A strange folly in virgines to destroy themselues.

Shame after death more respected and feared, then death it selfe.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of diuers Men and Weomen that haue voluntarilie slaine and destroyed themselues.

IN the first Ages, there were many, that voluntarily shortned their owne liues, among whom, *Ælianus* recorded *Hippona*, a *Grecian* Lady, who being taken by Pyrates, and hearing a determination among them, that they purposed to make spoile of her virginity: she so choisely prized the honour of her chastity, that, seeing no other waie left to preserue it, she leapt into the Sea, & so (by drowning) saued hir Virgine vertue. *Calanus* the *Indian* Philosopher, one of the learned and wise *Brachmanes*, hauing bidden farewel to *Alexander* the Great and his *Macedonians*, at such time as he desired to leaue this life: caused a pile of Wood to bee prepared ready, which was dry, sweet, and odoriferous (to wit, of Cedar, Cypres, Myrrhe, and Laurell) in a Towne of *Babylon*. And making a wreath of Reede Leaues; hee crowned his head there with, then mounted, and laid himselfe along vpon the pile, honouring the Sunne. So, couering his face, the *Macedonians* gaue fire to the pile, and he neuer stirred a iot, when the fire flamed fiercely about him; but lay still constantly, without mooning eyther hand or foot, and in this sacrifice yeildeth vp his Soule. Hereupon one saith, that *Alexander* wondering at this constancy

Aelianus in lib. 5. cap. 7.

Hyppona a Lady of Grecce.

Strabo in Lib. 15. Calanus, one of the Brachmanes.

Valerius Maximus in lib. 1. Cap. 8.

The words of *Alexander* concerning *Calanus*.

ſtancy, inſtantly ſaid. *Calanus hath conquered more potent Enemies, then euer I could doe. For I haue but fought againſt* Porus, Taxiles, *and* Darius *onely: but* Calanus *hath fought both againſt labour and Death.* *Cicero* writeth, that when *Calanus* went to death, and mounted vpon the pile of Wood, he ſaid. *O faire departure from life, ſeeing (as it happened to Hercules) after that this Mortall bodie is burned, the Spirit then goeth into light.*

Cicero in lib. 1. de diuinat.

Cleombrotus of *Ambracia*, hauing read *Platoes* Booke of the Immortality of the Soule: threw himſelfe from an high Wall, head-long into the Sea. *Cato Vtican*, hauing read alſo the ſame Booke; pierced his owne body with a Dagger. *Ariſtarchus* the *Alexandrian Grammarian*, Schoole-maiſter to the Sonne of *Ptolomie Philomator*, being ſicke of the Dropſie; ſuffered himſelfe to dye thorow want of eating. The like did *Eratoſthenes* the *Cyrenean*, Scholler to the Poet *Callimachus*, & keeper of the Library to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. *Charondas* the *Thebane*, made a law, that no man ſhold come armed into the Councell Conſiſtorie: was once found himſelfe there armed (not thinking thereon) as hee came newly out of the field. And after that hee which ſate next him, had put him in mind of the ſaid Law: hee ſtabd his Ponyard into his owne breaſt, albeit he might well haue diſſembled, or defended his fault. *Hanniball* being vanquiſhed by *Sciopio*, fled to *Pruſias*, King of *Bythinia*, for ſafety: but being doubtfull of his fidelitie, becauſe he beheld *Flaminius* ſent thither, as Ambaſſadour from the *Romaines*; hee poyſoned himſelfe, of his owne meere motion thereunto.

Cicero in lib. 1. de Tuſculan.

Valerius Maximus, in tit. de Iuſt.

Plutar. in vit. de Hannib.

Mithridates the younger, hauing maintained Warre for the ſpace of ſixe and fifty yeares againſt the *Romaines*; ſeized *Aſia*; impriſoned the chiefe commaunders of the * *Opiæ*, and of *Aquilia*; beſiedged *Rhodes*; and wonne *Athens* by *Archelaus* his Lieutenant. After all theſe great fortunes, he being firſt conquered by *Lucullus*, next by *Pompey*, and afterward by *Pharnax*, his owne moſt ingratefull Sonne, who forſooke his Father, and tooke part with *Pompey*: drunke a poyſon, whereof being not able to die (in regard of an Antidote and counter-poyſon, which he was compelled to take) ſlew himſelfe, by the helpe of a French Souldionr, named *Vitigius*. *Monyma* the *Myleſian* Lady, and *Veronica*, borne in *Chios*, both Wiues to the fore-named *Mithridates*, after they vnderſtood (by the Eunuch *Bacchides*) the miſerable fortune of their Husband; they would liue no longer in further diſaſter. *Monyma* hung or ſtrangled her ſelfe, and becauſe the Cord brake, by weight of her body; ſhee compelled *Bacchides* to cut her throat. And *Veronica* kneeling mournfully by her, dranke vp a full Cup of poyſon. *Statira* and *Roxana*, Siſters alſo to the ſame *Mithridates*, who had kept their virginity the ſpace of forty yeares: bare company with their Brother in death, by drinking each a draught of poyſon.

Valer. Maxim. in lib. 2. cap. 7.

*People by the Riuer *Indus*.

Monyma and *Veronica*, the wiues to *Mithridates*.

Statira and *Roxana*, ſiſters to *Mithridates*.

Decebalus, King of the *Dacians* (as *Dion Caſſianus* reporteth) beeing vanquiſhed by *Traiane*: ſlew himſelfe with his owne hand, becauſe he would not fall into the *Romaines* power, and yet not withſtanding, his head was afterward carried to *Rome*. *Sardanapalus* threw himſelfe into a flaming fire. *Lucretia*, a worthy *Romaine* Ladie, and the bright Lampe of Chaſtitie, hauing her honor violated by the infamous Tyrant *Tarquine*, Sonne to proud *Tarquine*: publikely ſlew her ſelfe, by ſtabbing a Dagger in her faire breaſt, to the end, that the people might reuenge her iniurie and ſhame, and aboliſh the Dominion of the Kings in *Rome*.

Dion. Caſſianus in lib. 4.

Titus Liuius in lib. 1. Deca. 1.

Portia, Daughter to *Cato*, hearing tydings of her Husband *Brutus*, that he was conquered, and ſlaine in the fieldes before *Philippi*: when ſhe could come by no Weapon to deſtroy her ſelfe, ſhee deuoured burning Coales, and ſo purſued her Husband in death. *Cleopatra*, Queene of Ægypt, after the death of *Marke Anthony*, ſhe remaining Captiue in the power of *Auguſtus*: compaſſed her death by the byting of a Serpent; as *Cæſar* himſelfe made repreſentation of the manner, in an Image which he brought with him in triumph to *Rome*, as one of his Trophees of that victory. *Næera*, and *Charmione*, wayting Maides on Queene *Cleopatra*, followed her preſently alſo by voluntary death.

Portia the Daughter to graue and wiſe *Cato*.

Cleopatra Q. of Egypt.

Many other great perſons haue periſhed, in the like diſaſtrous and miſerable manner, whoſe Hiſtories would aske

ouer

The names of many that yeilded themselues to voluntary death

ouer long time in repetition, and therefore I will but set downe their names onely. As *Dolabella*, *Licinius Macer*, *L. Syllanus*, *C. Marius* the younger, and *Fannius Cepio*. *Nero*, *Otho*, *Galerius*, *Adrian*, *Florian*, *Iulian*, and *Diocletian*, Emperors. *Gordianus* the elder, *Labeo Marses*, and *Papyrius* the Romaine. *M. Lollius*, *Proculeius*, *Magnentius*, *Argobastus*, *Gunimilda*, wife to *Asmund*, King of the *Danes*. *Hadingo*, *Rolnond*, and *Starcaterus*, Kings of the *Danes*. *Pedro des Vignes*, the Lawyer of *Capua*, in the time of *Ferdinand* the second Emperor, *Eccelinus* the Tyrant, and *Galeacenus Mantuanus*, who more voluntarily & foolishly (then any of the other before named) ranne vpon his owne death; as *Iouianus Pontanus* hath recorded. For he wintering at *Pauia*, became very extreamelie enamoured of a beautifull young Damosell, and would oftentimes tell her: that he could endure a thousand harms (if so many were possible to be suffered) for her sake, if she but pleased to commaund him. Whereupon, she commanded him (in iest) to leap into the Riuer: which he presently did, and was there drowned, before he could be relieued.

Iouianus Pontanus, concerning the death of *Galeas* of *Mantua*.

Baiazeth, Prince and Emperor of the Turkes, being taken on the Confines of *Armenia*, in a great conflict and battaile betweene him and Great *Tamberlaine*: was brought before the *Scythian* King, who caused him to be put vp in a Cage of Iron, and led along with him whersoeuer he went; letting him liue by no other meates, but what fell (as scraps) from his Table, and pieces of bread cast to him, euen as contemptuously as men do to Dogs. At all times likewise, when he would mount vp on horsebacke, or into his chariot: *Baiazeth* must be taken forth out of his Cage, and brought before him, fast bound in mighty and massie Chaines of Gold, and he would set his feet on his back, so to get vp into his Chariot, or on horseback. This should serue as a mirror to miserable men, neuer to repose any confidence in greatnesse, or vaine wealth of this World: considering, that he who had conquered so many people, and won so many Cities; was taken, and made Slaue to him, that had bin but a silly heardsman, and ended his daies miserably in a Cage of Iron. When *Tamberlaine* was returned home into *Scythia*, he made a magnificent triumph, for his victory obtained against this *Baiazeth*. And hauing prepared an vnualuable Feast, with all sumptuous furnishment thereto appertaining, for all his principall Lords and Commaunders in *Scythia*: he caused the Cage to be brought before thē, wherein was *Baiazeth*, his Empresse and wife also (who was taken with him) attending thereon. With whom this barbarous man dealt so inhumainly, that her garments were cut off iust at hir Nauil, whereby her parts of shame and secrecy were nakedly discerned; and thus did she waite there before his guests. The miserable Prince of *Turks*, seeing his Queen thus despightfully entreated; grieued beyond measure, and deuised how hee might best end his wearisome life. But being destitute of all meanes, or any Instrument for the speedier execution: he did beat his head so often and violentlie against the bars of Iron; that his brains starting forth, hee there concluded his wretched and infortunate life.

Baiazeth Prinee and Emperour of the Turkes.

Tamberlaine his vnmanlie vsage to Bataxeths Q.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How good and profitable it is, for a Man to liue soberly. And that all such as were Enemies thereto; haue likewise bin hatefull to Honor and Vertue.

IT is no way to be doubted, but that Nature can content & suffice her selfe with little; and feeding out of order and excessiuely, hath bin the occasion of many diseases. To approue the truth hereof, let the vnbeleeuer read the ancient Bookes of Phisick, wherein he shall find, that our betters and predecessors, were such friends to sobrietie: that they would eate but a piece of Bread in the morning onelie, and feed on a little flesh at supper, without any other diuersitie of Viands, such as are vsed in these daies of ours, with numberlesse Sauces, and meates vpon meats, and then a second course afterward. During all which seruices, *Abouo ad mala*, a man is forced to sit at the Table two or three hours at the least. And this

The least allowance contenteth nature.

Greatnesse, Riches, and all this worlds pompe is but meere vanity.

The healthful diet of our fore-fathers, was the onely reason of their long life

and this is the reason, why those of elder times (who knew no such superfluities) liued so long, and free from so many monstrous diseases. In regard heereof also, the *Romaines*, *Arcadians*, and *Lusitanians*, or *Portugalles*, remained so long a time without Phisitions, and sobriety of life (onely) defended them from all infirmities.

The *Spartanes* choyseſt delicates.

The very greatest delicates, which the *Spartanes* vsed in their dyet, was a certaine kind of blacke Broath or Pottage, much like to melted Pitch; the cost whereof, did not amount to aboue three *Solz*, tenne whereof doe make an Englisn Penny.

The *Persians* dyet.

The *Persians*, Men so exceedingly disciplined, did neuer eate any other Meate with their Bread, but a few Water-Carres, or Cresses.

K. *Artaxerxes* his food.

Artaxerxes, Brother to *Cyrus*, beeing put to flight by his Enemies: fed on dryed Figs and Barly Bread, and greatly complained, that he had liued so long, without experimenting so sweete and sauoury a kind of food.

Pompey his fare in Egypt, in a poore Countrey mans house.

Pompey, trauayling thorough Ægypt, where his people could hardlie follow him, he beeing verie hungry, with-drew himselfe to the small Cottage of a poore Countrey Husbandman, who gaue him a piece of Rie-bread to feed on. And this great King swore, that (in all his life time) hee did neuer tast better foode; and euer afterward, he held all costly and precious kindes of Bread in scorne, which hee had formerly vsed.

The Lord *Antonia d'Ona* a Spanyard.

The Lord *Antonio d'Ona*, a *Spaniard*, hauing entertained an old man (aged aboue an hundred yeares) to dine with him, and setting excessiue fare before him, as hee vsed to all others that came to his Table; the good olde man said vnto him. *My Lord, if I had bin dieted (in my youth) at such Tables as yours; you must think, I had neuer attained to these yeares: but by liuing soberly, you see how God hath blessed me.* We need then make no doubt; but that sobriety of life, is the occasion of our long continuance in this world, & our preseruation in soundnesse of health.

Sobriety is the occasion of long life.

All such as haue beene contemners therof, their liues haue had no length, and they were vtter enemies to honor and vertue. Such was *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Heliogabalus*, *Vitellius*, *Verus*, *Tiberius*, *Maximinus*, and infinite others. On the contrary side, it hath beene obserued, that the affecters of sober life, (men, as it were, euen made of Diuinity, such as *Augustus*, *Alexander Seuerus*, *Paulus Æmilius*, *Epaminondas*, &c.) witnessed their loue to Honour and Vertue, and dyed in all the fulnesse of their daies.

The enemies to Honor and Vertue.

The Louers of Sobriety.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Rodericke, the last King of the race Royall of the Gothes: And how (thorow his owne incontinency) he lost not onely his Kingdome, but his life also.

IN the yeare of our saluation, 747. *Rodoricke* raigned King in *Spaine*, who being pierced to the quicke, with the little God and blinde Archers Arrowes: became exceedingly passionate, for the loue of the daughter to Count *Iulian* of *Cantabria*. And coueting (in ouer-burning desires) to gather the fruites of his hot affections: he essaied all meanes possible to compasse his pleasure. But in regard that the honest and sober countenance of the Virgine, as also the presence of her Father, were maine opposites to him in reaching the height of his appetite; hee therfore sent Count *Iulian* Ambassador into France, and in the meane while, made a rape of his Daughters chastitie.

Rodericke affecteth the Daughter to *Iulian*, Count of *Cantabria*, & in the absence of her father, rauisheth her.

Iulian, at his returning into *Spain*, heard (far enough off) the shame & violence committed on his daughter. And when he vnderstood it also by her owne complaint, both the meanes, manner, and euerie circumstance: hee dissembled it cunningly in the Kinges presence, as if he knew not of such sinne committed; but champed on the bit for diuers daies together, still pondering on the aptest occasions, whereby he might compasse to be reuenged.

Count *Iulian* concealeth the knowledg of his Daughters wrongs.

After he had considered sufficientlie on his wrong, hee with-drew himselfe into *Affrica*, to the Citty of * *Leptis*, where resorting to *Muzza*, Gouernour of *Affrica*: he declared vnto him, point by point, the iniury which King *Rodoricke* had done him. Whereto he added,

* *Leptis Sarrana* the Citty *Mahumeta* in *Affrica*, between the two Sirtes

ded, that for reparation of this wrong, he was thus come to implore his assistance: in recompence whereof he offered him a verie rich and goodly Empire, which he would reduce vnder his obedience. For he told him, that the time was now come, when hee might reuenge those *Arabes*, which had beene slaine in the precedent yeares, by the Armies of King *Bamba*. Hee further assured him, that he was so much fauored by the very greatest Lords in *Spain*, beside his owne Friendes and Kinred; who (in meere pittie of his disgrace) would all be in readinesse to helpe this enterprise. For the King was mortally hated of them all, in regard of his rapes, cruelties, and extortions, which continually he imposed vpon his people.

Muzza hauing heard the Countes speeches, sent him to King *Vlit*, residing them in *Arabia*, and he hauing likewise deliberated on Count *Iulians* iust complaint: returned him backe againe with his Letters to *Muzza*, commaunding him to lend him ayde, and what fauour else hee could affoord in so vrgent a case. After that *Muzza* had receiued this aduise from his King, hee gaue him an hundred Horse, and foure hundred foote Souldiers: vnder the charge and conduct of a valiant Captaine, named *Tariffa*, who crossing the Seas, came into *Spaine* with his troups. And that he might giue the more assured pain and molestation to the enemy; his people builded a Citty, which (after their Captaines name) they called *Tariffa*. *Iulian* hauing made knowne to his Friends and Confederates in *Spaine*; the occasion of his thus returning, and the desire he had (in Iustice and reason) to reuenge the outrage doone by the King: many of them (vnder-taking his cause) ioyned themselues with the *Arabes*, ouer-running and rauaging all the Country of *Algazara*, where the saide Count *Iulian* had before bin Gouernor for the said King.

Muzza sent Count *Iulian* to King *Vlit* in *Arabia*, who commaunded assistance in the wronged Counts behalfe.

Count *Iulian* acquainted his Friends in *Spain* with his returne.

The *Arabes* of *Affrica*, perceiuing the successefull progresse of the Count, in sollemne earnest, and without deceipt: they sent him twelue thousand Horse more, and a great number of the Infanterie, youthfull, gallant, & braue resolued Spirits. Vpon this occasion, King *Rodoricke* expedited a great Army against them, vnder the conduct of his Cozin *Don Ynigo*: who fighting many times with the *Moores* (but still with bad successe) not onely lost his life; but all the rest were likewise hewen in pieces. The *Moores* proceeding on still without impeachment, ouer-ran and spoyled a great part of *Spaine*; by meanes whereof, *Rodoricke* raised a much greater Army then the former, and came himselfe hand to hand with the *Moores*: so that a dreadfull and terrible battaile happened betweene them, which continued eight whole daies together, for in the night time, they retired into their Rampires. But the two Sonnes to the late King *Vitizzo* (whom the Brother to *Rodericke* had slaine, and vsurped the Kingdome) reuolting from him: were the cause of the *Moores* becomming Conquerors. And *Rodericke*, though he carried himselfe so valiantly, and performed (in his owne person) incredible seruices: yet was he (neuertheless) vanquished and slaine, and all his pertakers forces broken and foyled. This battaile was begun on Sunday, beeing the fift day of Iuly, betweene the breake of day and Sun-rising, in the yeare of our Redemption 750. neere to *Xeres*, and by the Riuer *Bedalack*. This History may serue as an enstruction to Princes, that before they offer shame or outrage to any one; they would well aduise and consider with themselues, what may be the end of such bad attempts.

Rodericke sent his Cozin *Don Ynigo* with a power against the Moores.

A Battaile lasting eyght whole dayes together.

King *Rodericke* foyled and slaine.

The supply sent to the Count by the *Arabes* of *Affrica*.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Sarqua, who craftily deceiued Stirades, a most Noble young Gentleman, and put him cruelly to death.

AMong the Ladies that attended on Queene *Valasca*, there was one, named *Sarqua*, endued with goodlie feature, both of face & body: but prouided of as bad a mind, malliciously enclined to all wickednes. She bethinkinking her selfe, how to be reuenged on a young *Bohemian* Knight, called *Stirades*, a very Noble Youth,

Read *Aeneas Syluius*, in his History of *Bohemia*, the 8. Chapter.

The treason plotted against young *Stirades*.

that sharply pursued *Valasca* and all her traine, so that she had no greater an Enemy thē he: concluded to betray him, and in such manner as shall be declared. She calling some of the other Ladies to hir, caused them to binde her fast by the hands and feete, to the body of a Tree in a very thick forrest: leauing a Huntsmans Horne by her, and a Bottle full of liquor, called *Medon*. Being thus fast bound, the rest of the warlike Ladyes, ambushed themselues in the Wood, somewhat out of the way, but not far from the place of her abiding.

Stirades vsed often to hunt in this Forrest, and comming thither this day, (as he did at other times) with his Men and Hounds, riding on in the wood; he espyed the Lady fastned to the Tree. And being mooued with compassion, stayed his Horse, demaunding, how, and for what cause she was thus brought thither? Whereunto *Sarqua* thus replyed. It cannot be (good Gentleman) but you are very well acquainted with the disorders committed by *Valasca* in this Countrey, while shee attributeth the Kingdomes authority to her selfe. I (too much vnaduised) haue beene of her faction, and delighted (for a while) to follow her follies, wherein I failed (I confesse) and repenting at length so foule a transgression: I resolued to forsake so bad a Mistresse. Seeking to haue a companion in my flight and escape; I was betrayed, discouered, surprized, and brought hither, where the murderesse purposed to behold my punnishment. But as she and her company were all about me, and had bound me in this manner as you see: they heard the opening of your Hounds, and neighing of your Horses, which made them take their flight, and leaue mee in the case you found me. Seeing then that Fortune hath conducted you to this place, and in such a needfull season for mee: I beseech ye (valiant Sir) euen by your true Noblenes, that you would be pleased to pitty a miserable Creature. Vnbind me (I intreat ye) and guid me some where else; if the guiltinesse of my sin be no hindrance, for obtaining such an especiall blessing from ye. Otherwise, draw forth your Sword, and pierce me there-with to the hart, rather then permit me to liue in this torment. For you shall be no sooner departed hence; but all those cruell women will come again, and then they will fall vpon mee like so many Serpents, to teare my body, and make me liue in multiplicity of torments.

The deceitful speeches vsed by *Sarqua* to *Stirades*.

The wonderfull trecherie in a woman.

Stirades, being mooued to pitty, partly by the Ladies teares, which flowed in some aboundance from her eyes, and partly by some sudden apprehension of her beauty: alighted from his Horse, cut the Cords which bound her to the tree, & comforting her with gentle language, desired to know, what might be the meaning of the Horne and Bottle? Whereto (still weeping) she thus aunswered. Know Sir, that those murderers brought hither this Bottle, to lengthen out my life by the liquor therein, to the end that my torments might bee the greater. But blessed be God for our ariuall here in so happy an hour, to be my release, and the meanes of my drinking now in safty. This said, she set the Bottell to her mouth and dranke, and then deliuering it to *Stirades*, he dreading no danger, but to expresse his kindnesse & affection to the Lady, in regard he was thirstie also, drunke of the deceiuing drinke to any other then her selfe; for it was compounded of white Hony, according to a custome obserued among the *Bohemians*, healthful for women, but irkesome and offensiue to men. And indeed, *Sarqua* (being as arteficiall a Poysoner and Socceresse, as her Mistresse) had charmed the drinke with Hearbs & enchantments in such manner, that, by little and little, it tooke away all sense and vnderstanding from *Stirades*. Then the false woman seeing him nere to such condition as she sought to bring him in; tooke the horn, and said vnto him. This horne they intended to hang about my necke when I was dead, as a marke and ensigne to such as shold passe this way, that (in my life time) I had bin a Huntresse. But now, in meere despight of them, I will winde this Horne, to let them know, to their shame, that I am still liuing. So, winding the Horne, she blew a blast, that made all the wood to ring with the sound thereof. Instant lie rushed foorth *Valasca*, with a band of her Ladies all armed, who killing al that accompanied the deceiued Gentleman: seazed on him, and binding him fast, led him along with them, till they came before

Stirades tooke pitty on his subtile betrayer.

A deceitfull drink, healthful to women, but hurtful to men.

Valasca & her band of armed Ladies killed the followers of *Stirades*, and afterward tormented him vpon the wheele to death.

before the Caſtle of *Viſſagrada*, where, in the ſight of *Primiſlaus*, King of the *Bohemians*, and all the people that were on the Walles: they did put him to death by the torment of the Wheele, a death which the *Bohemians* did repute, to be the moſt infamous of all other. Such was the end, of the gentle, valiant, young and wealthy *Stirades*; beguiled by the feigned teares and ſubtile perſwaſions, of cruell and diſloyall Weomen.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of three Gentle-weomen, who became all amourous of a Gentleman at one inſtant, without any ſuite or motion made vnto them; And by what meanes it happened.

Vrbine a City of great antiquity.

THe Citty of *Vrbine*, is reputed to bee one of the moſt ancient Citties in all *Italy*, as may be gathered by the Books of *Pliny*, and of *Cornelius Tacitus*. It is not now aboue ſixeſcore yeares, ſince this Cittie was ſubdued by the Countes of *Ferrara*, and of thoſe Countes deſcended one, named *Otho*, who made himſelfe Duke of *Vrbine*, and who ſuffered himſelfe to be ſo ouer-ſwayed by voluptuous pleaſures: that both by power and violence, he abuſed, defloured, and violated, not onely many virgins, but likewiſe maried wiues of very worthy houſes, inferiour to none in the Citty or Dukedome of *Vrbine*, without any reſpect, eyther of conſanguinitie, Nobilitie in blood, or age. In breefe, his abuſe was generall, and his owne will euerie where followed; being accompanied with another, as bad as himſelfe, who was called the Pregnotary of *Carpa*. And therefore they were both ſlaine at one time, in a popular tumult, becauſe their inſolencies were inſupportable. Alſo, their priuy members were put into their mouths, and their naked bodies laid in the open Market place: to ſerue as an example to all other, that afterward ſhould abuſe the honeſty of weomen.

An impudent and laſciuious Prince.

A iuſt and deſerued puniſhment for ſuch leud incontinency.

This wicked Father, had yet a good Son, that ſucceeded him, named *Guydo*, who feared God, was valiant and magnanimous, and was ſo fortunate in his marriage, that his wife deſcended of the houſe of the *Colonnes*. And this Dutches (for her great vertues) was held to be the chiefeſt, both for good grace and modeſty, that liued in thoſe times. And therefore many Noble and worthy perſons, as well Men as Women, had a deſire to the houſe of this Duke of *Vrbine*, and to be of his Court. Among others, was the Lord *Gaſpar Paluoiſine*, one of the moſt valiant Gentlemen in all *Lombardie*. *Cæſar Gonzagua*, *Robert de Barry*, *Frederick Fregoſa*, who was Archbiſhop of *Salerne*. Count *Lodowicke*, who was Byſhop of *Bayeux*. The Lord *Octauian*, who was Duke of *Gennes*. *Bernardo Bibierua*, who was *Cardinall de Saint Marie aux Portiques*. The *Magnifico*, who was Duke *de Nemours*; and Great Maiſter of *Frances*. *France Maria Rouero*, who was Preſect or Bayliffe of *Rome*, and many other, not forgetting *Pietro Bembo*, who was Secretarie to Pope *Leo*.

Guydo a good Prince, & the dignity of his Court in Noble attendants.

As for Ladies and Gentle-women, it ſhall be needleſſe to name them: onelie I am to ſpeake of three, who were then in his Court, and who became all amourous (at one time) of one Gentleman, without any ſuite or ſollicitation made vnto them. By which diſcourſe, wee may perceiue the great power of Loue, and learne, not to mock or ſcorne at ſuch, as fall into the like accidents: becauſe, that all Men and Women are ſubiect thereunto, at leaſt, very few, that can tearm themſelues to be free or exempted. Becauſe I will hold the Reader no longer in ſuſpence, we will proceede to the Hiſtory.

Three Gentlewomen of the Court.

The Soueraigne power and prerogatiue of loue.

It happened on a day, that a faire and honeſt Gentlewoman, attending on the fore-ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Vrbine*; reputed to be vertuous and well aduiſed (being of the houſe of the *Vlpades* of *Florence*, Gentlemen of great Antiquity) did vſe amity towards a Gentleman of *Sienna*, attending alſo in the Duke of *Vrbines* Court. Day by day affection encreaſed, and the young Gentleman declared like correſpondency; but the meanes wanted of ſight, and conferring together. Becauſe, as euerie one verie well knoweth, that the Weomen and Maidens

The *Vlpades* of *Florence*, a houſe of great antiquity.

Women and Maids of *Italy* kept in continual ſubiection.

of *Italie*, haue (from all times of Antiquitie) beene held in great subiection.

The Gentle-woman, incited by extreamitie of passion; discouered her minde to another Woman, by whose meanes she hoped to finde some conuenient remedy. This other Gentlewoman, neither in Nobility, or in beauty, was any iot inferior to the first. Whervpon it happened, that she hearing the other speake so affectionately of the Gentleman, whom she had neuer seen, and knowing withall, that the Gentlewoman (reputed very discreete, and of good iudgement) did affect him in all extreamity: she began to imagine immediatly; that he was the very goodliest, wisest, most discreete, and absolute Gentleman, and best worthy to be beloued, before any other man in the World. And so, without hauing euer seene him likewise, she grew so strongly enamoured of him: that shee began (soone after) not for her friend; but for her selfe, to acquire and purchase his equall correspondency in loue to her. Which to do, it had beene no *Herculean* labour for her: because in very deed, she was more worthy to be sued vnto, then in her selfe to sue to any other.

But now we must lend attention to another matter, much more worthy of admiration. Within some short while after, it came to passe, that a Letter, (written by this latter Gentlewoman to her Louer) happened to the hands of a third very Noble and vertuous Ladie. Who being (as the most part of Women are) curious, and inquisitiue in the knowledge of secrets, especially of other Weomen: opened the Letter, and as she read it, she well perceiued, that it was written by one, who was ouer head and eares (as we vse to say) in extreamity of affection. For the words were set downe so graciously, and caryed such a sprightly heate in reading: that, first of all, they vrged her to compassionate the Gentle-woman, because she well knew, from whom the missiue came, and to whom it was directed. Next, they were of such force and efficacy, that laying them to her owne heart, and considering withall, what kind of man he must needes bee, that could induce this Gentle-woman to to such feruent affection: presently likewise she grew amourous of him, and the power of the Letter was as preuailing with her, euen as if it had bin sent from her selfe to the Gentleman. And, as many times it comes to passe, that poison prepared in meat for some great Lord, killeth the first that tasteth of it: so fared it with this poore Lady, who being ouer greedy, swallowed downe the amourous venome, which was prepared for another body.

What should I neede to write any more? The effect sufficiently declared it selfe. And it often falleth out, that many Ladies and Gentle-women (beside these of whom wee speake) partly to worke despight to others, and partlie to do as others do: they labour with all paine and industry, to preuent or forestall one another in their loues, sporting with their owne affections, as children doe with Cherries; til they fall into the like opinion conceiued by these Gentle-women, each of them prouing the Spurre, to the others amourous incitation.

Valentinus Barruchius, a Spaniard writeth, that a Dutchesse of *Sauoy*, became extreamely amourous of a Spanish Knight, of the Family of the *Mendozaes*; albeit shee had neuer seene him. But only heard a Sister of the said *Mendoza* (named *Isabella*) say, that in going to *Rome* on Pilgrimage for deuotion, she met the said Dutchesse (beeing an English-woman by Nation) on the way, taking the ayre for her recreation, by the Riuer of *Pau*, and seeing her, saide aloud. *O would it pleased GOD, that this Princesse and my Brother were maried together: one might then safely say, they were the most excellent couple (for beauty and perfection) that all Europe afforded.* Vpon these very words, the Dutches grew so exceedingly passionate in loue, to the Knight whom she had neuer seene: that shee feigned a sickenesse, euen to the death, making a vow, wherby she promised, that if she escaped, she would goe on foote to Saint *Iames de Compostella* in *Spaine*, onelie to winne occasion and meanes, whereby to see her beloued *Mendoza*, and so shee did. But this hypocrisie and counterfeit deuotion, had almost valued her life and honor; yea, and *Mendozaes* also. Neuertheless,

An apt similitude or comparison.

The diuers & sundry effects of Loue.

Loue is iustly tearmed to be a blind guide.

Ouer-much curiosity and enquiry, doth great harme oftentimes.

The wonderfull power & efficacy of a Letter.

The Dutches of *Sauoy* became amourous of *Don Mendoza*, a Spaniard, hauing neuer seene him.

Loue can enforce a feigned Religion, and vowes.

theleſſe, God preſerued them both in the greateſt danger, and ſuffered them to be married together, ſome few years after. But becauſe the Hiſtory is written at large in ſo many Languages; I forbeare any further relation thereof.

To conclude, it appeareth by theſe, and many other Hiſtories, that among all the moſt grieuous paſſions, which ordinarily doe beſiedge the mindes of Men and Women; Loue hath almoſt daily held the chiefeſt place. For, after he hath once faſtned hold vpon ſome generous Subiect, he purſueth the Nature of the corrupting humor, as in ſuch as haue a Feauer: which taketh his originall at the hart, and then walketh (incurably) through all the ſenſible partes of a mans body. Whereof our forerecited Hiſtories, do make ample proofe, being no leſſe admirable, then true and certaine.

Loue is the chiefeſt of all other paſſions

CHAP. XXXII.

That the change of Habits and Apparrell, taken by one people from another; hath oftentimes proued a certaine ſigne, of being foyled, rauaged, or molleſted by that Nation, whom they affected to imitate in their Garments.

HE Lord *de la Noüe*, alleageth in his learned diſcourſes, many ſignes or ſhewes, when any Eſtate tendeth to his owne ruine: drawne both from naturall thinges in Diuinitie, and ſententious ſayings, of auncient prophane Authors. Neuertheleſſe, he hath forgotten one thing, to wit; change or alteration of our wearing Garments: which hath beene heedefully obſerued, not onely in our daies, but likewiſe in all former antiquity. For, when a people tooke a fantaſticke pleaſure, to attire and cloath themſelues, after the faſhions of ſome ſtrange Nation: it fell out very often, that they were molleſted, warred vpon, yea, and ſubiected by the Nation, whom they apiſhlie imitated in their idle faſhions of Habits. We will beginne then with ſuch matters, as haue beene knowne to happen in our times.

Monſier de la Noüe, in his French diſcourſes.

Prognoſticke euents by wearing of other countrey garments.

The greater part of the *Grecians*, which dwelled in Cities, and followed the Warres, about the yeare 420. before they were made Slaues vnto the *Turkes*, they cloathed and apparrelled themſelues after the Turkiſh manner. And that which is more, they that were were wont to weare long beards, which well became them, and gaue them faire Ornaments; they would ſhaue them cleane away, except the long Muſtachioes onely, and practiſe how elſe to follow them in all their actions. As was too well noted in them of *Chalcondilla*, who likewiſe (very ſoone after) fel into their ſeruile ſubiection.

Grecians that imitated the *Turks* in their fantaſticke Garments.

The *Portugalles*, a little before they loſt their King, named *Don Sebaſtian*, who was ſlaine in *Affrica*, in a battaile giuen againſt the King of *Fez*: attired themſelues after the *Caſtillian* manner, and all the Nobleſt perſons and Courtiers, practiſed nothing more then to ſpeake *Caſtilian*; forſaking their owne natural language, which is the moſt ornate and eloquent tongue, that euer was ſpoken in all the *Spaines*. It came to paſſe, that the ſaide King *Seaaſtian*, hauing left no Succeſſour behinde him in *Portugall*: King *Phillip* of *Caſtille*, King of all the other Realmes of the *Spaines*, found himſelfe to be the neereſt in ſucceſſion, and made himſelfe King, partly by right; and partly by tetreur, as beeing a moſt potent Monarcke. And the *Portugalles* obeyed him; and (euen to this day) are vnder his commaund: notwithſtanding, the deadlie hatred borne them by the *Portugals*, for foure hundred yeare hitherto, or thereabout; albeit, that the Kingdome of *Portugall* was Feudatorie to the King of *Caſtile*.

The Portugals clothed themſelues like to *Caſtillians*.

The * *Liuonians*, a Northerne people, inhabiting not farre off from *Ruſſia* (ouer whom the Brothers, called *Porte-glaiues*, other-wiſe tearmed Knightes *Teutones* commaunded) ſome yeares before they were ſubiected by the Duke of *Moſcouia*; thoſe Knights went in Habite verie like to the *Moſconites*, greatly following them in their manners, and barbarous behauiour

* A people in a part of *Sarmatia*, very far North, beyond *Litmania*. Knights *Teutones*, or *Allemigne* Knights

of life. For they became Deceiuers, Exacters; Drunkards, went cloathed in long Gownes, making reuerence after the order of our Cowled religious Monkes, as the *Moscouites* vse to doe, in bowing or ducking their heades forward. Also, when they drinke and Baechanallize, they say, they doe it like the *Moscouites*. In breefe, it was such an ill presage for them, that within a small while afterward (which was in the year 1502.) they were ouercome in warre by the cruell *Moscouite*, and the said Knights, hauing lost such a goodly estate; were all slaine, or kept as Captiues.

The fantasticke behauiour of the *Gauls* in their apparrell.

The *Gaules* (saith *Iulius Cæsar*) when they were deuided among themselues; some wore Garments after the *Romaine* fashion; others, like the *Allemaignes*, and left the vse of their owne short habites, and long close Breeches: which prooued an indiction, that the *Gaules* were soone after reduced into a Prouince, & made subiect to the *Romains*. Then, re-conquered againe afterward (two hundred yeares, or there-about) from the *Romaines*, by the *Franconians*, a people of *Germany*.

The Iewes changing their names & garments.

The Iewes, thirty yeares before that their Countrey was whollie ruined, and they made Slaues to the Romaines, vnder the Emperours, *Titus* and *Vespatian*: imposed no other Names on their Children, but such as were Romaine, neither would they weare any Garments, but after the *Romaine* guise. Their Armes for Warre, and Souldiours Cassockes, were (in all respectes) like vnto theirs; yea, they stroue to imitate their fashions and actions very intirely: whereby they fell afterward into large expence of blood, euen throughout their whole Dominions, and neuer since could regaine their libertie.

French men apparrelled like *Spaniards*, *Rutters*, and *Suitzers*.

What may we prognosticate, by the vnhappy humours of our *French-men*, and which haue kept them company for these last forty yeares? Some going in habite like to *Spaniards*; Others after the manner of *Reistres*; And others like *Suitzers*. For well neere all our Courtiers, since the yeare 1557. as also the Youthes in Cities, Noble-men, and Souldiours for the Warres, must haue their Hats and habits for the body, meerely Spanish; Their Cloakes and Hose, like the *Reistres*, and their Haire also; Saddles for Horses, Boots, Spurs, and Armes, all made Rutter-fashion. Hath not this beene a presage, of plots, practises, and intelligences, betweene *Spaniards* and seditious *Frenchmen*, contriued against the Kingdome of *France*? Haue they not made vse of the best places in *Brittaigne*, *Champaigne*, *Piccardie*, with *Amiens*, *Dorlan*, *Calays*, and other? They tearmed *Paris* their good Cittie; there they had Garrison of *Hispaniolized French*; there they made commotion of the Estates, beside many other molestations, which they brought to the Kingdome. The chiefest French of their faction, went all in Spanish Garments, to testifie the good affection which they bare to that Nation. And the fashions of Cloaks, Doublets, hose, and other garnishments, worne by the *Suitzers*, *Reistres*, *Lansquenets*, and other *Allemaignes*, fell out to be apparant predictions, that the Kingdome should be pilled, pouled, and rauaged by them. Hath not all the Money in the Realmes Coffers been exhausted, to pay for this fond pride? I appeale to both sides, during the deuision. Nay, is it not so daily seene? I am sure it was so, within these three daies.

Affection which France very dearely paid for.

Strange disguises worne among the *Italians*.

Count *Baltazar* held opinion, that the first fashion of Garments vsed by the Italians, was a signe of libertie and freedome, as the nouell habites were a presage of seruitude, which we haue beheld to fall out verie truelie. And as one writeth, that *Darius* King of all the East, hauing the yeare before hee fought against *Alexander*, caused the Sword that he wore by his owne side, (which was a *Persian* blade) to be made after the manner of those of *Macedon*: It was interpreted by his Diuiners or Soothsayers, to signifie, that they (according to whose fashion, *Darius* had altred the forme of his Persian Sword) should come to Domineere, and be Superiours, or Lordes of *Persia*. *Euen so* (saith he) *in hauing changed our* Italian *Habits, into those of Strangers; it seemeth to me, that it should signifie, that they into whose habilliments wee haue altred ours, should come to ouer-awe vs.* Which was found to be most true, for

King *Darius* his alteration of his Sword.

to

to this day, there is ſcantly any Nation in the world, to whom *Italie* hath not been a prey.

Vegetius complaint on Roman Soldiers for leauing their ancient Armour.

It was no matter of meruall, if *Vegetius* cried out againſt the Souldiers of his time, who had lefte the waighty, yet actiue Armor of the ancient Romains, and went naked (as it were) to warre, which was the verie cauſe, that ledde them the way vnto the loſſe of many foughten battailes. For, thoſe Soldiers came at length to weare, a verie barbarous and Gothiſh kinde of furniture, far differing from the Legionaries order, that flouriſhed vnder the good Emperors, ſuch as were *Traian*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, & *Marcus Aurelius*, vnder whom, the men of warre, as well for foote as horſe, were in their ſtrength and vigour, and Armes, and Military Diſcipline, in moſt high reputation. For, in ſtead of Corſlets and Cuiraſſes of Iron or Steel, our noueliſts would weare Coats of Wool, and counter-pointed cottons, impoſing an vnvſual name on this Armor, as *Thorocomachs* or Iackes; and euen to this day, thoſe habits doe retaine that name, which ſignifieth nothing elſe, but a *Thorax* or Cuiraſſe for warre, vſed in ſtead of the Militarie Corſlet, which our Elders moſt eſteemed.

Newe names impoſed on new martiall Garments.

Thoſe chaunges of Warlicke habiliments, which the latter *Romaine* Soldiers made, beſides the loſſes which they had brought with them, ſignified alſo the perdition of the Eaſterne Empire, which the *Gothes* inuaded; for they made themſelues Lords of *Italy*, *Spaine*, and of other great Prouinces. Wherefore, I conclude (becauſe that which hath been noted by experience, ſtandeth in no neede of any other demonſtration) that the often chaunges and habits of a Nation, can declare nothing elſe, but ſome future domination, or ruine to be receyued from thoſe people, of whom they borrow the faſhion of Garments, as hath beene proued in this chapter, by ſundry examples.

The reaſon of looſing the Eaſtern Empire.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Diſcourſe on the vocation and life of S. Luke, Phyſition, Euangeliſt, & Scholler of the Apoſtles, which may ſerue as an Apologie for Phyſitions, falſly calumniated.

The Authors reaſon for writing this Chapter.

THE reaſon that moued me to write a Diſcourſe on the life of Saint *Luke*, Phiſition, Euangeliſt, and Scholler to the Apoſtles: was, in regard that a great number of people, (yea, and ſome of the Learneder ſort, reputed of the beſt aduiſed) haue beleeued and affirmed, by a certaine kinde of brute, receyued of long time from Father to the ſon, that Phyſitions giue no credit vnto God, but to Nature only. Or elſe, if they doo beleeue in him, then they think ill on the Catholick faith. I haue been many times very much amazed, from whence this ſo ſtrange an opinion ſhould ariſe, conſidering, that I haue frequented diuers Philoſophers and Phyſitians, & could neuer taſt in them any of thoſe erronious imaginations.

Ariſtotle preſuppoſed to be the Original of this error.

I thinke that this may ſeem to receiue Originall from *Ariſtotle*, by ſome that did not well vnderſtand his writing: and therefore haue not ſpared to publiſh, that he did not acknowledge any god, neither any prouidence of his, but that al things went by a naturall brandling, and the world to be either without beginning or ending. Hence is conceiued, that Phyſitions, as taking the beginning of their Art from his Bookes: do in theſe thinges wholly follow his opinions. I ſay, that it may well bee, that in ſome places of his workes, ſuch things do ſeem to be ſpoken by him: but let vs ſee the Cataſtrophe of his intention. Marke what he ſaith in his Booke of the world. *God is the engenderer and the conſeruer of al that is in this world, in what faſhion ſoeuer it bee.* And in his Metaphiſicks alſo, after he hath reiected the opinion of diuers, concerning the principles. *That man* (ſaith hee) *who hath ſaide, that God, or the Vnderſtanding, is cauſe and Author, not only of the creatures,*

Ariſt. in lib. de Mund.

Ariſtotle defended frō ſlander & calumny.

Ari in Metaph.

but of Nature it selfe, and of the world, & of all the order therein contained: seemeth to speake aduisedly, and as well awaked; but all other, rashly, and inconsiderately. And they which do thinke so, haue very wel placed that cause, to bee the beginning of all what soeuer: euen such a beginning or principle, as gaue motion to all things. And in his Booke of meruailous things, he speaketh more clearly. That Naturally the Sea would couer the earth, as beeing more high then it: but God hath kept it backe, to the end, that the earth might bee discouered, both for the vse of man, and all the Creatures.

Arist. in Lib. de Reb. Mirac.

Thus we see plainly, that *Aristotle* beleeued there was a God aboue Nature: And that the worlde had beene created, and was not eternall; and that there was a Paradise. In his Booke also of Heauen and in the ninth Chapter, he saith. Aboue the Heauens, there is neither euacuation, or time; That which abideth or dwelleth there, is subiect neither to place, to motion, to mutation, nor yet to any effection: but that there is in this vniuersall eternity, a most happy and contented life. In like manner, *Aristotle* had beene Scholler to *Plato*, who had taught and instructed him in these things.

Arist. in lib. de Coel. cap. 9.

To alledge, that *Hippocrates* might be the cause of this conceite, there doth not appeare any likely reason: because al that he re commendeth to his Disciples, is to call vpon God, and to exercise Charitie towards the sicke. As may be seene in his Booke, *Of Conuenable, decent, and honest comportement in a Physition*. And in the protestation and Oath which he maketh that day, when hee goeth to exercise his Art, which was performed before an infinite number of men, within the temple of *Apollo*, and in a solemn Sacrifice. This he caused his Schollers to do, so long as he liued: which I am the more willing to set downe, word by word, according as it is set downe by himselfe, at the beginning of his Workes, in this manner:

Hippocrates beleeued that there was a God.

The Protestation and oath made by *Hippocrates* & his Schollers.

I sweare by Apollo, Physition, Æsculapius, Hygea, Panacea, and by al the other Goddes: and I cal all the Goddesses to vvitnesse, that with al my power, and so long as I shal liue, I wil keepe this protestation and Oath which I make, deliuering it in writing presently, sincerely, and as becommeth an honest man, to wit; that he who hath taught me the Art of Physicke, I wil respect & honor him as my Father; and that I will lay downe my life for him, and assist him with al my meanes in his necessities. I wil keep and regard his Children as mine owne: and if they bee willing to bee enstructed in this Art, I wil do it in meere gratuity. In like manner, I wil not hide any iot of all that I know, from such Schollers as I shal stand obliged to teach. Ouer and aboue what hath beene saide, I make thereto this Addition more.

A further addition to the Oath & Protestation.

Concerning due respect, of gouerning & healing the diseased by diet or otherwise, I will appoint such vnto them, as I shal deeme necessarie for their health, hindering by all my vtmost, that they shal not fal into inconuenience by them. I wil neuer suffer my self to be perswaded, by the procurement of whosoeuer, to impoyson any one by anie meanes, much lesse, giue any aduise whereby it may be done. Likewise, I will neuer giue any Pessary, Suppositorie, or other medicament, to cause abortiueneese in any vvoman: but wil liue heerin holily, and exercising my Art vertuously. I wil neuer make any essay, to fetch stones out of the bladder: but leaue that worke to be done, by such as are experienced in that Arte. Al houses that I shall enter into, or be called for my helpe, I will not go, except it may be for their profit, keeping alwayes my will and body chast, vsing secrecie and silence in al things that are not honest, or fit to be vttered. Graunt then O you Goddes, that so long as I shal keep this Oath and Protestation, I may happily (and with your blessing) prosper in mine Art towards all men. And doing the contrary, that I may be iustlie punnished.

The Prayer or imprecation vnto the Goddes.

This was the manner of his protestation: Nay, he did very well beside; for, in the first Booke of his Prognostickes, he giueth especiall aduertisement to a Physition, to bee verie carefull, that the sickenesse do not sauor of any Diuine cause: that is to say, some extraordinary matter sent from God, to punish men for their sinnes; or whether it followeth the common course of Nature. I am of the mind, that whosoeuer readeth these thinges, will neuer tearme *Hippocrates* to be an Atheist, much lesse, a wicked man. And therefore, such men as shall read his Books, can learn nothing in them, but how to liue as becommeth good people, and faithfully to exercise the Art of Physicke.

Hip. in lib. 1 de Prog. Cap. 5.

That they should learne Atheisme of *Galen*, is altogether false: for he beleeued in

Gal. in lib. 3. de vsu part. Hom.

in one God, and rendereth thankes vnto him for his admirable works, in the third Booke of the vse of the partes of our humain bodies; & these are his very words. *Heere will I compose a true Song, in the honor of our Creator: for, I doe perswade my selfe, that it is truly such seruice as he requireth. Not that I should Sacrifice Buls vnto him by hundreds, or burne Incense on heaps before him: but that I should knowe, and make knowne to others; what, and howe great is his wisedome, power, and goodnesse. I hold, that this is a demonstration of a perfect goodnesse; & therefore ought his goodnesse to bee celebrated for euer, for hauing found the maner how things becam so richly embellished. This sheweth a soueraign wisedome, in accomplishing and perfecting all things, which he had formerly destinied & ordained. And a might and power that cannot any way be surmounted.*

Galen Sung a Song to the glory and honor of God.

Galen in lib. 11 de vsu part.

In the seuenteenth chapter of the said Booke. *Whosoeuer* (saith he) *shal consider, the structure and composition of euery creature, will finde, that therein is contained a proofe of the Creators wisedome. Seeing then, that in the middest of this receptacle of humours, a soule dwelleth in euerie one, which hath so many vertues: by much greater reason, let him admire the woorth and excellency of that Vnderstanding which abideth in Heauen.* In the fifteenth Chapter also. *I confesse* (saith he) *that I do not know what the Soule is, although I haue searched very diligently for it. Neither know I which way to yeelde a reason how an Infant is forused. But I verie wel perceiue, that in this verie cause, there is great Art and wonderful wisedome. And therefore, I am of the minde, that no man shoulde meddle in the search thereof; but let it suffice vs, that our Creator pleased, thinges should bee in that manner. For in such cases, which (but by Anatomie) wee neuer knew to be made, shal we dare to contest, and seek by what reason they haue beene made?* That is, as if hee would haue saide, Nature whom we doe admire so much, is nothing els, but what it hath pleased God to command. These words also, do not relliſh of an Atheist; but of him that beleeued in one onelie God, and honoured and admired him in his workes.

Gal. in lib. supra dict. Cap. 17.

An excellent and woorthy resolution in *Galen.*

What nature is.

I make no doubt, of any Obiection to be made, in reprooving *Moyses* and the Christians, in saying; that God is omnipotent or Almighty: and that if he pleased, he could suddenly of a stone, make a man, or of ashes, a horse. Himselfe aunswereth: *Nature is not wont to make anie such things; and God maketh nothing, but by the common order of Nature which hee hath instituted.* And such was the opinion of *Plato*, cõcording with his. This ought to bee taken, as comming from a Philosopher that beleeued in God: Neuertheless, not as yet instructed in the Law, as well of the Olde as New Testaments. And it is not to be doubted, but that all the Grecian Physitions (before and after *Hippocrates* and *Galen*) did scarsely know, reuerence, and worship God according as he is described in the holy Scriptures. Notwithstanding, since *Galen*, who liued in the yeare of Iesus Christ, one hundred thirtie eight: all the Grecian Physitions haue beene Christians: as *Paulus Egineta*, *Alexander*, *Trallianus*, *Actuarius*, *Nicholaus Myrepsicus*, and othe s. Now becausse there were two Sectes of principall Physitions, to wit; *Greeks & Arabes*, we hauing alredy proued the *Grecians* to be men of honesty, and to haue in them both the knowledge and feare of GOD. Let vs now see, if the *Arabes* (all saide to be of the *Sarazin* and *Mahomet* Religion) did not beleeue in God. And we will begin with *Mesuus*, who liued about the yeare, 1045. at such time as *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, was King of *Ierusalem*. He composed three Bookes of Physicke; and in his Preface before them, hee beginneth thus, in these verie words.

All did not know God aright.

Physitions among the *Grecians* that wer Christians.

In the name of the mercifull God (by the grace of whom, these Words & writings receiue Grace, and their Doctrine perfection) these workes and writings are begunne by Iohn, *the Sonne of* Mesuus, *the Sonne of* Hamech, *the Sonne of* Hely, *the Sonne of* Abdela, *King of* Damas. *And* Auicenne, *who liued in the time of* Almerick, *Brother to* Baldwine *King of* Ierusalem, *& of* Frederick Barbarossa, *Emperor in the VVest; and of* Emanuell *Emperor in the East, in the yeare*, 1165. *Before all things* (saith he) *I would render praise and thankes to God, according as the Greatnesse of his Maiestie, and the merit of his benefits requireth: the mercie of whome, exceedeth that of all the Prophets.* Then in the end of the chapter, he further saith: *May it please God, to grant mee life and time, for the finishing of this Booke, I wil take paines to compose others.* The like hath been done by diuers other

Mesuus in Pre.

Physitions among the Arabians that beleeued in God.

Mesuu in fin. Præfat. Prædic.

Obiection.

Physi

Physityons; as *Hamech*, *Novius*, *Almansor*, *Zachary*, *Rasis*, and others. I am sure they will not obiect *Auerroes* vnto mee, who approued not the *Mahumetists* Law (as being full of groseneſſe and vices, viz: Whoredomes, Theftes, and ſuch like) neither that of the Chriſtians: but was altogether *Ariſtotelian*, as may be noted in his third Booke of the ſoule, which hee wrote vppon *Ariſtotle*. And thereby may be gathered, that he knew one God, and him to be the Creator of all things.

Auerroes in lib. 3. de Anim.

Well then, concerning the other detection, that if they are not Atheiſts; yet they are not found in faith, which ſhould ſeeme to enſue: becauſe they are not ſuperſtitious, neither do giue credite to ſo many fooliſh ſuperſtitions, wherein the people repoſe too much beleefe. As for example; to gueſſe how great the ſole of the left foot is, of him that hath the oppilation of the Spleen, or the Feauer Quartaine; the rinde of a Walnut gathered before day, wil help him. Alſo, to write the word *Ioannes* vpon a Bay-leafe, and then lay it vppon the fore-head of him or her whoſoeuer, that hath the Head-ache, and it is a preſent helpe.

That Phyſitions are not found in faith

Superſtitious belief in ſome people.

The ancient Græcians, inſtead of *Ioannes*, vſed to write *Atenea*, ſo ſaith *Plinny*. Antiquitie alſo beleeued, that a man (offended with the palſy) holding a green Frogge in his healthfull hand, and ſpeaking the word *Apollo* three ſeuerall times, it would reſtore him. Some haue written that by writing in a little Paper, theſe two barbarous words, *Abra*, *Cadabra*, and to ſpeake them backeward, beginning with the latter Letters, and ſo going on, it is an infallible helpe for the Quartaine Ague. Phyſitions, becauſe they would not credit ſuch fables, were reputed but badlie addicted to the faith of thoſe times. And ſome Phyſitions, not to incurre ſo vile reputation, either of the times paſſed before, or preſent: haue beene conſtrained to auouch ſuch ſuperſtitions, as *Alexander Trallianus*, who writeth; that if a man did beare about him this verſe of *Homer*, *Orbis terreque tremor*, it would cure him of all Gouts.

Plin. in lib. 22. cap. 14.

Idle and vain opinions, for curing ſome diſeaſes.

Cardanus, a great Phyloſopher and Phiſition, recounteth things much more abſurd, only becauſe hee would not bee thought incredulous. All theſe thinges, and others of like Nature, haue not only bin reproued by learned Phyſitions; but likewiſe by catholick Diuines, euer ſince the Primitiue Church.

Cardanus, a moſt learned Phiſition.

Now, for as much as Religion is one of the cheefeſt Vertues, which conſiſteth in the middeſt of two extreame vices, to wit; Atheiſme and Superſtition; and in regard that Phyſitions are neither Atheiſtes, nor ſuperſtitious, as euery one well knoweth, and as I haue already proued: it followeth then, that they are Religious, and full of piety.

The Authors argument, which he alloweth for good

There was ſomtime a Phiſition (whoſe name I could not eaſily attain vnto) that builded a goodly Temple, in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, in the ſame place wher *Babylon* ſtood in Egypt; and not farre off from where the Graund *Caire* ſtandeth at this preſent, there being now but a verie ſmall Village. Vnder this Temple, there is a Vault, wherein (as ſome haue thought) ſhee hid her Sonne *Ieſus*, when he was ſought for by *Herod* to be murdered.

Bel. in l. 2. ca. 38

Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie, writeth; that a Phyſition, named *Alexander*, a Natiue in *Friſia*, highly beloued and eſteemed of euerie one, for beeing Religious, prudent, vertuous, and inriched with all good manners, in the perſecution vnder the Emperor *Seuerus*, as they were leading Chriſtian priſoners before the Iudges Tribunall at *Lyons*, to vnderſtand whether they would perſiſt, or denie their Chriſtianity; hee made a ſigne to them with his head ſecretly (in the beſt maner he could deuiſe) that they ſhould continue conſtant in their Faith. The Guards and people ſtanding by, hauing perceiued it, accuſed him immediately; whereupon, he was martyred, and indured the torments long and conſtantly, euen to his lateſt gaſpe of life. If I would, I could alledge many others: but I am forced to leaue them, for feare of being too prolixe. Yet let me remember *Porphyrius*, who liued in the yeare, 224. a cruell enemy vnto the Chriſtians (yet eſteemed the moſt Learned Phyloſopher of thoſe times. Hee ſcorned and mocked many Phyſitions then with him, becauſe they had left Paganiſme, and embraced Chriſtianity: but *Origen* aunſwered him ſo well, that he ſtopt his mouth from further deprauing.

Euſ. in Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 5. ca. 3.

Alexander, a worthy Phiſition & Martyr.

Porphyrius the Apoſtata.

Meſsire Angelo Cattho, who was firſt in ſeruice with *Charls* Duke of *Bourgogne*; and after that, entertained by *Lewes*, eleuenth

M. Angelo Cattho, a Prophetical Phiſition

uenth of that Name, King of *France*, being a Phyſition well learned in the Mathematickes, becam afterward (in regard of his good life & great deuotion) Arch-Byſhop of *Vienna Gauloiſe*. Ouer and beſide his deepe knowledge, hee hadde the guift of Propheſie: for hee foretolde the ſaide Duke, of the battailes which he loſt againſt the *Suiſſes*, and in the end, the manner of his death, according as it happened afterward; which was the cauſe that he left the ſaide Dukes Court. For on a day, as Maſſe was celebrating before K. *Lewes*, in the Church of Saint *Martin* at *Tours* (diſtant from the Towne of *Nancy* ten good dayes iourney at the leſt, which Towne the Duke had then beſieged) hee offering the King the *Pax* to kiſſe, becauſe he ſerued that day as *Almoner*, hee vttered theſe wordes: *The Lord God hath giuen you peace and repoſe, & you may haue it if you will. For, your enemie the Duke of Bourgogne, is a dead man: hee commeth to be ſlaine, and his Army diſcomfited.* The day and inſtant was iuſtly obſerued, the King ſent, and it was found to bee verie true.

A prediction concerning the death of the Duke of *Bourgogne*.

He foretold likewiſe many other things to diuers great and honourable perſonages, which accordingly came to paſſe. And ordinarily, Phyſitions do gather by obſeruation, ſome preſaging of the day and houre, of the health or death of the ſicke patient; which enſueth not ſo much by their Art, as the ſpeciall grace of God giuen them, in regard of their pietie and firm faith in him, hauing continually the admirable prouidence of GOD before their eyes, being mainly thereto incited by their Art.

Phyſitions skill in life or death of their Pacients.

Marcilius Phicinus the *Florentine*, a Phyloſopher, and reputed to bee one of the moſt learned men, that liued after *Ariſtotle* and *Galen*. He was a Prieſt full of ſanctity, and publiſhed manie Bookes, which ſerue for the benefite of health. Alſo, he Commented vpon *Plato*, whom he made to ſpeake Chriſtianly: he liued in the yeare, 1475. *Petrus Belonius*, a Frenchman, and Phyſition in the Cittie of *Mans*, in meere deuotion made a voyage to *Ieruſalem*, which was troubleſom, long, and full of many difficulties. But it may be obiected to me, that many Phyſions of our time, haue withdrawn themſelues from the Catholicke Romaine Church.

Marcillus Phicinus, a lerned Florentine.

Petrus Belloni-us a deuoute Phyſition.

I anſwere, ſome haue done, but very few: and a great part of people, of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *England*, *Fraree*, of the *Suiſſes*, & diuers Prelates alſo, yea, Kings, Queenes, and Princeſſes, haue done as much, as ſeeking for their ſoules ſaluation; and perſwading themſelues to doo well therein; in which caſe, we muſt referre them to God, the onely ſearcher of the heart and Reines, and that diſpoſeth of all things, as ſeemeth beſt to his diuine wiſedome. But that this hath beene perticuler to Phyſitions, more then to anie other, I flatly deny.

Of leauing the Romaine Church.

Some will alledge *Rabelais* vnto mee, an excellent Phyſition, who is thought one while to ſpeake like an Atheiſt; another while like a Lutherian. I anſwere, that it is a difficult matter to iudg in ſuch caſes, and to comprehend a mans intention: eſpecially, in ſuch people as haue no knowledge, neither any ſolide iudgement. But they that looke vppon him a little neerer, ſhall find, that he is a *Democritus*, laughing at all our humaine actions. Or a *Lucian*, who maketh a mockery of ſuch abuſes, as daily are committed among men: but he medleth not with any thing, which toucheth the Apoſtolicall Church. Neuertheleſſe, I am of opinion, that, for the better orders ſake; and in regarde of ſuch obſcuritie in conceiuing his intention, that he ſhould bee neither read, nor receiued; for ſo he was cenſured by the Counſell of Trent. But as for the laſt Booke that is added among his woorkes, which is entitled *L'Iſle Sonnante*; and ſeemeth (indeede) to blame and mocke at men, bearing office in the Church: I proteſt, that he neuer compoſed it, for it was made a long while after his death. I my ſelfe was at *Paris* when it was done, and I knew very well the Author thereof, who neuer was any Phyſition.

Diuers opinions, concerning the book of *Rabelais*.

The Book of the ſounding Iſland.

Let vs nowe come to Saint *Luke*, the Phyſition and Euangeliſt: God pleaſed to make vſe of his ſeruice, in writing the life and actions of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, according as he heard them declared by the Apoſtles & Diſciples, who had ſeene him and them; as alſo the things hapning after his reſurrection, by hauing ſeene them, which none of the other Euangeliſts had done. For, but by him, the Aſcenſion had beene vnknowne to vs; the deſcent of the Holy-Ghoſt, vpon the Apoſtles

Concerning S. *Luke*, Phyſition, & Euangeliſt.

S.Luke wrote more then all the other Euangeliſts.

poſtles and Diſciples; the variety of tongues which they ſpake; their eloquence and great knowledge. The teſtimonie of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Ieſus which they preached before euerie one, without any feare. Their impriſonments, their myraculous deliuerances The conuerſion of S. *Paule*, his actions, his myracles, and of ſome other of the Apoſtles. His Voyages and ſufferinges, euen vntill he was brought to *Rome*, there to bee put to death, which he neuer gainſayed. Som do hold that *Luke* was conuerted by him, hauing conferred with him; and hauing obſerued in his myracles, the great Vertue of God. And it ſeemeth, that he was the rather made choiſe of, to be Notarie and Secretary of the New-Teſtament, as being more apt to that vocation, then any other, to the end, that his Writinges might be the better receyued and credited.

S. Luke elected to bee the Secretarie of the New-Teſtament.

There is great modeſty acknowledged in him, becauſe (doubtleſſe) he did performe ſome miracles, as well as the other; and yet he neuer ſpeaketh of them.

The great modeſtie in S. *Luke*.

He diſputed at *Athens* againſt the Phyloſophers, with S. *Paul*, where many were conuerted; and among other, S. *Dioniſius Areopagita*, &c.

Acts 17, 34.

He wrote in the *Greek* tongue, which he ſeemed rather to haue by the guift of the bleſſed Spirit, then by his ſtudies: for his mother tongue was in *Syraque*, as being borne and brought vp in *Antioche*. He was briefe, but very intelligible in his writings. In ſumme, the whole Church oweth him much obligation, in regard of his woorkes: for, they haue ſerued, and ſhall do, to confirm many in the Chriſtian faith.

Coloſ. 4, 14. 2 Tim. 4, 11.

S. *Hierom* rankeneth him in number of Virgins; and that he liued foureſcore and foure yeares, dying in *Bythinia*, *Titus* being Emperour. I wold gladly giue aduiſe by this diſcourſe, that heereafter none ſhould exprobrate againſt the Phyſitions, that either they are Religion leſſe, or conceite ill of our faith, which we haue approued to be falſe by our former relation.

The Authors aduiſe in concluſion.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

Of the great Prouince of Moſcouia. As alſo the Manners, Religion, and power of the Prince, ruling ouer that people.

NOw as the more willingly induced, to make a perticuler Chapter, for deſcription of the country of *Moſcouia*, the peoples Manners, Religion, and power of their Prince: becauſe very manie, inhabiting in our neerer regions, are ignoraunt thereof, the men of thoſe parts hauing ſo ſmall frequentation with vs. Neuertheleſſe, it is the terror of *Poland*, yea, to all *Germany*, as much or rather more, then the Turke; as *Laurentius Surius* the *Germaine* giueth aſſurance: for within few yeares, they haue Conquered all *Liuonia*, and other great Prouinces.

The *Moſcouits* are a dreadful Nation.

Moſcouia, is a verie large Northerlie Region, containing very neere fiue hundered leagues in length. The principall Cittie therof being called *Moſca*, or *Moſcuua*, greater then the Cittie *Paris* in *France*, and ſeated on the Riuer of *Moſqua*. There was wont to be a large ſquared ſtone, in the middeſt of the Market place belonging to the Cittie; whereon whoſoeuer could firſt mount himſelfe (in vacancie of the Crowne) without beating down, he was held as Prince of the countrey, and obtained the principality. The Inhabitants haue had great fightes and combates, each againſt other, about the prioritie of mounting on that ſtone. He that comes to be Prince of the countrey, cannot call himſelfe King, but Duke; being contented with that popular Name, and differeth not in his Garmentes from other Noblemen of the Land; ſaue onlie that he weareth a higher Bonnet on his head.

The greatnes of *Moſcouia*.

A ſtrange election of the D. of *Moſcouia*

It is a Countrey rich in Siluer, and ſo ſtrongly guarded thoroughout, that not onely their owne people, but ſtranngers likewiſe, can paſſe away without the Princes Letters. The Countrey is flat and

Concerning the Country, flat, Plainy, & not mountainie.

Store of beasts skinnes.

and plaine, without any Mountaines: therefore, that which is saide of the *Kyphæan* Mountaines, and that they are in this Countrey, are meerely fabulous, for there is no such Hill at all. There are great store of Forrests, abounding with wilde Beasts, which are daily chased: and great profit is made (by Traffick) for the skinnes of those Beastes; as of Hartes, Wolues, Ermines, Martines, *Zubelines*, *Fouoynes*, and diuers other of great value and worth.

The countries confines

This Prouince, confineth *Liuonia* on the one side, *Tartaria* on the other; and on the thirde quarter it hath the *Euxine* Sea. It containeth many Prouinces in it, so that the Prince can (in very fewe dayes) leaue four hundred thousand men on foote, to beginne warre withall. They drinke nothing but a kinde of Beere; and yet none but the rich may drinke thereof: for they haue no Wine, but what is brought from other Countreyes. They be subiect vnto drunkennesse, as al Northerly people are: and Winter is there so sharpe, long, and extreame, that if water be but sprinkled or cast vppe into the Ayre, it freezeth before it can fall to the earth.

Men readie for the warre.

Long & sharp Winter.

Their Drink and Corne.

Their Corne neuer perfectly ripens, but when they haue reaped it, they dry it in their Stoues or Hotte-houses. The Spring is verie cold with them, and their Summer, which lasteth but two months onely, is extreamly hot. They haue not any vse of monies; but in stead thereof, they haue Plates of Gold or Siluer, squared, without any marke or stampe thereon, which are taken in Merchandize, forasmuch as they waigh. As for their Garments, they go cloathed like Turkes, in long Gownes or Robes, hauing narrow sleeues, and guirded about the middle. Their buildings and manner of life, doo differ verie little from theirs of *Poland* & *Bohemia*. They are Christians like vnto the Greeks, receiuing order of Priesthood, from the Patriarche of *Constantinople*, saying seruice (in their Temples) in their vulgar tongue, which is the *Sclauonian* Language, and their Carracters are Greeke.

Their Spring & Summer.

Their money.

Their Garments.

Their buildings, life, and Religion.

The Court or abiding of the Prince.

The abyding of the Prince, is in a goodly great Pallace, in the City of *Moscua*, built after the *Italian* manner; being so strong and spacious, as (in our times) the like hath not beene seene. There are in the fore-named Citie, as also in diuers other places, men verie learned and wise; whose retirement is where the Schooles are kept.

The Moscouite tributary to the Tartar

The *Moscouite* is Tributarie vnto the King of *Tartaria*, who ouercame them in the yeare of the world, 6745. acording as their Annals doe testifie. For, their Chronicles are not after our obseruation, in accounting by the yeares of Iesus Christ. When the *Tartarian* Ambassadors are sent to the *Moscouite* Princes he standeth vp on his feet, and bare-headed before them, and they sit couered. Hee hath (wel-neere) daily warres against the *Polonians* and *Scythians*, who albeit they are subiects to other Kings, yet doth hee much inlarge his dominions ouer them.

Plenty of fish in Riuers.

The Country is very plentiful in Fish, by the goodly and great Riuers which runne along thorough it, wherein they haue their breeding: As *Oxos*, *Drunus*, and *Borysthenes*, which is also called *Depnerus*. There is great store of Pasture grounds; all kinde of Oxen, Kine, and such like Beasts, as also Horses & Mares; but of slender corpulenee and lean. They haue not any sweete fruites growing among them, except it be Cherries: neyther is there any fruits to make Oyle of, as of Oliues, Walnuts, Filbeardes, Almonds, and such like. But all kindes of Pulse are there in abundance, and Corne that they make bread of. The verie best haruest which they haue or gather, consisteth in waxe and Honie, by meanes of their Bees, which do not make their abiding in Hiues, but in hollow Trees in the Forrestes, in wonderfull great plentifulnesse.

Pasture ground, and Cattle.

Fruits, Pulse, and Corne.

Wax & Hony in great plentie.

Countreyes won to Christianity.

The Prince in all such Countries as he conquereth from the *Scythians*, compelleth them to become Christians; so that the last Prince *Iohn* (within the space of threescore yeares) won many Countreyes from them: as *Perne*, *Corela*, *Perusca*, *Iura*, *Cetiremisa*, *Baacquid*, and many other Idolaterous people, whom hee constrained to receiue Baptism. He gaue them also a Byshoppe, named *Stephen*, whom those barbarous wretches flayed aliue, after the saide Prince was gone forth of their Countrey. But when he hard tydings thereof, he returned againe vpon them; and causing them to feel the rigour of his warre, they were gladde to continue Christians. They haue Poasts

Stephen a Byshop martired

Swift Poastes.

or swift Curriers in *Moscouia*, which rid more way, and in shorter time, then is doone amongst vs: although their Horses are verie badly bredde, and small of bodie.

These Princes, in former times, contented themselus with the name of Duke only, vntill the dayes of his Father nowe raigning, who vsurped the name of King, giuing himself great Titles in his patents, which continued to his Son succeeding him, in manner following. *The Great Lord Basilius, Great Duke of Volodimeria, Moscouia, Nouogardia, Plescouia, Sureluchia, Tuneria, Iugaria, Permia, Vraquia, Bulgaria*; Great Lorde and Duke of the Lands in *Nouagardia* the lower, of *Geruigonia, Rezania, Volotia, Riscouia, Belloya, Iaroslania, Bierosolia, Vdoria, Obdoria, Condidia, &c.* By which large pluralitie of Names, and of so manie Seigneuries, it appeareth, that he is farre more potent, then some haue imagined him to be. But concerning his keeping himselfe in vassalage to the Great King of *Tartaria*, hee should hold it no dishonor to him, for he hath this end in it. While hee keepeth peace with him, he reduceth much more easily vnder his obedience, all the neere neighbouring people and territories: & with the power of the Great *Tartarre*, he is ten times stronger then of himself. For the mightie *Tartarre*, bringeth ordinarily, a million of men with him to the field, all well appointed for warre, with two or three hundered pieces of Cannon, and 300000. Horse.

The King of *Moscouiaes* Titles.

The policy of the *Moscouite*, in being Tributarie to the *Tartar*.

He hath beene Tributary, euer since the yeare, one thousand two hundered, when *Baty* King of the *Tartarres*, an Idolater in Religion, subdued, wasted, and pilled a great part of Christian *Europe*, with an Army of a Million of men. Euen then, when Pope *Innocent*, fourth of that name, sent verie Learned and Religious men towardes *Baty*; with entreatance, to deport himselfe from any further mollestation of the Christians; and that himselfe would become a Christian. Shewing him withall, that the Sunne and the Moone which he adored, were onely but Creatures of God, subiect to mutation, and must haue an ending. He gaue consent to truce for fiue yeares, promising; *That thenceforward, he would do no more displeasure vnto Christians; and that hee had a desire to bee enstructed in Christian Religion.*

Howe long since hee became tributary

A humain answer of the K. of *Tartaria*.

The Popes Ambassadors, being verie ioyfull of this successe, made haste homeward, in hope to returne againe speedily. But they were no sooner departed, but others were sent thither from the Sultan of Egypt, Mahometanes, who disswaded the well-minded Prince, not to lend any eare to Christians, but much lesse to imbrace their Religion, full of many superstitions. For, they told him, it contained prohibition, from vsing certaine meates at certaine times, and commaunded Fasting, Chastitie, continency, and other laborious matters. It rather fitted him, to accept and receiue into his countries, the Mahumetist Religion, full of al pleasures and contentments. Whereby it was lawfull for him, to admit as manie Weomen as men to his bed, as himselfe best liked; and euerie one was allowed, (without any diffrence) to vse such meats as his appetite required.

Good intentions do often meete with bad preuentions.

In the end, *Baty* suffering himselfe to be swallowed vppe in the Gulphe of all Libertie and Voluptuous desires, receyued immediately the Mahometane Law. So did the most part of his Subiects, by his example; and which they did and do keepe it to this present day. I am sorry to write, what I heare from such, as haue & do frequent those Countreyes, to witte: that the King or *Precop* at this time, accommodateth himselfe to al kinds of Religion. For, with Christians, he wil Christianize; with Iewes, he will Iudaize; and with Idolaters, carrie himselfe in like maner: but commonly, hee is more Mahometan then any other, louing euery one with his Religion.

The *Tartarian* King yeildeth to become a Mahumetists.

The Tartares vse all Religions.

This *Baty*, the *Tartarian* King, hauing dealt like *Paris* the *Troyan*, who loued carnall delights, better then all Heauenly wisedom, died within a short while after, hauing then great store of Ciuill Warres in his Kingdome. During which time, the Tartarres (who were distributed among the Prouinces in Garrisons) retired themselues, as willing to take part in those Ciuill Warres, and so were called from one place to another, still to yeeld their assistance. By which meanes, diuers of the Prouinces, seeing themselues free without Gouernours, and cleare from Garrisons of their enemies, returned againe to their former libertie; and (aboue all other) of the *Moscouites*.

The death of *Baty* King of *Tartaria*.

But

Liberty is the onely ground of disobedience.

But within some yeares afterward, perceiuing the *Tartarian* Ciuill VVarres to be ended, and no more Kings commanding but one, as before had doone: fearing to be reuisited again by the *Tartars*, they yeelded themselues backe againe as their Tributaries; but yet with condition, that they should obserue Christian Religion.

No Metals in *Moscouia*.

There groweth not any Mettall in *Moscouia*, how vile or base soeuer it be; no not so much as Iron, or Quarries of stone: whatsoeuer Mettalles, Iewelles, or Stones they haue, is brought thither from straunge Countreyes, wherewith the VVeomen decke themselues, and make pendants of them to hang in their eares.

Wholesome Ayre free frō Pestilence.

The Ayre is verie healthfull, neuer engendering any Pest, or contagious diseases. Thus you may discerne in these few words, what I could collect concerning this Countrey, which is no vnusual distance from vs: but may well serue to acquaint the Reader, (that is not versed or seene in Cosmography, neyther hath trauailed) both what the Country is, and the people.

CHAP. XXXV.

¶ *Concerning those clauses, inserted by the Romaine Emperors in their Edicts, to wit*; Such is Our pleasure; *And*, Of Our Owne meere motion.

Many Emperors haue bin Tyrants.

WEe finde it recorded, that manie tirant Emperors, made diuers vnaduised Edictes, which redounded to great detriment of the Common-wealth. And becausse they woulde not haue them passe by the Senate, they make addtions of these words or Clauses: *Such is Our pleasure*: Or, *Being done by Our meere motion*. A thing contrary to their Oath: howbeit, that those inserted words, are the true markes of a Soueraigne Prince.

Mark Anthony tearming himselfe Emperour of the East, sent by expresse wordes, and without delay, that a like imposition should be leauied, as hee had caussed to bee done the same yeare before, which was insupportable. And albeit the Prouinces and Cities sent vnto him, to shew him the indigence and pouertie of the Country, as well thorow barrennesse of the grounds, as in regard of the wars, which had preceeded in the passed years. And that if it so fell out, that hee would needes impose such a tax vpon the people, yet to let it be done in such manner, as they might haue two Harueستes, and two Vintages: Neuertheless, in this matter, hee would haue no other aduise but his owne, and saide; *It was His Will, that it should be raised vpon the people, for such was His pleasure*. This Patent was the cause of the perdition of his estate, and of his life also.

Plutarch. in vit Mar. Ant.

M. Anthonie by his Edicts lost both his State & life.

Theodosius, a Christian Emperor, commaunded by Edict, that so manie of the *Thessalians* as could be found, should bee slaine and massacred; and sent Men of warre, to execute the same in *Thessalie*, whereuppon (in two or three dayes) seauen or eight thousand was put to death. And these were the words in the patents; *Such is My Will, and of Mine owne proper motion*. Nay, a much greater murthering had beene committed, if Saint *Ambrose* (who liued then) by holy and learned documents had not stayed it. But afterward he made another Edict, whereby he willed, that if he sent to command the death of any one, the matter should rest vppon intermission, for the spaee of thirty daies before execution, and heartily repented him for the former offence. I could easily alledge many other Histories, which are full of such Edicts proceeding from the meere motion of Princes, & contrary to the lawes of Nature; but they wold require too long a space, being irkesome also to the Reader, when he perceyueth, what discommoditie they haue brought to Kingdomes, causing their total ruine, and the Princes also.

Theodosius made an Edict against Nature.

Repentance & reuocation of vniust Edicts.

The Kings of *France*, hauing more power ouer their people, then euer the Emperors in those times had, wold yet insert this clause. Neuertheless, it was neuer known, that they made any edicts against nature, albeit, against ciuil lawes and customs of the kingdom, thorow il counsel,

The Kings of France, greater soueraigns then the Emperors.

and not of their owne proper motion. King *Lewes* the eleauenth (dissembling vnto the vttermost) made some Edictes which were vniust, and contrarie to the ancient Lawes of the Realme of *France*. The Court of Parliament at *Paris*, refused the publication of them; althogh they had receyued expresse command (twice or thrice) from his Maiesty, euen so farre as menaces to the losse of their liues. The President *Lauacrte*, accompanied with a number of the Counsell (attired in their Parliament Robes) went to attend the King, shewing him the iniquity of his Edicts, and what threatnings he had sent to the Court. He beholding the Port, grauitie and dignitie of the men, who would forgo their honours, their seuerall charges, yea, and loose their liues rather then verifye such Edicts as he hadde sent them, was not a little amazed. But redoubling the authoritie of Parliament, he tore the Edicts in pieces before their faces, entreating them to continue on stil in doing Iustice; and sware vnto them beside, that he would neuer more vrge any Edict, which should not be both iust and reasonable.

Lewes the 11. reuoked his Edicts, & vpon what reason.

This was an acte of very great importance, to maintaine the King in obedience of reason, who had alwaies before, vsed absolute power. And at the time when he was but *Dauphine* of *France*, he sent for the Presidents of the Court, and saide vnto them: that they shoulde blot out the clause of expresse commaunde) which the Court had set downe, as verification of the priuiledges graunted vnto the Count *du Mayne*. Otherwise, that he would not depart out of *Paris*, except it were done; and that they shoulde leaue the Commission which the King had giuen them.

Lewes the 11. somwhat opinitiue and headstrong

The Court ordained, that the wordes should be defaced. But because it might be seene, what was rased, they appointed; that the Register should be kept; and the same is yet to bee seene, in what order it was ordained, in the date of the twentie eight of Iuly, one thousand four hundred forty three.

According to the example of that good President, and the Counsellers assisting him; all other Magistrates ought to do the like vppon new Edicts, which tend to nothing else, but to the grinding of the people and the Common-wealth.

The dutie of good & faithful Magistrats

But not to alter auncient Lawes or Customes, long before enacted and published, because a Magistrate that is allowed, taketh Oath, strictly to obserue the ordinances already confirmed. But in the case of Nouelties, that appeare vnworthy of any embracing, he should vse remonstrances to the Prince and importune him so much as possibly he may vntill he bee reduced to reason. Which was well put in practise, by the Chancellor to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who wold not passe or seale any vniust commaund: but declaring the matter to the Duke, offered resignation of the Seale, rather then he would bee forsworne in his Office.

The Chancellor to *Phillip* Duke of *Bourgogne*.

The Duke beholding the constancie of his Chancellour, reuoked the Edict. And oftentimes, this firmenesse & constancie in a Magistrate, preserueth the honor of the Prince, & maintaineth the Commonwealth in her greatnesse, when she standeth supported vpright by Naturall equity.

The *Ptolomeyes*, successour vnto him that was Kinsman to *Alexander* the great (I meane not heere to speake of the *Pharaohs*) caused their Magistrats to sweare, neuer to obey any of their Mandates, if they gaue commaund to iudge vniustlie, as we read in the sentences of the Kinges of Ægypt, deliuered and spoken of by *Plutarch*.

Example of the Egyptian Magistrates.

For Conclusion, all good and Vertuous Soueraigne Princes, although they may sette downe the sayde Words (*Such is Our Pleasure*, and, *Of Our meere motion*) yet they should frame all theyr Edictes and Mandations, by good Councell and aduise; that they bring not anie dammage (how little or great soeuer) to their Subiectes. But rather, to vse such clauses as auncient Princes were woont to doe, to wit; *Si qua mihi causa iusti videter*, which was interpreted after this manner: *If it appeare to me to bee iust and equall.*

Clauses obserud by good and ancient Princes.

And, for the inferiour Magistrate to the Soueraigne Prince, if hee giue commaund to publish an vniust Edict (prouided, that it bee not against Gods Honour, and the Naturall Lawes) hauing diuers and sundrie times, shewne the Prince, the inquitie of the charge on him imposed, hee then ought for to lette it passe, & cause it to be published, for it is com-

The carriage of Magistrats in not tell Edicts.

commanded by God, that we should bee obedient to Soueraigne Princes. Or els, to delay the publication, and detain it in sufferance so much as he may: for manie times it commeth to passe, that Princes (euen of themselues) reuoke what they haue done either by the lapse of time, or by the death of some bad Counseller, the cause thereof, or by the death of the Prince himselfe.

The iustice & equitie in *Petronius* a worthy Romaine Captaine.

As it happened to *Caligula* the Roman Emperor, who made an Edict, whereby he commanded, that his Statues shoulde be set vp, and honoured in all the Temples of his Empire; whereunto the Iewes made refusall of obeying. *Petronius*, who had the charge of executing this Edicte, perceiuing the matter to be so detestable and repugnant (oppositiuely) to the honor of God, and the Lawes of the *Iewes*, deferred the execution, and sent vnto the Emperour shewing him the great difficultie he had, to execute the Edict. In the end, vpon this temporizing, *Caligula* was slaine, and the Iewes were deliuered.

Generall Assessors, verie good officers.

It hath beene many times obserued, that the Generall Assessors of subsidies in *France*, did not so promptly impose all those monies on the people, as they were commanded to impose and set downe by Royall Patents, and namely: when they were extraordinarie. But haue made som deferrance, sending back to his Maiesty, shewing him the pouertie of the people. Whereupon, the King hath sometimes made reuocation, or (in Grace) remitted the moity, or some part; or deferred the paiment to some other season, whereby the people might bee so much the more eased.

Obedience must be performed vnto Princes.

Now, whither a Magistrate ought, or may denie, if the Prince constraine him to publish an vniust Edict. I answere, that he neither may, or ought. Otherwise, the title of Maiestie should bee but illusorie; and people might thereby be ouer apt to reuoltes, and all things might then runne to ruine in the Common-wealth. But then it is to bee noted withall, that the right of Emperours cannot warrant these wordes; *Such is Our Will or Pleasure.* For they do protest at their election, to acknowledge the Senate aboue them, in controlling or verifying their Edicts, and to enterprise nothing without their knowledge and consent: for Emperour is but a Title of Office. But the Royaltie of France is an estate Soueraigne, that hath no Senate for superiour or Companion.

The Senate superiour to Emperors.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That Orateurs, Pleaders, and others; that make profession of wel or eloquent speaking; are dangerous men, and may easily ouerthrowe the estate of any Common wealth.

Cicero his definition of an Orator.

Cicero giueth the definition of an Orator, saying; *He should be an honest man, speaking well, and elegantly.* I finde this definition to be probable, but it appeareth then in very few Orators, because among an hundred of them which we finde in Histories, as well *Greeke* as *Latine, Germaine, French, Italian*, or of what Nation else soeuer, hardly there is to be found one honest man. For, the greater number of them, preach according as they haue practised amongst the seditious: Eloquence hath so much power, as it can ouerthrowe the Estates of Princes, and of whole Common-Weales.

How our Ancients in elder times figured Eloquence.

Our ancient predecessours, in their Medalles and Paintings, to represent the power of Eloquence, faigned a *Ceticke Hercules*, in shape of an olde man, drawing the people after him, chained and fastened vnto him with Chaines, hanging downe from his mouth, and tyed to their eares. Declaring thereby, that the Armes and power of Princes and Monarches, are not so strong as the heat and vehemencie of an eloquent man, which exciteth and inflameth the baseſt coward to ouercome and vanquish the most valiant person.

The great power of Eloquence.

It droppes downe Weapons out of the most fiercest hand: It turneth cruelty into wonderfull mildenesse; Barbarisme into humanity. It altereth Common-

weales; and playeth with people at his owne pleasure. Nor do I speake this, as in praise of eloquence, but to shew what might it hath; and which many times is imployed rather to euill then goodnesse. For seeing it is nothing else, but a disguising of trueth, an Arteficiall cunning to make euill appeare good, wrong right; yea, to make a great matter of nothing; of an Ant to raise an Elephant, or (in plaine tearmes) to lye ingenuously. It is not to be doubted, but that for one man, who vseth this Art honestly, an hundred may be found that do abuse it. And as hard is it, among an hundered Orators, to picke out one honest man: for, it is a thing contrary to that profession, to pursue any matters of truth; because trueth (being naked) is euen then in her best and richest Ornament.

What eloquence is.

The greater part of eloquent Orators, scarse honest men.

Let but a perusall be made, of al them that haue had fame to bee worthy speakers and Orators, and we shall finde; that they haue moued the people to seditions; yea, many haue chaunged Lawes, Customes, Religion, Common-weals, euen to the vtter ruine of them, & they themselues, haue (wel-neere all of them) had violent deaths.

A view of som Orators & eloquent men.

Marke Anthonie, who contended for the *Romaine* Empire, against *Augustus*; thought hee could neuer come to it, so long as *Cicero* the Orator liued: & therefore, he procured his death. And *Antipater* the successor to *Alexander*, perswaded himselfe, that so long as *Demosthenes* the *Athenian* Orator liued, he should neuer be intire King of all *Greece*: & therefore, he gaue order for his death. And indeede it was true, for that his eloquent toong did him more hurt, then al the armies of the *Athenians* could do, or all other among the Græcians. We may well perceiue then, by the ends of these two famous Orators, what power their eloquence had, in hindering two so great Princes, from attaining to domination in their Common-wealths: and yet notwithstanding, they were reputed to bee men of honest conuersation.

Cicero & *Demosthenes* both Orators, were slain for their eloquent tongues.

But leauing these *Greeke* and *Romaine* Orators, let vs come to them of our age, who employed their paines so well; that all the Empire of *Affrica*, and of the East, may make report thereof, and are yet vp in Armes. Nay, it is found recorded, that by their eloquence, Kings haue been expulsed, and their estates seized on. As it happened to the Kings of *Marocco*, who were of the house of *Ioseph*: from whom a Preacher, vnder the Vaile of Mahometane Religion, tooke both Scepter and Crowne.

The King of *Marocco*, expeld by meanes of a pleasing speaker.

Now, albeit he was called *The Knight of the Asse*, yet he could speake so wel and pleasingly, that he assembled an Armie together, of aboue sixe score thousande men. In like manner, he that was called the first *Sophie*, seized on the kingdom of *Persia*: and no long time since, hauing expelled the legittimate Children of K. *Vsancassanus*, vnder the same pretext of Mahometan religion.

The Knight of the Asse.

The first Persian Sophie.

In *Germany*, a reuolted Priest, named *Thomas Muncerus*; and *Phiferus* an Apostate Monke, both conceiuing ill of the Catholicke faith, preuailed so much by their eloquent tongues, that they caused aboue an hundered thousand Countrey Peazants (poore ouer-credulous people) to vndertake Armes against the Clergie, Nobility, and Officers that executed Iustice.

Seditious speakers and Oratours amongst the Germaines.

In the same yeare, the Rustickes and Countrey Boores met together in many places, desirous to vndergo some nouell kind of liberty: so that they committed a thousand outrages, and incredible indignities. They quickely massacred *Lewes, Counte d'Heluestien*, who hadde espoused the Naturall Daughter to the Emperor *Maximillian*, and burned more then two hundered Monasteries and Castelles, in the sole Countrey of *Franconia*.

Lewes, Counte d'Heluestie, son in Law to the Emp. *Maximillian*.

It is also a matter verie manifest, and well knowne vnto euery one, that this tumult had ruined all *Germanie*; yea, and laide it on a heape, with all the Neighboring Prouinces, if the Lords hadde not speedily entered into Armes, and foyled them in diuers battailes. But in the end, the two Apostataes were taken, and grieuously punished.

Nestorius the Hereticke, in all his Sermons preached before the Emperours *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, at *Constantinople*, would speake out alowd, and verie elegantly; *Giue mee the Land emptied of Heretickes* (for so he termed Catholicks) *and I will giue thee Heauen. Ingulph and swallow me vp with the Heretickes, and I will therewith ruinate the power of the Persians.* Heereupon, he was called a *Boutefeu*, for if the Emperour had beleeued him,

Nestorius the Hereticke, a *Boutefeu* or fire brand of sedition.

him; he had put to death the more part, and almost all his Subiects, and *Nestorius* the chiefe.

An apt comparison.

Like as a Knife is very dangerous, in the hand of a furious or mad man: euen so is eloquence or well adorned speech, in the mouth of a mutinous Oratour. And yet notwithstanding, it is the meanes (in such as can well vse it) to reduce people from barbarousnesse, to humanitie. It is the Instrument for correcting of manners, reformation of Lawes, chastising of Tyrants, banishment of Vices, and maintenance of Vertues. And like as men vse to charme Aspicks, Vipers, and other Serpents, with certaine words: euen so can Oratours charme the most sauage and cruell men, by the meere sweetnesse of eloquence, so saith *Plato*. He further addeth, that there is no better meanes, to appease seditions, and contain subiects in their Princes obedience: then to haue a wise and vertuous speaker. For by his pleasing words, he can bow and bend sweetly, the harts of the stubborn and most rebellious. And there is not any thing, that is more dreadfull to a Tyrant; then an Oratours Eloquence: for it begetteth the peoples full voyce, especially if he be in neuer so little hatred.

What an Orator may doe, being an honest man.

Plato in his *Timeus*.

Tyrants doe stand in feare of Orators.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Contradiction of the common Prouerbe, (approuing it not very likely to be true) when we vse to say: That the Viper neuer seeth his Mother aliue, nor the Wolfe his liuing Syre.

The opinion of *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, *Aianus*, &c concerning the Viper.

I Doe not know, frō whence *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Ælianus*, and the common people haue conceiued; that the viper neuer beholdeth his Damme or Breeder aliue. Because they hold it, as a matter most certaine, that when the Female producteth her brood of Vipers: they bite her entrails in sunder, to get their issuing foorth, whereof she dyeth. And that it is done, as by Diuine vengeance, in regard, that she her selfe slew her begetter, at the coniunction: by grashing or byting off his head, thorow the extreame delight she conceiued in her copulation. And thus, as being but badly informed in the Nature of Creatures; they adde lie vpon lye. But in matters that haue had occularie testimony: there shall be no neede of any other demonstration. Because in these daies, there are Vipers (of both Sexes) kept and nourished in Cages, that haue beene seene to produce their young ones. Which (to speake truely) are not brought into the World, after the manner of other Serpents, that first of all (after the Seede) are engendred of Egges, then sitten on, and hatched: But young Vipers are enclosed within the membranes, or vpper most skinne, as are all fore-footed creatures on the Earth, and men in the Matrixe of their Mothers, which they open and vnlace, the birth time beeing come, determined by nature. And those leasings of Antiquitie, haue receiued sound root; onely thorow want of better obseruation.

How the Viper is engendred, & commeth into the World.

As concerning that which is spoken of Wolues; that they also neuer see their Syres or Begetters: this is likewise well neere as false, as the precedent report. And they alleadge this reason, to wit; the Wolues coupling together like Dogges and Bitches, are likewise fast tyed by the Members, while the Female is retaining the Males anoyding. Then other Male Wolues, hauing pursued this Female or Bitch-Wolfe, being in extreamity of heate, and finding them thus conioyned together: they doe kill that Male Wolfe, whereby shee hath conceiued, and so the young Whelpes which are to proceede of this copulation, doe neuer behold their Syres aliue.

The Fable of the He and She Wolues copulation.

I wonder, and am much amazed also, from whence this second Fable should proceede: for it is much more easie to behold the natural behauior of wolues, then of Vipers. And I am very certaine, that during the last pestilence (which was in the Towne of *Vserche*, where my dwelling is) walking abroad one day into the Fieldes, to take the Ayre, being accompanied with a Countrey Swaine,

The Authour maketh mention hereof, as being an eye-witnesse.

Swaine, of good and bold Spirit: as I returned homeward to my House, after Sunne setting, in the month of February, we perceiued eight Wolues, that followed a She-Wolfe in her heate of pride, their eyes glaring as brightly, as if they had beene so many Candles. We hauing no Weapons of defence, climbed vp suddenly into a Tree, for our owne safetie, where we were forced to stay aboue three houres. In which time, we could discerne plainely, that that this company of Wolues followed but this one She-Wolfe, as hath be ne said, and hee that made himselfe strongest against the other, by keeping them off, and often wounding them with his teeth: became at last fastned to the Female, none of the rest then stirring at him, neither killing or byting him. And this verily I think to be their customary vse, as I haue also heard credibly the like reported, by Collyers and Wood-fellers, who dwell ordinarily in Forrests, and hath assured me thereof.

Eight Male Wolues followed one Female.

It hath (neuertheleſſe) beene also affirmed, that the She-Wolfe, being salt or proud (as we tearm it) and followed by many Wolues; could not be couered or lined, because they still hindred one another, by their byting and hurting. And hauing thus pursued her ten or twelue daies together, they being al wearied with trauaile, hauing eaten nothing, and gone such an extreame compasse of ground: haue couched themselues downe by her, and falne fast asleepe, which when shee her selfe hath espyed, she hath risen secretly and softly, gone and awaked the most Truant, scurny, itchy, and misshapen Curre in all the troupe, to make him possesse her. And then the other Wolues (awaking with their noyse) finding them coupled, haue taken and torne him with their teeth. And thus you may see, from whence came the Prouerbe, vsed by old, in-discreete and lasciuious Women, that make the like measure of their owne brutall Nature; affecting (more commonly) an euill fauoured and lothsome man, then one of comely feature, sweete, gentle, and honest disposition.

Another proofe concerning the She-wolfe.

A vile & base nature noted in many Women

Also, it is commonly seene, that in a Country, where there is but one Male, and another Female Wolfe, who coupling together, and no other Wolues there to impeach them; the Sire of the young ones, cannot be slaine, and therfore such Whelpes as come of him by that coniunction, must needes see their Syre. We may then gather by this discourse, how farre these Prouerbes are from truth, and that this case deserued some consideration; to take away the error of such people, as assuredlie credited these idle vanities.

Another proofe concerning wolues.

The Sires of Wolues, and the Whelpes engendred by them, are of contrary Natures, for the young ones, when they are but a yeare old, and addict themselues to prey and purchase: although they haue not seen their Sire and Damme in two or three moneths, yet when they meet, they will do them reuerence, and vse a thousand flatteries to them.

Of Wolues & their young ones, & how vnnatural the Sire is to his owne whelps.

Contrariwise, the Sire-Wolfe, giueth no helpe (at most, very little) in nourishing them. For, when the yong ones sucke no more, but grow to some bignesse: then the Dam bringeth them food, which he taketh and feedeth on, not suffering the Whelps to eate a iot, vntill he haue filled his owne belly. But if she returne home, and bring no food with her; then doth the Male beate her outragiously. But then the Female hath this subtilitie, not to bring home any food, so long as he keepeth in the Kennell: but hydeth it secretly, till he bee wandred abroad for purchase; whereby we may discerne their different Natures. All these thinges are written by the Lord of *Clauourgin*, and *Olaus Magnus*, Arch-bishop of *Westphalia*, which doe nothing approoue the common saying; That the Wolfe neuer seeth his Sire.

Different vertues in the Male and Female.

Seeing we haue formerly spoken of Vipers, I now call to minde some Serpents, which are oftentimes found, to breede in the blaines and botches of old Wolues, neere the backe bone, containing the length of a foote, and some as long as a mans Finger, and others lesse. These leane Serpents, by successe of time, doe cause the Wolues death, and continuing in their rotten putrifaction, conuert themselues to Vipers, and Serpents very venomous. It may then well be said, in such a case as this, that these kinde of Vipers doe neuer see (such as engende-

Serpents and Vipers, which are often found in the raines of Wolues.

engendered them) aliue. But this concerneth not any of the other kinde, which are so much sought for by the Compounders of Treacle: whereunto so many vertues are attributed, against all poysons, infections of the Ayre, and many diseases, appertaining to the field Vipers.

White wolues engendred between a Hind and a Wolfe.

There are diuers differences of Wolues, for some are called White-Wolues, who being at their prey, and feeding on it: if they perceiue any thing which is more proper for them; they leaue the first purchase, and quite forgetting it, follow after the other. There is another kinde (although it should not be differing from the other) which is called the Man-kinde Wolfe, and liueth only by humaine Flesh. The reason whereof is, that when they haue once tasted of mans Flesh, by following Armies, and seeking such places where battails are fought; or when they haue eaten dead carkases saln from Gibbers. From that time forward, though they should perish and starue with hunger; yet will they not feede on any thing else, especially if they be old. Heereupon they ranne at Children, and Sheepheards keeping their flockes; yea, they wil enter Townes and Villages, and carry Children out of their Cradles, or any they can meete within the streetes, hazarding Mens and Weomens liues, except they do the better defend themselues. And let them passe by whole Heards of Cattle, Sheepe, or other: yet will they not touch one of them, but Mans Flesh onelie, and chiefelie, where they haue been well resisted and beaten.

The mankind Wolfe, feeding on mans Flesh.

The bloody nature of the Man-kind Wolfe.

Some hold opinion, that a full-fed or glutted Wolfe, neuer doth any harme, or if any food remaine to him, which he hath hidden in the ground, and doe not feele himselfe hungry. They say beside, that many times he will play with his prey, as a Lambe, Sheep, Kid, Goat, Hare, or such like, euen as a Cat playeth with a Rat, before she eates it. But seeing we are entred into the play or sport of Wolues, I will describe an History, which was reported (my selfe being present) by *Monsieur de Humiere*, vpon Saint *Andrewes* day, 1563. before *Monsieur*, Brother to King *Charles*, who afterward was *Henry* the third, King of *France*. In *Piccardie*, in the Forrests of *Ardenne*, certain Gentlemen and Countrey Yeomen (belonging to diuers Parishes) assembled themselues together, to vndertake a hunting of Wolues, which had done them many harms and mischances. And as they had giuen chase to about a dozen of them: some were taken in Snares and Nets; others kild with Caliuers, and (among the rest) they slew a She-Wolfe, that was followed by a young Infant starke naked, aged about seauen yeares, of strange complexion, with faire curled Hayre, that (seeing the Wolfe dead) ran fiercely at them which had slaine it. But he was beset with so many men, that they tooke him, and found the Nailes (both on his hands and feete) bowed inward: and nothing he spake, but gaue forth an inarticulate voyce, like to a Calfe. They brought him thence to a Gentlemans House (a Man of good account, and well knowne) in a great Village not far off, where (not without much difficulty) they put Iron Manacles on his hands and feete. In the end, by hauing long fasted, he became more mild and tame, and, within the space of seuen months, they had taught him to speake. Then they walked abroad with him, to Cities, Townes, Villages, Noble-mens Houses, and Castles, & they that were his Guardians, got great store of Mony by him.

A strange History of a young Infant taken by a Wolfe.

The manner of finding the Childe in the Forrest.

Now, to hold the Reader in no longer delay, concerning how this Infant should come into the company of Wolues; you must vnderstand, that about the Feast of All-Saints (commonly called All-hallontide) the weather then beeing very cold, young Boyes, Girles, and poore Weomen of a Village (the name whereof I doe not well remember) went into the neerest Forrest Royall, to cut downe and gather stickes of Trees. It was at the euening time, the sky cold, dimme, and cloudy, which caused them to make hast, binding vp their burdens like little Fagots, and so intended to beare them thence: but the Guardes and Forresters comming vpon them, and they being fearefull, both of imprisonment and other hard vsage, fled, some one way, some another, leauing their Hatchets and burdens behind them. Among the rest, one

How the child came into the Forrest among the Wolues.

The Wolfe being glutted or full-fed, will doe no harme.

A poore Woman that cam to gather sticks, mother to the Childe.

one of the poore women, had brought her Childe in her Armes thither, being not aboue nine months old, not hauing any body in her House, to tend it when she was absent: for her Husband was a daily labouring man, that came not home to his house, but on Sundaies or Feast daies. Hauing set downe her Childe, and being frighted, as before is said; she made escape into the Forrest, as thinking their pursuite seuerely followed her. But perceiuing that safety friended her, and the watches of her eies descried no perill (for indeede, the Forresters were gone, and darke night drew swiftly on) she came againe to the place where she left her burden, which the Guards had caried away with them. Finding neither her Child nor Wood, yet seeking still about with teares and complaints; at length, throwing off both greefe and feare, her hopes gathered this perswasion: that the Forresters had seazed her Child for her other offence, and now it stood her on, notwithstanding, whatsoeuer amends or satisfaction they should demaund, to them she must goe, and re-obtaine her Childe.

Sorrow perswadeth it selfe on any likely occasion.

The poor womans enquiry after hir child

Vpon this perswasion, she returned home to her dwelling, and enquired of all those that went to the Forrest with her, if they could tell her any tydings of her Infant. Hauing no comfort of them, she ran to the Village, where the Forresters made their vsual retreat, and found them in a Tauerne drinking Wine, the bundles of wood, Hatchets and other furniture (which they had brought with them from the Forrest) lying by them, and in teares she required her Childe of them. But they, reprouing and threatning her for her offence, by sollemne oathes and protestations; assured her, that they saw no such Childe. On the morrow morning, poore Soule, she went to the Forrest againe, and made another search, but all in vaine. And her Husband beeing returned from his labour, by reason of the Feastiuall daie, hearing the wofull losse of his Childe, and what informations the *Harpyes* of Iustice made against them (because it was alleaged, that thorow their default, the Babe was exposed to sauage beastes) after a long and bootlesse perquisition in the Forrests, the Father and Mother of the Childe, dreading least Law would punish them for the Childe, because they could yeild no better reckoning of it, forsooke the Countrey, and neuer any tydings was heard afterward of their being.

The Father & Mother of the Child, banish themselues.

Now, it may well bee presupposed, that the fore-remembred She-Wolfe, searching some prey to beare vnto her Whelps; found the Childe so forsaken of the Mother, as before hath beene saide, and carried it away with her. And (indeede) it is very likely, for a Wolfe will carry a Sheepe in her mouth, or a young Beast (how big or weighty soeuer it be) without any offence, halfe a mile and more, yet neuer resting her selfe, euen as a Grey-hound dooth a Hare. It is well knowne, that if she find a Horse or a Cow dead, in any hollow or Dith: she will easily dragge it forth to feed on, which a Horse (well harnessed thereto) can hardly doe. And hauing brought this Infant to her young ones (as the She-Wolfe doth al young Beastes that shee can seaze on, to teach them how to looke their liuing:) the Whelpes, perchance beeing suffised, would play with the Child before they fed on it. The Damme being laid among her Whelps, the Childe finding the teates of the Wolfe, tooke one of them in his mouth, and suckt it, as weening it had beene the Dugge of his true Mother, which caused the Wolfe, (thence forward) to loue it as her own. For She-Wolues doe take delight and pleasing, when their teates are tickled, suckt, or plaid withall, and all Female beasts haue the like naturall inclination. For, if the teat or dugge be giuen to a Creature, although it be of a different and very contrary kind, yet it will loue the Giuer: As we haue noted in Bitches, that haue nourished Cats; Goats that haue fostred young VVhelpes; Kine, Serpents, and Lambs, Hennes, that haue loued them all their life time.

The Authors imagination in this case.

The ability of a Wolues carriage.

A supposition concerning the norishing of the Childe by the wolfe.

And so it may be, that thus it fell out with this She-wolfe, her VVhelps, and this younge Infant. And beside, albeit the whelps grew to foure or fiue yeares age: yet, in regard of the long continuance, and finding the Infant neuer to wander, but still their owne Dam was in his company; they would bee the more

The iudgement and knowledge of Wolues wher they affect.

more familiar, gambauld, friskt, and leap vpon him, after the maner of playing Puppies, and all other Wolues of that Countrey would neuer hurt him. I think also, that the matter which best preserued the Childe, was: that not only the She-wolfe, but her young ones likewise, tooke great delight in the Childes Excrements; for he should no sooner performe the office of Nature, but both she and her VVhelpes would runne in hast to him, to deuour his deiections; yea, they would eate the verie Earth whereon his Vrine ranne along, and so, while she kept society with him, shee made this the best and contentedst part of her prey.

The child was fed with raw flesh sixe yeares.

This Childe liued on raw flesh, about the space of sixe yeares, by that which himselfe declared afterward, as hauing good memory of all things happening vnto him. And hauing attained to the age of foure yeares, guided on still by Nature, hee kept no other course; so that they had much labour, to bring him to feed on other prepared meates, but rather affected still his former nourishment. He told them moreouer, that euery yeare the VVolfe had a Litter of VVhelpes, and he had the charge of keeping them, when she went abroad in quest of her prey. Also, that she would snarle, snappe, and bite the Male wolfe, when he came to look on them: by which meanes, both he, or any other Males, in that time resorted very sildome thither.

What hapned to the Childe after his taking, and how he came to be knowne.

After his taking, as before you haue heard, his naked body being brought to the wearing of Garments, himselfe enstructed how to speake, and made domesticall, hauing changed his brutish, to a more ciuill kind of life, appearing like to other Children in behauiour: by an especiall marke or note, to wit, sixe Fingers on either hand, he was knowne to be the Sonne of the fore-mentioned poore woman, and the age which hee then was of, agreed with the iust time of his losse. Hee was made a Heardsman of Sheepe, and other Beastes, for the space of other seauen yeares, in al which time, VVolues neuer made any attempt on the troupes committed to his charge: albeit he kept great store of Cattle, as Oxen, Kine, Calues, Horses, Mares, and Poultry. This was very well obserued, by the Inhabitants of the Village where he had dwelling, and therefore, that other Heardes might participate in this benefit or priuiledge: the Husbandmen of other Villages, & their Sheepheards, would driue and bring their flocks where he kept his, and desire him but to stroke his hands vpon them; which he would doe, with some of his Phlegme or spittle on them. After which done (let others coniecture as best shal please them) for the space of fifteene dayes; Dogges of the greatest fury, nor any VVolues, would by any vrgency touch them. By this meanes he got a great deale of Mony; for hee would haue a* *Double Trurnois*, for euery beast that he so laid his hand on, or stroked their eares.

*The value of two pence in that Countrey.

An admirable property, naturally infused into the Child.

But as all thinges haue a certaine period, so this Childe, hauing attained to the age of aboue foureteen yeares: the vertue which he had, to hinder wolues from doing harme to his Heardes of Beasts, or those that he stroaked on the backe, or handled their eares; was lost, and left him. I guesse that this happened, because he had changed his natural complexion and temperature at that age; and by hauing fed so long a time on other nourishment, then his former wolfish dyet. And this was wel obserued by himselfe, by reason, that wolues would not come so neere him, as they were wont to doe; but kept aloofe off, as being feareful of him. The former propertie fayling him, hee gained no more then the meanest Shepheard did, whereat he tooke such dislike: that hee forsooke his Pastorall life, and went abroad in the fields, to seeke his fortune. At length, he heard where warres were in hand, and there he became a Boy to attend on a Souldiour: afterward, hee prooued himselfe to bee a Souldiour, braue, bold, and verie valiant; but fell in the end to be a Theefe, excelling all other in craft and subtilty. Hee was slaine in the yeare 1572. by the followers to the Duke of *Alba*, being among the companies of *Genlis*, which he conducted in *Flanders*, against the King of *Spaine*, who made war on the States of the Low-Countries: where he behaued himselfe manfully, and sold his life at a deare rate.

The alteratiō of the Childs natural vertue.

He became a Souldiours Boy, and then a Souldiour himselfe.

In what manner he was slaine in the Low Countries.

Hauing ended the Historie of this Child,

One mans good fortune is no warrant to others in the like succesſe.

Childe, ſo borne away, and nouriſhed by the Wolfe; I am of the mind, that notwithſtanding all the kindneſſe he receiued from her, as being a matter rare and extraordinary: yet, in regard of the detriments and annoyances, which they bring to all ſortes of Men, and in all Countries, except in the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*; that both Princes and Noble-men, as well as Countrey Yeomen and meaner perſons, ſhould ſtriue to exterminate the race of ſuch pernitious Creatures, which by their breath and ſight, not onely doe make men hoarſe and wheeze, if they meete them, but alſo doe bereaue them of all power to ſpeake or cry out. Great men then ought to be the firſt beginners, to haue the larger intereſt in honour: and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is the faireſt and moſt beneficiall kind of hunting, beyond all other. For Princes, great Lordes, and others, exerciſing themſelues in this paſtime: ſhall be the more hardy, valiant, and apt to Armes. In like manner, by this kind of hunting, they ſhall deliuer the Countrey from wicked and pernicious Beaſts, that (among a thouſand other diſcommodities) doe rob Kings and Princes of their young Fawnes, Hindes, and Fallow-Deere; yea, Husbandmen looſe al their young breeds about their Houſes, and in their Fieldes, which were determined and hoped for future profit, and enlargement of ſtore. And, a matter much more to be pittied, many times they ſet vpon young Children, Women great with Childe, and ſometimes on people of more ſtrength and ability.

The honor & benefit of hunting the wolf, in regard of his harmes & annoyances.

Good ſtrong Dogges, are fitteſt againſt them, or the Iriſh Grey-hound, or Grinnes, Snares, or pits, all aduantages are faire and commendable, the Beaſt is ſo much deſpighted. Hee is worth nothing, but vnprofitable to all Men. He is neuer tamed, but he will then doe (daily) a thouſand miſchiefes: for ſuch is his Nature, ſo long as he enioyeth life. But being dead, there may then ſome commodity be deriued from him. For his skinne, being prepared by a Leather-dreſſer, is very good for Cloakes, the Furre (in cold weather) worne inwardlie, giueth great warmth to the body: and the hairy-ſide worne outwardly when it raineth, will neuer

All aduantages againſt a Wolfe, are tollerable.

A Wolfes skin may be good vſe made of.

be pierced thorow with any moyſture, how long ſoeuer it laſteth. A couerlet made of Wolues skinnes, and laid on any Bed whatſoeuer; it ſhall continually be free from Fleas, Bed-Punies, or any other Vermine. The moſt inconuenience is, that Dogs will euer be piſſing againſt it.

The Fat or Greaſe of a Wolfe, is ſingularly good againſt all Aches of Gouts, Palſies, Luxations, Fractures, or verolicke anguiſhes. His Liuer, which is made like the Naile in a Horſe hoofe, being dried in an Ouen, and beaten into powder, and then drunke with Succory Water: recouereth the Liuer of a man, how altered or corrupted ſoeuer it be. *Galen* ſaith, that a Phiſition of his time, cured as many people ſubiect to the Collick, as could be brought vnto him, without refuſing any one: onely by cauſing them to drinke the Dung of a Wolfe. And ſuch as would not, or could not take it; did weare it hanging vpon their bellie, and there it expreſſed the ſame operation. There are alſo certaine little bones found in his Excrements, which being waſhed, and held vpon the tooth that is pained, and it appeaſeth the anguiſh immediatlie. The head of an old Wolfe, faſtned on the doore of a mans houſe, impeacheth all Charmes or Sorceries from entring therein. Alſo, the great teeth of a wolfe, are good for all diſeaſes in the throat, mouth, or teeth, if they bee but held therein a while.

The Greaſe or Fat of a Wolfe.

The Wolfes Liuer.

Wolues dung

An old woues head.

A Wolues great teeth.

It is a matter very certaine, and hath beene experimented, that if a Woman be in trauaile of Childe-bearing, how difficult or doubtfull ſoeuer it bee: let but a little Fleſh of a Wolfe bee giuen her to eate, and ſhe ſhall ſuddenlie bee deliuered, both of the Fruite and after burden; or if a Man that hath eaten any, ſtand hood-winckt by, it auaileth. A Wolfes right foote before, is verie Soueraigne Phiſicke for all paines in womens breaſts, and for the ſwellings of the Swine-poxe.

The fleſh of a Wolfe.

A wolfes right foote before.

The Wolfe is of ſo wicked and peruerſe Nature, that if he come among a Heard, be it of Swine, Pigges, Sheepe, or Lambes: the whole troupe is ſure to dye, if he haue the opportunitie. And if it happen, that a Horſe doe ſet his foote where a wolfe hath trod: he will after-

Vile diſcommodities enſuing by the Wolfe.

afterward become heauy, dull, & slothfull. Moreouer, if a man make any Gowne or other Garment, of a Beasts Wooll that hath been kild by a Wolfe, or if the Wooll of the Beast slaine by the Wolfe, be but mingled among any other Wooll, whereof the Gowne or Garment is made: it wil continually be lousie, or infected with Vermine.

The Conclusion of this Chapter.

Thus you see, what I haue learned and collected, concerning the seuerall Natures of the Viper and the Wolfe, as well by good experience which I my selfe haue made, as read in sound and approued Authors. As for the History of the Infant so carried away, and nourished by the Female Wolfe, beside the Princes presence, before whom it was reported verie faithfully: I haue enquired (since then) of many more, beside mine own vnderstanding it by the Lord of *Humiere*; As of *M. Iohn Kussell*, Abbat of *Vigoeas* in *Lymosine*, a *Piccard* by Nation, and borne in the same place. *De la Vaquerie*, who assured me, that the History was very true, and that he himselfe saw the Childe, after it was taken from the Wolfe, and educated, as you haue heard. As much did the Lord of *Valon* tell me, a Gentleman of great honour, and who is yet liuing. For when this strange case happened, he had some imployment and commandat *Rocroy*, a frontire Towne of *Piccardie*, neere to the Forrests of *Ardenne*. He was then present at the killing of the wolues, and taking of the naked Childe. At this instant, he dwelleth in *Lymosine*, as ouerseer for the Lands and Seigneuries of *Monsieur de la Guiche*, sometime Great Maister of the Artillery of *France*; and at this present, he is Lieutenant to the King, and Gouernor of the Countries of *Lyonnois, Forests*, and *Beauiolois*, &c. And since this accident was within compasse of mine owne knowledge; I do not hold that rare or strange, recorded by *Titus Liuius*, beside other *Roman* Historians: that the first Founders of *Rome*, young and newly borne, to wit; *Remus* and *Romulus*, being exposed to disastrous fortune, were preserued and nourished by a She-Wolfe.

Eye witnesses approuing the truth of the History of the Infant & the Wolfe.

Titus Liuius concerning *Remus* and *Romulus*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Whether Lucius Apuleius, *Sir-named* Platonicus, *were transformed into an Asse, or no: And whether he were a Sorcerer or Magitian.*

THere needeth no further question or doubt, whether *Lucius Apuleius Platonicus*, were a Sorcerer, and likewise transformed into an Asse: because he was dealt with all in Iustice, before the Pro-consull of *Affrica*, in the time of the Emperour *Antoninus* the first, sir-named the Pittifull, and in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 150. As *Apollonius Thyaneus* (long time before him) vnder *Diocleſian*, *An.* 60. was impleaded for the same fact. And more then three hundred yeares after, this fame still continued, euen to the time of S. *Augustine*, who was an *Affricane*; he also wrote and confirmed the same: auouching likewise, that in his time, the Father of one *Prestantius* was transformed into a Horse, and this is also affirmed by Saint *Augustine*.

Lucius Apuleius tried by Iustice before the Proconsull.

The testimony of Saint *Augustine*.

This *Lucius* (the Theame of our instant discourse) was learned; for, in his younger yeares, he studied at *Carthage*, where the *Romaines* had founded diuers good Schooles. Afterward, hauing passed his youth-hood, his Father sent him to *Athens*: where he learned the doctrin of *Plato*, and profited so well, that hee was sir-named a *Platonist*. Then his desires drew him to study Magick, and for his better proceeding therein, he transported himselfe into *Thessalie*; because, in that Countrey, there were Men and Women, that made profession of such enstruction; but yet very secretly, in regard, that (by the *Romain* lawes) all such were punished, as addicted themselues thereto. In briefe, hauing taried there so long time (as valued his succeeding trãsformation, to learne those deuilish sciences) he returned home to his Fathers

Lucius Apuleius a Student at *Carthage* and *Athens*.

His passage into *Thessalie*, where he learned Magicke.

His going to Rome.

House: who thought he had lost him, and therefore sent him to *Rome*, for sound apprehension of the Latine tongue, to the end he might be prouided of some estate in his Countrey, by the *Romaines*. He was of so excellent a spirit; that (with smal paines, & in short time) he became so ingenious a *Latinist*: as he was reputed for one of the chiefest Aduocates, and most eloquent in pleading before the Senate; as is yet to bee seene by his famous Orations, remaining extant in our eyes.

His returne home into his own country, from Rome.

From *Rome* he returned to *Malaura*, a Cittie of *Numidia*, his owne Country, and a Colonie of the *Romaines*: his Father being yet liuing, named *Theseus*, who had exercised (in that Countrey) the estate of an *Ædilis*, with some other Offices for many yeares, and was verie wealthy. His Mothers name was *Saluia*, being of the linage to *Plutarch*, and the learned Philosopher *Sextus* his nephew, vnto whom, *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperor, had sometime bin Scholler and Auditor. Being there arriued, all the Orators of *Malaura*, and the neighbouring Citties, made a prize, which should be giuen to him, that could declame most elegantly. Easily did he win the honour from them all, in regard whereof: beside the prize, two Statues were erected to him, one at * *Oea*, and the other at *Carthage*.

The great eloquence of *Lucius Apuleius*

* One of the three Citties of the Country *Tripolis* in *Affrica*.

His Father beeing dead, in a small while he wasted the greater part of his goods, about his Magicall Artes, and to preuent pouertie; he compassed to marry with *Pudentilla*, a verie rich widdow (for long time) in *Oea*. With her he continued till she died, and soon after, her onely Son and Heire, whom she had by her other Husband. Matters passing on in this manner, made some to coniecture, that by magick art he had seduced *Pudentilla*; whom many worthy men laboured to possesse in marriage, onely in hope of her Sons great riches. It was reported also, that he had a Dæmon or familiar Deuill, because by such great and profound knowledge, he ordinarily resolued strange and difficult questions, exceeding the common capacity of other men. Moreouer, he had beene noted to doe many admirable things; as to go inuisible; other whiles to transforme himselfe into the shape of a Horse, or of a Bird; to pierce himselfe through the body with a Sword, yet without wounding, and diuers such like thinges. Which caused the *Ethnickes* of those times, to esteeme slendetly of the miracles, which the Disciples of the Primitiue Church performed, being of the second time; yea, or those of Iesus Christ: but they admired them of *Apuleius*, of *Thyaneus*, and others of the same stampe. In the end, he was accused by one *Sicilius Æmilianus*, the *Censor*, before *Claudius Maximus*, Pro-consull of *Affrica*, who was said to bee a Christian; but no condemnation was found or approued against him.

Imputations concerning *Lucius* in his marriage and otherwise.

Wonders performed by *Apuleius*.

Lucius accused before the Proconsull, and quitted.

Now, notwithstanding his learned defensiue Orations, the fame continued of him (to be a Sorcerer vndoubtedlie) yea, euen to the time of Saint *Augustine*, who liued about three hundered yeares after. And that which brought him in more suspicion among the Christians to bee such a one: was, that hee vsed the sacrificing, and the same manner of Priest-hood among the Paganes, in his Countrey of *Affrica*, whereof Saint *Augustine* giueth assurance. For the Priests of the Paganes at that time, were (well-neere) all Sorcerers: onely to make the people (by their false Miracles) to beleeue, that their Religion was true, and not dissembled. To approue the truth hereof, in the time of the said *Apuleius*, there was a certaine Image of *Iupiter* made, called *Phyleus*, that is to say; *Amiable*, composed by Art Magicke in such manner: that it wrought wonders, and gaue many aunsweres, and among others, this. *Hence-forward, let not the Christians bee suffered to dwell in Citties, nor any where neere about them: but let them bee driuen the furthest off that may be.*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei lib. 7. cap. 18.

A strange Idoll made of *Iupiter*.

Ruffinus in lib. 10. Cap. 33.

He wrote a Booke, which he entitled, *The God of Socrates*; wherein hee sheweth, that there was not any God, but a Dæmon, and of what kind, and after the maner of *Socrates*, he made himselfe familiar, by whom he was still aduertised, concerning things to come, or absent. And because his Booke should bring no scandall to the Reader; he rather chose to entitle it the God, then the Dæmon, or Deuill of *Socrates*: by which Booke, he gaue sufficient testimony,

His Booke of the Dæmon of *Socrates*.

mony, that he was skilfull in Magicke.

For his transformation into an Asse, Saint *Augustine* holdeth it very certainly, hauing read it in diuers good Authors, and well deseruing beleefe, beside his owne being of the same Country. And this transformation happened vnto him in *Thessalie* (before hee had knowledge in Magicke) by a Sorcerer, that so sold him: and yet recouered him again, after he had done the drudgery of an Asse for some years, hauing the same strength, and behauiour in eating and braying, as other Asses had; yet his reasonable Soule (neuertheless) remained sound and intire, as himselfe auoucheth. Now, because, this fact might bee couered, by reason of the rumour then bruited abroad to be so, and very likely: he composed a Booke, which he called *The Golden Asse*, intermedled with Fables and discourses, to demonstrate the vices of men in those times, which hee had heard spoken, or seene done, during his transformation; beside many paines and trauailes, which hee suffered in his transformation.

That it might be so, the said S. *Augustine*, in his Booke of the Citty of God, declareth, that (in his time) there were certaine women witches, or Sorcerers on the *Alpes*, which would giue a kinde of Cheese to Passengers, whereby they were suddenly transformed into Asses, or some other Beasts of burden. And they would make them carry their luggage, to such places as themselues pleased; which being performed, they restored them to their former condition againe.

The Byshop of *Tyre*, the Historian, writeth, that in his time, which seemeth to be, about 1220. there were certaine English-men, whom their King had sent to assist the Christians, then warring in the Holy Land: who being arriued in the Hauen of *Cyprus*, a woman Sorcerer transformed a young English Souldior into an Asse. And he, being willing to returne to his companions in the Ship, was beaten back with Stones and Staues. Being thus returned to the Witch, he continued in this estate, vntill at length it was perceiued, that the Asse entred into a Church, and there fell on his knees, expressing such signes and actions, as could not but proceed from a reasonable creature. Vpon this speaking suspition, the witch (whom he serued) beeing apprehended by the authority of Iustice: restored him to his humaine shape againe, three yeares after his transformation, and shee in the open field was executed to death.

We read, that *Ammonius*, the *Peripateticke* Philosopher, at such times as he ordinarilie read and taught in the Schoole, had an Asse still present by: which was in the time of *Lucius Septimius Seuerus*, Emperour, and in the yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ, 196. Some said, that he had been first the Schoolemaister of *Origen*, and a Christian: but did not persеuere, fearing martirdome, as *Porphyrius* saith. I am of the mind also, that this Asse had formerly beene a Man, and could well comprehend what *Ammonius* did teach: for in such persons as are transformed, their reason still remaineth with them, as Saint *Augustine* maintaineth, and many other Authors.

Fulgosus writeth, that in the time of Pope *Leo*, who liued in the yeare 930. that there were two Witches in *Germany*, Hostesses of Innes, who made a practise or custome, of changing their Guests into Beasts. Vpon a time, they Metamorphosed a young Lad (who was a Mountebancke or Iugler) into an Asse, causing him to shew a thousand trickes and gambaulds before al Passengers, yet retaining still his naturall reason. One of their neighbours bought this Asse at a deare price, but they forewarned the Buyer, that they could not make any warrant of the Beast: onelie they feared, that if the Asse went into any Riuer or Water, they would be in danger of loosing him. On a day, the Asse escaping from his guide, ranne into the neereſt Lake, and plunging himselfe well in the Water; he recouered againe his former shape. And *Apuleius* telleth vs, that he regained his shape of Man, by hauing fed on Roses.

It is yet (at this day) to bee seene in *Ægipt*, that some will bring Asses into a publike place, where they will make them shew diuers feates of agility, and Apish-like trickes. Vnderstanding all that is commaunded them, and executing the same. As, to reueale the

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 7. Cap. 18.

His transformation into an Asse.

His Booke of the golden Asse.

Aug. De Ciuit. Dei Lib. 18. Cap. 17. 18.

An Englishman transformed into an Asse, in the Isle of *Cyprus*.

An Asse that came to Lectures, read in the schoole.

Baptist. Fulgosa in lib. 8. Cap. 2.

A young Iugler turned into an Asse.

Asses in *Egypt* that appeare to haue vnderstanding

faireſt Woman in the company, which they doe, and many other thinges (hard to be credited) which they perform, according as *Belonius* declareth, in ſuch obſeruations as he hath noted, and diuers other beſide, who haue bin there, and auouched euery thing to me. Thus then you ſee my concluſion, which is (concerning the Metamorphoſis of *Lucius Apuleius*) that he was changed into an Aſſe, and exerciſed Magicall Artes: albeit he was one of the learnedſt Men of his time, and neuer was prouided of any honourable eſtate, as (willingly) no Sorcerers will be. For they are but abiect Wretches, and keepe themſelues concealed among the people, according as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith.

Sorcerers are euer wicked wretches.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of a Taylor, named Iohn Leyden, *a* Hollander, *who by his ſmooth tongue, was elected King of* Munſter, *in the Countrey of* Germany.

THe reaſon that moued me to remember *Iohn Leyden*, who made himſelfe a King, though hee was no more then a miſerable poore Tailor: was, in regard of a former Chapter, where I diſcourſed of ſuch, as abuſed the eloquence which Nature beſtowed on them, and (many times) came to violent deaths, according as this man did, of whom I will deſcribe the true Hiſtory, recorded by *Sleydan*, *Surius*, and others, that were in *Germany* at the very ſame time.

Authors being eye-witneſſes.

We muſt firſt vnderſtand, that in *Weſtphalia* (a Countrey of *Germanie*, ſubiect partly to the Arch-byſhop of *Cologne*, and partly to the Dukes of *Saxonie*) there is a faire, great, and opulent Cittie, named *Munſter*, ſeated vpon a goodlie Riuer. In which Cittie, in the yeare 1534. were abyding ſo many *Anabaptiſts*; as durſt boldly enterpriſe to make themſelues Maiſters of the Cittie: expulſing the Arch-byſhop, and all other of the Inhabitants, that would not take part with them, not ſuffering them to cary any thing away with them. They depoſed the Magiſtrates, creating others according to their owne pleaſures, which beeing thus done, people of many neighbouring partes reſorted thither, being infected with the ſame errour: and (among others) a Taylor, that was an *Hollander*, expert and eloquent, who would needs mingle preaching among theſe mutinies. So well he preuailed by his ſmooth ſpeaking, that he perſwaded them: *That GOD had appointed him to be King of Iſraell; and of Iuſtice, as Dauid was; and that he ſhould extend Gods Dominion and Rights ouer the whole Earth. But in the accompliſhing hereof, he muſt put all them to death, that would refuſe to embrace the Faith, and be ſubiect to righteouſneſſe.*

The bold and impudent Anabaptiſts of Munſter.

A poore Taylor would needes make himſelfe a King.

This Taylor beeing eſtabliſhed a King, omitted no occaſion whatſoeuer, to make himſelfe ſtarke drunke in all voluptuouſneſſe, which poſſibly hee could dreame of. According to the manner of the *Mahumetiſts*, hee married many Wiues; hee inſtituted his Court and Officers, euery one hauing charge and Office in his Houſe, and all cloathed in Gownes tiſſued with Gold and Siluer, euen as himſelfe was, and all came of thoſe goods which he had robd from the Churches.

The creation of his Court and Officers, in their pomp and magnificence.

He wore vpon his Head a Diadem of three Crownes, made of the beſt Gold that could be gotten, and then hee had a Chaine of Gold, enriched with precious Stones, and a Pommander of Gold hanging at it, whereon was engrauen a little Croſſe, with this Inſcription; *The King of Iuſtice vpon the Earth.* In briefe, his Sword was of ineſtimable price, and nothing wanting to adorne him moſt richlie: but it would require too long a time, to ſet down all the rablement of this Royalty ſo much admired, and then to be noted in that diſtracted Citty.

The King of Iuſtice on earth.

For the maintenance of his eſtate, when he had made attribution to himſelfe of all their goods and mooueables that were vnder his obedience, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Lay-men: hee ſent forth ſtrong bands of Souldiours (for he had both Horſe and Foote, at the leaſt

The defence and maintenance of his authority.

least fiue or sixe thousand) which were partly of *Munster*, partly of *Holland*, *Saxonie*, and other neere neighbouring places, all of the Anabaptists Religion, who ouer-ranne and spoyled the plaine Countrey, making all such their Prisoners, as they could entrap or seaze on, of what Age or Sexe soeuer they were. And this Taylor King, tooke the third part of the Monies, which ensued by their ransomes and other thefts: the rest was distributed among the Souldiours, who left neyther Horses, Mules, Mares, Colts, or any other kinde of labouring Beast whatsoeuer, (beside Sheepe, Kine, or other Cattle) within tenne miles compasse round about. They left not a handfull of Graine in any Towne or Village: prouiding themselues of all kind of Weapons, fortefying the Bulwarkes, Casemates, Spurs, Trenches, and Ditches, not omitting any artefice or defence of the Cittie.

Their thefts and spoyles.

The fortefication of *Munster*, and their courses.

To the end also, that their Heresie might spread it selfe in length and largenesse, the King commanded; that some should be sent vnto the neighbouring Townes, and this commaund was as speedily effected. Whereupon, one of his Prophets made a conuocation (by sound of Trumpet) of all the people, in the great Shippe of the great Church, so that there came about four thousand Men, and found there their Supper ready prepared, with no meane aboundance of all kind of meats, and being all set, they were serued by the King and Queene. At the ending of Supper, the King presented to euery one, a piece of Bread, speaking these words: *Take, eate, and declare the death of the Lord.* The Queene likewise presented them the Cup, saying; *Drink, and declare the death of the Lord.* When this company had supped, there were about a thousand more, who had stood as Guards all this while; and they sate downe to Supper, euen as the other had done. The whole Supper being finished, the fore-named Royall Taylor and Prophet, sitting on an high seate, demanded; if they would bee all obedient to the word of God? whereto they answered, yea. Then he added, that it was the wil of the Father, that certaine men should be sent from the cittie, to sowe the Doctrine abroad which they had embraced.

Fiue thousand men bidden to supper in a Church.

A very strãge kind of communion.

In a Roule brought before the King, the names of eight and twentie Men were rehearsed, of which number, eight were sent to *Suaburg*, and as many to *Coffeld*: eight more were commaunded to goe to *Susac*; and the other eight to *Vuaremdorp*. All these beeing good Townes of that Countrey, and had entertained Garrisons, to defend themselues from the surprises and inuasions of the *Munsterians* and *Anabaptists*. This being done, the King & the Queen with all their Seruants and delegate Apostles, went and supped againe at their owne liking. And as the King sate at the Table, hee rose, and gaue a lofty leape, saying: *That the Father had commaunded him some thing to be done.* And forthwith, hee impосed vpon a Souldiour, that he was a Traytour, and instantlie did cut off his head. Then returning to the Table againe, he did nothing but maintaine talke, of the bloody and horrible deede done by himselfe, which made the supper much more execrable.

The sending abroad of his counterfeit Apostles.

The King at his supper performeth the act of a Hang-man.

Afterward, hee dispatched away his worthy Apostles, and the King gaue a crown to euery one of them (beside the Mony they had of their owne) to buy al necessary thinges: because they should leaue those places (where their doctrin would not be receiued) in testimony of their perdition. These things were full of admiration and folly, hardly to bee credited by posterity: but there is not any matter whatsoeuer, which such men wil not voluntarily execute, that are depriued of the light of truth, and their owne best sences, beeing made drunke with the dregs of the Deuill.

The Kings liberality to his Apostles.

On went those fond headed fellowes, according as he had commanded them, and cryed out horribly at their assigned places: admonishing the people to bee repentant, or else they should perish very soone. They would presume so farre as the iudgement Bars, and there spread a Gowne on the ground before the Magistrate, casting also downe the forementioned Crown: giuing assurance, that they were sent thither by the Father, to proclaim peace. Which if they receiued, they must then make all their goods in common: but if they refused so to do, they testified by that Crowne,

The behauior and doctrine of these idle-headed Apostles.

that they had diuorced peace, when she was presented to them. For they saide, the time (fore-tolde by the Prophets) was now come, wherin Gods pleasure was, that Iustice should bee exercised on earth. And when as the King (doing his office) had sowen and dispersed Iustice throughout the world: that then, Iesus Christ would resigne the Kingdome to his Father.

Horrible and blasphemous pretences.

These Apostles were taken, and first of all, examined without any punnishment, afterward, tortures were thought conuenient, to vnderstand their Faith and beleefe, and concerning the surprizall and fortifying of the Citty, with such like matters, as were very necessary to be enquired. Among other things, their answere was, that they onely had the true doctrine, neither more or lesse then other Christians. In breefe, none of these warlike Apostles, willing to be dismounted from their high horsed frenzies; were conducted to death, only one escaped.

The apprehension of the Apostles.

The false Apostles put to death.

Soone after the Citty was besiedged, by means of the Byshop, assisted by many Princes of *Germany*, as well Catholikes as Protestants, and especiallie the Arch-bishop of *Cologne*. The siedge continued before *Munster* (very neere) ten months, and was so strictly shut vp on all sides: as they imagined to tast of daintie delicates, when they could feed on Rats and Mice; yea, to eate dryed parched skinnes in stead of Bread; all which notwithstanding, the King felt no want of any thing. It happened, that as many dyed with famine, one of the Wiues to the King (moued with pitty towards the poore men) saide to some other; that the calamitie of these miserable Soules, appeared to her, not pleasing God. Which being vnderstood by the King: he brought her (with his other Wiues) to the place appointed, & there saw her head cut off. Whereat the other began to sing, and rendred thankes to the heauenly Father: so that the King himselfe began to dance, and perswaded his people to do the like, although they had no food to whet their teeth on.

The Citty of *Munster* besiged.

The Kinges Hangman beheaded one of his Queenes.

He had established by his lawes, the repudiation of wiues, and marrying of as many as a man would: in which case, he had more then two hundred causes

Diuorce of Wiues allowed by his laws

in his Court of Audience, and onelie brought before himselfe. The dearth of all things grew so extreame (during this siedge) in the Citty: that two Men escaped out to the Byshop, of whom he learned, which side of the Cittie was most compelable. And heereupon, the Byshop exhorted the besiedged, to yeild themselues, because pardon should be granted to the poore abused people, and the more part of them would gladly haue gone forth: for the Byshop had appointed twelue expert Captaines, who gaue so diligent guard and attendance, that they who were within, could not scape any way. The Inhabitants of the Citty, in the presence of their King, made answere by *Bertrand Rotman*, that they would neuer forsake their first apprehension. Vpon this refusall, fifteene hundred men (conducted by the two Fugitiues) won one of the Bastions of the Citty, where they slew all them that were the Guards, and suddenly entred into the citty, where fighting awhile against the Cittizens, they opened the Gates to the rest of the Army. Then all the rest entred crowding in, and put all to the Sword; yet notwithstanding, pardon was graunted to some, that required mercy. The King, and *Knipperdolling* were taken, and the wretched beggarly *Bertrand Rotman*, who was (well neere) the sole cause of all the tragicall action: but breaking away very desperately, to thwart his resisters; he was massacred among them, and his Soule sent to the highest Disposer.

Pardon offered to the people.

The Cities answere.

The Citty of *Munster* taken by the Bishops forces, and the King and his Councellers.

After this, the King, his Councellers, *Knipperdolling*, and *Crechring*, hauing beene in Prison some moneths: to the mockery of the whole world, they were punnished, in the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, thirtie sixe, with such a punishment as they had well deserued. For, being bound to the Trunkes of diuers Trees, they were nayled thereto all along, and then the Sword passing thorough their bodies, their liues were ended. Then were they enclosed in Cages of Iron, and so hanged on the top of the highest Tower in the Citty: the Kings body hanging in the midst, and higher then all the rest. Such was the conclusion of these wretched men, who (questionlesse) had brought the

The Taylor King and his companions put to death, and in such manner as they had iustly deserued.

Land

Land to ruine and confuſion, as hee retofore the *Gothes* and *Vandales* did: if the diuine prouidence, which euermore is aſsiſtaunt in our humaine actions, had not broken & diſsipated their deſſeigns.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Order and manner, which ought to be obſerued in laughter, and prouocation thereto. Of the cauſe of Laughter, with manie diſcourſes tending thereunto.

It is both ciuill to laugh, & to procure laughter with modeſty.

ALbeit, that it is the propertie of man (as all the Philoſophers, and men of greateſt knowledge haue written) to Laugh, or elſe, ſpeaking in another manner, that man is a laughing creature: yet may not wee thereby inferre, that he ought to Laugh without reaſon, to no purpoſe, or out of meaſure; neither to prouoke others to laughter, but in good ſort and ciuillie. For, ſuch is the quality of people, without vnderſtanding, Bouffons and diſſolute perſons, who by their Lyes, Tales, and villanous Ribaldries, doe ſcandalize honeſt Natures, & raiſe laughter in ſuch as are as bad as themſelues. For all things which incite laughing, and gladdeth the ſpirit, by yeelding pleaſure thereto: doth not yet permit, that in this point, men ſhould bee vnmindfull of greeuaunces, which are as naturall attendants vppon life. Therefore, we may well ſay, that Laughter is verie agreeable to men, and commendable alſo in the procurer, ſo it bee done in good ſort, and at apt ſeaſons.

To be merrie with a mixture of ſorrom.

In regard whereof, we beholde many things, which men haue deuiſed to this effect, as Feaſts, and diuers kinds of pleaſing ſpectacles. And becauſe wee affect ſuch, as are the cauſe of thoſe recreations wherein we take delight, the Kings in ancient times, the *Romaines*, the *Athenians*, and many more beſide, to purchaſe the good liking of their people, & to feed their eies and minds in whole multitudes together; had a cuſtome, to make great Theaters, and other publicke buildinges, where new Playes might bee exhibited, courſes of Horſes and Chariots, Combates of ſtrange Beaſts, Comedies, Tragedies, and Moriſco Daunces. And yet theſe ſpectacles were not ſo diſordered, but ſeuere Phyloſophers would bee preſent at them; where manie times, by ſuch delectations, or repreſentations of that kinde, or elſe at Banquets; they founde a relaxation of their ſpirits, being formerly buſied & wearied with high diſcourſe, and Diuine thoughtes. As all manner of men, euen in theſe daies can affoord the like. Fot, not onely Labourers, and all ſuch as take the greateſt paines and trauell of body: but likewiſe religious holie men, yea, and priſoners, that awaite the ſtroake of death from houre to houre, would neuertheleſſe, ſeeke ſome Medicine and remedie for theyr Recreation.

Occaſions which haue bin deuiſed for laughter.

Senere Phyloſophers preſent at pleaſing ſhewes.

Euerie one deſirons of merriment.

The cauſes of Laughter, are a certain kinde of deformity, in regarde, that wee laugh at ſuch things, which do not concord in themſelues, but ſeeme vnſightly, albeit they are not; I know not howe to expreſſe them otherwiſe. But whoſoeuer conſidereth wel with himſelf in this caſe, will finde; that euen daily (as it were) the matter which is laughed at, is a thing that hath no conueniency, and yet notwithſtanding it is not ill beſeeming. I will ſhew ye, what means a diſcreet perſon ought to vſe, for the mooning of laughter, and euen vpon what tearmes: becauſe it is not alwayes conuenable, that he ſhould vrge it, neither in ſuch maner, as is vſed by Fooles, Drunkards, Sottes, Ieſters, and namely Bouffones. And albeit ſuch manner of people are fauoured in Courts, yet howſoeuer, they deſerue not to be called wiſe or diſcreet, but euerie one by his name, and to be eſteemed as he is. For this cauſe was it, that *Marcus Aurelius* diſmiſſed one of his Sonnes Schoole-maiſters (although he was learned) for Laughing out of meaſure in a Theater. And the Sonne to *Phillip* the Emperor, looked on his Father with an vnfriendly countenance, becauſe he had likewiſe Laughed in the Theater diſorderly.

A definition of the cauſes of laughter.

The manner and means to moue Laughter.

Examples allekged in this caſe.

It is fit likewiſe to be well conſidered, what limit and meaſure ſhould be obſerued in pointing, girding, or taunting, & who it is that is thus dealt withal, becauſe he cannot induce or procure Laughter, by

No ſcorne or mockery is to be made of poore infortunat perſons

by mocking or deriding a poore, wretched, or vnfortunate man, neither at any wicked, notorious, or publick badde bodie. For, in mine opinion, such people of the first degree, deserue rather to bee pitied and relieued, and the other to be seuearely punnished, then Laughed or mocked at. And manly Spirites, cannot easilie encline themselues, to Laugh at miserie or pouertie, except it bee in this lowe and down-cast condition, presumption, Pride, or Arrogancie bee too palpable,

Laughing & mocking very dangerous, & therefore to be wel regarded.

Care is to bee had also, of such as are rich, beloued, and respected of euerie one, because in Laughing at such, a man may beget very dangerous enimies. And therefore, it is fittest to Laugh and smile at such vices, as flowe from men that are not so miserable, as may moue compassion, neither so wicked and vnhappie, as death were more fitting for them; nor yet so great, as their smallest spight and enuy, may incurre too much daunger.

How a man may deriue honest cause of Laughter.

Heerewith we are to know, that in places where words do prouoke Laughter, they may list also to graue sentences, both of praise and dispraise, sometimes expressed in one and the same words. As, in commending a liberal man, saying; he makes his wealth common, at the command of his friends: the very same may be spoken to his disgrace, if hee haue gotten it by Theste, or any other euill purchase, because it is neither his to vse, nor theirs. Of a Ladie of honor, or voluptuous carriage, in condemning or commending, no more neede be saide, but that, She is a Lady of much.

Concerning newes and iests.

Report of Nouelties, and prety ieasts may bee vsed, with some immitation of them whome they concerne, reseruing alwayes the dignity of a discreete person, without dishoneste speeches, or actions of lesse qualitie. Not scruing the Countenance, nor writhing the bodie, but carried with such demeanor, and mooued in such manner, that he who vnderstandeth and beholdeth our motion, gesture, and words, may immagine much more then he seeth, or readily vnderstandeth; and thereby be the better induced to Laughter.

Report of a Nouell, that may yeeld no offence.

As in a Nouell, which was related before the Duke *d'Aumale*, one made his complaint to the Maire *d'Auxonne*, the Capitall Town in the Vicounty of *Bourgogne*, because one had robd him of his Asse, saying; *My Lord, if you had but seen mine Asse, you would know what great occasion I haue to complaine, and much more then (as yet) you haue heard by mee. For, when he had his pannel on his backe, he looked verily like Marten.* And *Marten* then was the Maiors name. And another, that was rehearsed before King *Henry* the 3. of one, who meeting with a Hearde of Goats, made his stay, and (with a verie straunge countenance, because the foremost was a great Male Goat, leading the way, and hauing a long Beard) saide: *Behold this goodly Goate, doth he not look like Plato?* And an infinite other of like Nature, which can offend no man.

Laughing & weeping at one and the same things.

Some haue been noted oftentimes, to Laughe and weepe at one and the same thing. As a man is seen to be very ioyfull to succeed in the goodes of some deceased person: and neuertheless mourneth, after his reioycing with his friendes, both which do well agree with that which the Poet saith:

Hæredis fletus sub persona risus est.

Which is as much to say, as: *The teares of an heire, are nothing but smiles & ioyes.*

Anew maried Wife in the Country of *Lymosine.*

As a yong Maiden in the County of *Limosine*, shewing her self iocond & laughing on her wedding day: but when shee should be had out of her Fathers house, she hung about her Mothers necke, bitterly weeping; and held her so stronglie, as very hardly could her Armes bee loosed, only for beeing to depart out of her paternall dwelling. The like may be saide of *Iulius Cæsar*, for when hee was presented with the head of *Pompey*, Historians say, hee turned his lookes aside, weeping at so harsh and vnpleasing a spectacle, & said; *Hath there been betweene vs so long intelligence, for managing of the publick affaires? Such Communitie of fortunes? So many reciprocall Offices and Alliances? And yet could it bee immagined, that this Face would proue false and counterfet?* But breaking off this discourse, he was verie ioyfull, and laughed heartily, to see himselfe without a Competitor in the Empire of the world.

Iulius Cæsar hauing *Pompeys* head presented him.

Many illustrious and great men, haue laughed in their chiefe aduersities, as *Alexander* the Great (according as *Plinie* testifyeth) who beeing on the very point and instant to giue the battel against *Darius*, the Disputing then betweene them, was for the whole Empire of the East, he

Alexander the Great laughed in his chiefest mishaps.

The laughter of *Hannibal*.

he laughed and reioyced with his frends. *Titus Liuius* hath left in writing, that whē the *Carthaginians* were reduced to such estate, as to pay tribute to the *Romaines*, all of them wept, except *Hannibal*, who had foreseene that fortune, because they of the *Barchan* faction wer his hindrance, that no succour could be sent him, he being in *Italy*.

Brutus & Marcus Antonius.

Brutus, by his continuall Laughing, faigned himselfe to be a fool, albeit he was extraordinarily wise. *Mark Anthonie*, in all the losses of his battels & estates, yea, during his very flights, would laugh continually.

To speake now my iudgment, which of the conditions was more tollerable in the two Phylosophers, to wit; *Democritus* that Laughed ordinarily; or, *Heraclitus*, who wept in the like extreamitie? Surely I should say (yet submitting vnto more solid opinion) that that of *Democritus* was the most allowable: because hee found humaine condition to be vain and ridiculous; and therefore, was neuer seene in publicke, but with a smiling and mocking countenance.

Laughing is more allowable in a man, then weeping

Heraclitus, taking pittie and compassion on the same wretched estate, carried a sad face continually, and his eyes ouerflowing with teares. I affect rather the first humor (not that I take more delight in Laughing then weeping) but because it is more disdainfull, and accuseth vs far beyond the other: and me thinkes, euen but according to our owne merites, we neuer can bee sufficiently contemned. Plaints and Commisseration, are mingled with some esteem of the thing which wee mourne for.

Democritus preferred before *Heraclitus*.

Teares and smiles compared in our own condition.

Those things which we mocke at, are of vaine account, and without anie Value: and I cannot thinke, that there is so much infelicity in vs, as there is vanitie; neither so much maliciousnesse, as there is folly; for wee are not so miserable, as we are vaine. *Diogenes*, who trifled the time alone by himselfe, rolling his Tub, and nodding his head at Great *Alexander*, thought him & vs all, to be no better then Butter-flies, or as bladders blowne vp with winde.

What maner of thing Laughter is.

Now, albeit that no Naturlist, hath as yet expressed, what Laughter is, and whence it proceedeth: yet to content the curious Reader, I will deliuer my opinion thereof. To speak no more then truth, it is a matter of much amazement (as at any turbulent commotion) to behold so strange effects. As when a man seemes extraordinarily chearefull, yet his eyes to ouer-abound with teares, that the voyce, face, Lunges, and all the breast, shake, moone, and are blowne vp thereby, euen without any posibility (in many bodies) to maister such an assault: without a respect either of persons, place, or time, presented then before their eyes. No man could euer (as yet) satisfie me heerein; and I know not whither I shal satisfie you, or no, with such breuitie as I am bound vnto.

The Au. hors Propositiō, from what part laughing commeth.

This cause of so little apparance, consisteth (in mine opinion) in a tickling of the blood, which is in some more sensible then in others, according as they contain most of the biblious or sanguine Complexion: for other men can verie hardlie Laugh, that haue their bloud colde and fast setled as it were. Now, al that which maketh an ouuerture or opening in our apprehension, pricking sweetly, softly, & as it were, by stealth, is the propper subiect of Laughter, such as are wordes and fashions of making it, either by some folly, or at a sudden and industrious Nouelty. For that which contrarywise, is familiar to vs, and wee haue often tasted or knowne, looseth all power of motion in vs, and moouing is the chiefest thing of all. As it happeneth with our Comedians or Stage-Players, in double repetition of one and the same thing: or Mirth-makers, that are not skilled in diuerfifying their Iests and merriments. For in verie deede, nothing but variety robbes vs of a former glutting, and begets a newe birth of liuely conceit; and such frequencie procureth the oftner motion, euen of it selfe.

The sanguine and Chollerick, & matter of nouelty

Variety is the best for prouoking laughter.

The blood then, which (as one sayth) *is the Father, Nurse, and Hoast of all pleasure*, is that which first of all, receyueth such an effect within vs; and then giueth encrease to his Laughing impression, as it taketh hold of our immagination, and disperseth it selfe lightly thorough the Veines, Arteries, and braine, euen to the puffing vp, or pressing downe of the body, yea, to start or gush teares out at the eyes, causing many prouokings in some, of those things that are pleasing to them, and engendering the like in others. Much like vnto a stone cast into the Water, which of one circkle maketh manie, and mul-

The Blood is the Father, Nurse, & entertainer of all pleasure.

Apt Similitudes to this purpose.

multiply ſo faſt, that the firſt looſing it ſelfe, re-deliuereth to this Element, his equality and ſmoothneſſe. And as a quaking or ſhiuering, which from one certaine place, runneth ſuddenly ouer al the body, when a man is vncloathed, vntill heate bee regained, and chaſeth it away. Thus is it eaſie to know, how Laughter beginneth, continueth, and redoubleth of it ſelfe.

Laughter enſuing by tickling.

It is not in all men alike, to Laugh on conſtraint, to wit; hee that is tickled vnder the Arme-pits, it is then attributed to a trauerſing of the breaſt or *Diaphragma*; the harme or offence whereof, produceth an itching, which (according to the authority of ſome Bookes) maketh men to dye with Laughter. It is not then to bee doubted, that theſe two kindes of Laughter, Naturall, and conſtrained, haue one and the ſame Original, neither doe ariſe of a ſuddenneſſe, ſurprize, or a tickling, not awaited or expected, or elſe by ſuch an inward maturity, that (as we vſe to ſay) ſtifleth by cuſtome, befor e-c caſion be giuen.

Two kinds of Laughter not alike.

Of tickling & prouoking to Laughter, in ſome that can endure it, and others not.

Which may appear to be ſo, by proof of them, who perceyuing that they muſt be tickled, or made to Laugh, by putting a mans hand to the ſole of the foot, or in the necke, do reſolue themſelues againſt it; and with a deliberate purpoſe, make a ſetling of their bloode; by this meanes, they ſhall in a manner, not be mooued a iot. On the contrary part, ſome cannot ſuffer it, when they ſtriue moſt to defend themſelues from it: aſwel, becauſe meere imagination giueth them ſuch a feeling, as by reaſon of motion, which preſſeth the Veines, & ſtill encreaſeth ſuch a tickling. So one ſaieth, that the beſt makers of witty Ieſts or conceites, are neuer the firſt Laughers; for thereby they ſhoulde beget loſſe of that perſwaſion, which they haue of others, that ſhall ſee or heare them. Therefore, a word to win Laughter, muſt be quickly decocted, woorking vpon ſome ſudden & vnexpected thing: whereof man only is capable, by a qualitie perticulerly giuen to him. In briefe, all that can be ſaid, concerning the cauſe of Laughter, is comprized in theſe foure Verſes:

Man only (among al creatures) capable of Laughter.

Within the Braine I breede, and to the Liuer fall,
By tickling I controule, and make all yeelde to me:
On Man I onely waite, but come before he call,
And in his face ſet ſmiles, how ſad ſo ere he be.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Nature of Common-Weales. And of their naturall mutability and inſtability, exemplified in Empires, Kingdomes, and other Eſtates.

BEfore wee enter into Diſcourſe of a Commonwelth wee muſt firſt conſider the Naturall mutabilitie and inſtability thereof; which conſiſting of men, muſt needes be ſubiect vnto the ſame mutation and corruption, whereto all men and humain things, are ſubiect by an inuiolable decree and Law of God, the Author of nature. He hath irreuocably ordained, that whatſoeuer is compounded, either Naturally of Elements, or artificially by the induſtrie of men, ſhall be diſſolued; and whatſoeuer groweth and encreaſeth, ſhall likewiſe decreaſe and periſh. Therefore we ſee, that all earthly things haue theyr beginning, their growth, and encreaſe, their ſtate and conſiſtance, their declination & decay; and finally, their diſſolution. For beſide infinite externall cauſes, by which they are ſooner or later corrupted and conſumed: euery thing breedeth in it ſelf an internall ſickeneſſe, which in the end, doth ineuitably bring it vnto corruption. The Iron and other Mettals breed a ruſt; Corne and other fruits, a Worm; Cloth, a Moath; Mens bodies, and other liuing Creatures, diſeaſes, which deſtroy them in the end. So in like manner, Commonwealth engendereth in it ſelfe, diſorders, diſcordes, and diſſentions, which ſooner or later bring it to ruine.

The naturall mutability & inſtabilitie of Commonwealths.

Euery thing hath in it ſelfe an inward ſickneſſe.

For the better explication heereof, & the Nature of Common-wealth it is further to be noted, that, as the health and integrity of euery thing, that is compoũded of different and contrarie qualities, conſiſteth in the equall temperature of the ſaide qualities: ſo by the diſtemperature and inequality thereof, groweth the corruption and diſſolution of the ſayde compound. For, where there is a continuall conflict of contrarieties (euerie one working according to his owne Nature

The Nature of Common-wealth.

A continuall conflicte of contrarieties.

ture and property) it cannot be, but that in time, one will abounde, and another decay; one weare and waſt another; and ſo in the end, one ouercome and extinguiſh the other, whereby the compoſition muſt needs, ſooner or later be diſſolued.

And this we ſee verified, not onely in all Naturall bodies, compounded of naturall humours or Elements (as in men, Beaſts, Hearbes, Trees, Plants, and ſuch like) but alſo in the polliticke bodie, that is to ſay, in the Common-wealth it ſelfe, which conſiſteth in the Combination of perſons of different Sexes, Orders, Degrees, and qualities. As of men and Women, Prince and Subiect, Rich & poor, Noble and Baſe, Bound and Free, Good and Bad, and of inumerable perticuler men, differing among themſelues in profeſsion of Life, Faculties, Trades, and Occupations, in maners and affections: and yet all vnited and combined togither in the Communion of one Law and gouernment.

Wherefore, euen as mens bodyes, being compacted of contrary Elements, and affected with different and contrarie humors, are ſo much the more healthful ſound and dureable, by howe much the ſaide humors are better and more equally tempered amongſt themſelues (which neuertheleſſe, can neuer haue ſuch an exact and perfect temperature, but that in time, they will conſume one another; and conſequently, deſtroy the body with the effect.) Euen ſo, the polliticke bodie that is to ſay, the Common-wealth, is ſo much the ſounder, and flouriſheth the longer; by howe much the temperature of the diffrent Orders and degrees therein is better, and more equally compoſed. Which temperature, *Plato* calleth; *A Harmony conſiſting in an equal and concordant diſparity, or inequalitie*, wherewith the Common-wealth is (as it were with a certaine bond) knitte and vnited in it ſelfe.

But foraſmuch, as it is not poſsible, that the ſaide polliticke hermony & conſonance, can be for euer preſerued, in the continual diſcord and conflict of contrarie degrees, humors, inclinations, affections, and paſsions, it muſt needs follow, that the bond, that is to ſay, the hermony being interrupted and broken, the Commonwealth ſhall fal to diſorder, and conſequently decay. As both *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* do teach; and is alſo moſt manifeſt by the experience of all ages and times, and of all Kingdomes & Commonwealthes, either paſt or preſent. As to ſay ſomewhat briefely of both, wee ſee euidently in the ancient Kingdomes of *Iuda* and *Iſraell*, of *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Lacedemon*, and in the Commonwealths of the *Carthagenians*, *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Thebanes*, and ſuch others; all of them famous in times paſt, & ſome of them no leſſe flouriſhing in all kindes of Learning and humaine VViſedome, then in Armes and militarie Diſcipline: yet now vtterly periſhed, inſomuch, that there is ſcant any monument or memory of them. And hath not alſo the like happned, to the mighty and potent Empyres of the *Aſſyrians*, the *Medes*, the *Greekes*, and the *Romans*? VVherof tne laſt which was the mightieſt aboue all the reſt, had ſo many changes in a few Ages, to witte; in ſixe hundered yeares ſpace, that it receiued all formes and kinds of gouernement.

Paſsing firſt, from Kings to *Decemuiri*, that is to ſay, ten Gouernors. From the *Decemuiri*, to Kings againe. From them to Conſuls. From Conſulles againe, to *Decemuiri*. From them, to the Tribunes of Soldiers. From Tribunes to Conſuls. From them, to Perpetuall *Dictatours*. From *Dictators*, to *Triumuri*. And from them to Emperors, vnder whome, the Empire being miſerably rent and torne with Ciuill warres, became in the end, to be a prey and ſpoyle to all barbarous Nations.

And, if wee looke to the Kingdomes and Commonwealths, which ſtande on foote at this day, as namely, our owne Countrey; and what changes and mutations there haue beene therein, ſince it was firſt Conquered by the Romaines: how many Kings it hath had at once, to wit, ſeauen? How oft it hath been conquered by ſtrangers; as by *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*? VVhat Ciuill warres and bloodie battels there haue been ſince the Conqueſt? Firſt, in the time of King *Stephen*. After, in the Barons wars. And after againe, betwixt the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, for the ſpace of aboue thirtie yeares, wherein we read, that onely one King, to wit; *Edward* the fourth, was preſent and fought himſelfe, in eight

or

Wherein, and of whome a Common-wealth conſiſteth.

A Compariſon of the compoſition of mens bodies.

Plato in lib. 8. de Repub.

Of politicke Hermony & agreement.

Ariſt. in Polit. lib. 5. cap. 12. Plato in Lib. de Repub. 80.

The deſolation and ruine of many auncient Kingdomes.

The often change of gouernors in the Romane Empire.

Titus Liuius.

The diuerſe mutations in *Britaine*, ſince the Romains conquered it. *Pol. Virgil in hiſt Angl.*

The reuolutions and deuisions in the Realmes of *Scotland*, *Fráce Flanders*, and other Kingdomes adioyning. *Phil. Com. in hist. de reb. gest. Lodo. cap.* 10. *Ioan. Las de Orig Scot. Froyfard. Poplinier. Mercurius Gallo Belgicus.*

or nine seuerall battails; and that, during the same time, there were slaine and banished, fourescore Princes of the bloode Royall. Againe, if we adde thereto, the depositions, expulsions, imprisonments, and murthers of Kinges, in diuers ages and times; and the frequent rebellions of subiects against their Princes, for exactions, extortions, and innouations. If we also consider in *Scotland*, our next neighbor, the like, or rather greater reuolutions, which caused the vntimely death of eight or nine Kings and Regents, in these two last ages. The great mutations and domesticall deuisions, which haue miserably distracted, & almost ruined *France*, no lesse heeretofore at diuers times, then now of late. Also the most frequent, or rather continuall commotions in *Flaunders*, sildom or neuer quiet in times past, and in great garboiles at this present. Againe, if we cast our eyes somewhat further, to the Countries next adioyning, as to the Empire in *Germany*, very potent in former times, and now much decaid. Or to *Spaine*, first subiect to the *Romans*, after to the *Gothes*, and then conquered by the *Moores* (solicited and brought in by the *Spaniards* themselues) then diuided into six or seuen seuerall Kingdoms & States. And now at length, after continuall ciuill war, for six or seauen hundred years togither; reduced again (not many years ago) to one Monarchy. Finally, for breuities sake (to range no further abroade then *Italy*, if wee waigh the innouations that haue succeeded therein, as well in this last age, by the bloody wars betwixt the *French* and the *Spanish*, for the States of *Millaine* and *Naples*, subiect somtimes to Kings and Princes of their owne, and now made Prouinces to *Spaine*) as also the mutation in former times, not onely in the saide States; but also in *Rome* it selfe, taken and sacked, or at least besiedged thirteene or fourteene seueral times, and in all other parts of *Italy*, miserablie distressed, spoyled, and ruined, partly by the frequent irruptions and invndations of barbarous Nations (as *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alanes*, *Hunnes*, and *Lombards*) and partly by inuasions of *Germaine* Emperours; and lastly, by Domesticall and ciuil wars, proceeding other-whiles, of the ambitions of Tyrants in many perticuler Cities; and sometimes, by the furious factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* (which, for some yeares, filled all States, Cities, Townes, yea, and priuate houses, with cruel slaughters and murders of parents, Kinsfolkes, Friends, and all sorts of people.) Sometimes again, by popular tumults and seditions, whereby there hath bin noted in *Geneway*, ten notable changes of that State, in the space of thirtie yeares. Sometimes the common people preuailing against the Nobilitie; and sometimes the Nobility against the people: by which meanes, they are brought now to so low an ebbe, that wheras they were able in times past, to holde competence with the State of *Venice*; yea, and took the duke of *Venice* prisoner in a battell at Sea (wherein they had 200. Gallies of their owne) they haue not now past 25 and the same also waged and payd by the Catholicke King. If we waigh and consider al this, we may draw from thence two notable documents.

The State of *Geneway* changed ten times in 30 yeares.

Rode. Toletan. Ioan. Vasseus.

First, the casualty and vanity of al humaine Power. Honor, Dignity, Dominion, and Glory, seeing they do not only perish sooner or later: but also are subiect (while they last) vnto such mutation, and accompanied with infinit corrosiues and afflictions. Which consideration may iustly moue vs, to lift vp our cogitations from earthly delightes, to the contemplation and desire of heauenlie, that are ineffable, incomprehensible, and eternal. For as *Seneca* saith; *Nothing is more contemptible, then man: if he doo not raise and eleuate himselfe aboue himselfe.*

Two Documents cõcerning the mutabilitie and chaunge of States.

Sen. Præfat. in Lib. 1. Natural. Quæst.

The other Document is, that considering the Natural mobility, inconstancie, and infirmity, as wel of anie Common-wealth, as of man himselfe, and of al humaine creatures, no humaine wit or power, is more able to defend any kingdom or Common-wealth, from declination and decay, then to preserue a man from al sickenesse and mortality, or earthlie things from corruption.

The often changes and innouations of diuers States in *Italy*

Blond. Sabel. Lib Singonius. Guic.

Goths, Vandals Alanes, Huns, and *Lombards,* ruinating *Italy.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.

Who was the first that vsed Circumcision: From whence it proceeded. Of the vse thereof: What people haue vsed it, and who do yet vse it.

IN this Chapter, the Christian Reader may Learne, by howe much the Christian Church is more happie, and full of holy Libertie, then the Iewes Synagogue; for therein were long Ceremonies, irkesome and tedious, Sacrifices of great cost and charge, & such commaundements, as no man was euer found, that did, or coulde accomplish that Lawe, but onely Iesus Christ, true God, and true man; and after it was fulfilled by him, the Law immediately ceased.

The Christiã Fayth much more happie then the Iewish Law.

In that Mosaicall Iewish Lawe, there were such commandements, as whosoeuer exceeded the least iot in the worlde, without hauing regard to euery true circumstance, was put to death. As hee that had kindled a little fire on the Sabaoth day, vppon some necessitie, was publickely stoned to death. That euerie infant male, that was not circumcised, at, or within eight daies after his byrthe, should perish, and neuer obtaine saluation, with many other such like commandements.

Seueritie of the Iewish Law.

This Circumcision whereof I speake in this Chapter, was practised first in *Abraham*, in the Lande of *Charan*, from whence he departed by Gods commandement, because the inhabitantes were Idolaters, and for many other occasions, which the Reader may finde in the holye Bible, to be in that manner ordayned of God. *Abraham*, passing into straunge Countreyes, with his family which was great, leading a Pastorall life, abounding in Cattle, slaues, and many other moueables of great value; God inioyned him that hee should circumcise himselfe, his children, and al the males that wer in his house, as a signe that the true God was their God, in whom only they shold put their trust. This was the most auncient commaund that euer God made, before the Law was giuen, which was 292. years, or thereabout, after the Deluge. Moreouer, hee commanded, that all the male Infants of the *Israelites*, should bee Circumcised within the saide eight daies, vpon paine of death, vnto him that should not be.

Abraham was the first that vsed Circumcision, apointed by God, to him & his housholde.

Genes. 17, 23

The most ancient commandement of God before the Law.

The Iudaicall Circumsion, was performed with a sharpe cutting stone, and not with any Knife of iron steeled, a thing which was most dolourous; and wherby the young tender infants sometimes got a Feauer, whereof they after died. Howbeit, they had enough to doo with other occasions, as the cutting and fall of the Nauell, whereby *Hippocrates* giueth assurance, that Children doe incurre diuers daungers.

How the *Iews* Circumcision was performed.

Great dolors & dangers in Circumcision

Theuet, and manie others, who haue voyaged into the Countries where this Circumcision is vsed, doe say; that they haue seen store of yong people dy, grown to indifferent stature; and yong children of eight dayes old, onely by being Circumcised. Which may manifestly be proued by the sacred histories. The sonnes of *Iacob*, after they had fraudulently circumcised al the males in the Citty of *Sichem*, scituate in the land of *Canaan*, they tooke them the third day after their circũcision & madethem passe the edg of the sword: for they well knew, that they were so sore and tormented with paine, as they could not stand vpon their owne defence.

Countreyes where Circumcision is still vsed.

Genes. 34, 26.

Next to our speaking of the originall of circumcision, and the first that suffered it to be done vpon himselfe, we come to the definition of the word. Circumcision is as much to say, as to make incision, and cut round about; and to speak more properly, it is a cutting away a part of the prepuce, and double skin, which couered the head or extreamity of *Virga Virilis*. *Moses*, the first Ecclesiasticall Historiographer of the world, hath giuẽ no other reason of this circumcision, but only that it was a certaine and assured signe, that God would be a protector & defender of the circumcised. But many holy men, learned, and of great Authoritie, haue stroue to yeelde a more pregnant aunswere. Amongst others, Saint *Cyprian* saith; *That as the time of publication of the Lawe drewe neere, GOD ordayned and appointed Circumcision, and woulde haue*

The definition of circumcision.

Moyses his reason for Circumcision.

S. *Cyprian* his reason why Circumcision was commanded.

that that part of the bodie, wherein the seed of voluptuousnesse lyeth, and the shape of Paillardise, should be cut from litle infants. To the end, that they should offer the first fruites of their blood to him, who should shed all his, for our liues and saluation. And that the common Sacrifice of euerie one, shoulde preceede the great and singuler Holocaust, which hee offered for our Redemption.

Another reason is alledged by Saint *Paule*, and afterward by *Origen*, to witte; *That all the circumcised part, declared what ought to be plainly pure, cleane, & no way taxed with pollution. And euen so it behoueth, that our hearts should be offred vp to God, wide open, pure, and clensed from al sinne.*

Another reason by S. *Paul* and *Origen*.

S. *Iohn Chrysostom* saith; *It was the most ancient of all the Commandements that God gaue, and serued to the Iewes* (according as Saint *Cyprian* declareth) *to wipe away Original sinne, as Baptisme dooth at this present among Christians.* But after the resurrection and Ascension of our Lorde Iesus Christ, Circumcision ceased, and was no more vsed: but onely to baptize young Infants, as well Males as females; yea, Men and VVomen of all ages, that is to say, to be washed with the water of Baptisme; and by that meanes, be receyued into the lap of the Church holy and Catholicke, out of which there is not any saluation.

S. Iohn Chrysost.

At what time Circumcision was abolished

There was a Counsell held by the Apostles, concerning the acte of Circumcision; and they were of the minde, that the Gentiles by no meanes should vse it. Afterward, some Iewes, making profession of Christian Faith, caused themselus to bee circumcised; not that there was any need thereof, or commanded by the Apostles; but to the end, that they might the more willingly be accepted of other Iewes, to instruct and aduance them in the Faith, & to be admitted into the Synagogues, according as Saint *Paule* did to *Timothie*. But in the end, the Iewes that were conuerted vnto the Christian Faith, left Circumcision as vnprofitable, and a matter of great mollestation to the Christians.

The Apostles condemned Circumcision

Neuertheless, the Christians, called *Abyssines* who liue in great *Ethyopia*, they are cicatrized with the hotte Iron in the forehead, as wee may perceiue by them that are sent to Rome, who remaine all in one house, behinde the Tribunall of Saint *Peter*, to whom Pope *Paule* founded a reuennew for their maintenaunce. But, besides this cicatrizing in the foreheade, and Baptisme, they are also Circumcised, which is a verie great error. It is to be presumed, that they haue neuer seene the Booke of the Acts of the Apostles, written by Saint Luke: or els, they haue not (as yet) receiued and approued it. I haue not read or heard of any Christians, that haue vsed, or do vse Circumcision, but only the *Ethyopians*. Verie wel I know, that in the primitiue church, many Iewes (who had beene conuerted) would haue circumcision to be continued. But this matter was discided at *Antioche*, where Saint *Peter* presided, as hath formerly beene saide. And it was not knowne, that any Christian vsed it, but the *Abyssine* Church only, which helde very manie great Prouinces. Al the other Christians, as *Maronites*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, *Iacobites*, *Greekes*, *Nestorians*, and other of that Liuerie, neuer vsed it at all.

Christians being Ethyopians, do onelie vse Circumcision.

Hier. Giglo an Italian.

The Abyssins being Christians, onely vsed Circumcision.

Yet this is not enough, for not onelie they which liue after the *Abyssine* manner, transgressed the aduise & command of the Apostles; but haue added sin vpon sinne, and error vpon error; for they cause their females to bee circumcised, whom they call *Cophles*. A thing, which was neuer practised in *Moyses* Law, neyther was there euer founde any expresse commaundement to do it. I know not where the noseleese *Moores* learned it, for they cut their females, although they be of Marriage estate, taking away a certain *Apophysis*, or excrescence of musculous skin, that descendeth from the superiour part of the matrix, which some cal *Nympha* or *Hymenea*, one growing on eyther side, euen so far as the orifice of the neck of the bladder, which serue the erection to coition. Many women both heere and elsewhere, haue caused themselues to bee cut, as being ouer great, and exceeding Nature, but not for any matter of Religion. The Mahometans of *Affrica*, doo circumcise themselues, because that a Prophet named *Homar*, commaunded them. And there are Weomen, that haue this Office of cutting them, but practise it not in the presence of men; which act is thought well of in the women. And they go crying in the streetes of Cities, Townes, and Villages, to make knowne what

Women that are circumcised.

Moores that haue no Noses, doo Circumcise maides mariageable.

Weomen in *Affrica*, that are Circumcisers.

what they can do, carying themſelues ſo wiſely in the deed, that they cut but a little of the ſuperficies; for otherwiſe, there would follow a great flux of blood. But the Turkiſh people of *Aſia*, and of *Europe* (ſubiects to the Emperor of Turkes) do not vſe it: except it be ſuch as are vnder the Dition of the *Sophye*, whom they tearme to be Turkiſh Heretickes.

Turkiſh Hereticks vnder the Sophy.

Plinie writeth, that the Egyptians haue from Antiquity, vſed Circumciſion, and they of *Cholcos*, as wel as the Iews, which I hardly beleeue. Well it may be, that it was vſed by ſome Iewes, who liued among them, euen as they do at this day, liuing among vs. Count *Ferdinand*, in his voyage of *Mexico*, in the firſt Iſland where he landed, named *Aſcamill*, found, that the people of the Iſle vſed Circumciſion, and yet they were Idolaters, vſing oftentimes to ſacrifice men, and to eate the fleſh of them. Notwithſtanding, it could neuer yet be knowne, that eyther Iew or Chriſtian had beene there before him, nor ſo much as any tract of foote of man.

Pl. in l. 30. c. 17

Sauage people that vſed Circumciſion

Neuer was Circumciſion vſed in ſo many Countries, as it is at this day, becauſe the Iewes haue lefte no place vnſought, where they could inhabite or get dwelling for their money; except it bee in *France* and *Spaine*; where heeretofore they regented liberally, and both were & are allowed euer heereafter to enter, but Circumciſion not ſo frequent as it hath bin. In like manner, the Mahometan law, which vſeth Circumciſion, ſpreading it ſelfe both in power and Doctrine, thorow the verie greateſt parts of the earth, giueth a large paſſage thereto; for, they which entertaine it in their Empires, are the moſt potent Monarkes of the world. As the Prince of Turkes; the Sophye of *Perſia*; the moſt mighty King of the *Tartars*; *Cham*, and al the great Kings of the *Indiaes*, which dwell in the Countreyes, where the Riuers *Indus* and *Ganges* run along, and likewiſe all *Affrica*.

A reaſon why Circumciſion is vſed yet to this day, in ſo manie Countries.

A large compaſſe of the world.

Such as haue conuerſed with the Turkes, do ſay; that they conſtraine not their Slaues or Captiues to be circumciſed: true it is, that they haue better entertainment, if it may be called ſo. But afterward, if they come into the handes of Chriſtians, they are ſearched; and being found to be cut, they are handled by the in ſelfeſame manner as the Turkes doe. And nothing can they ſay, but that in their hearts they are Chriſtians, & were otherwiſe forced.

Slaues & captiues not forced to be circumciſed amongſt the Turkes.

Therefore, we are to thanke our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who hath beene ſo gracious vnto vs, as by his death and paſsion) to free vs from Circumciſion, graunting vs Baptiſme, thereby to waſh away Originall ſinne. And heerein it may bee euidently ſeene, how greatly the *Ethyopian* Church doeth erre, to vſe Circumciſion with Baptiſme.

CHAP. XLIII.

A Paradox, in the defence of Baſtardie: Approouing, that the Baſtard is more worthy to be eſteemed, then he that is lawfully borne, or Legittimate.

THE great Priuiledges, which I ſee are duely appertayning to Baſtards, and illegitimate Children, (whom the Italians in high contempte, do terme Mules-Foales) makes mee vndertake the boldneſſe, to preferre them before other; and to ſhew by good reaſons, that they are greatly ſuperiour to ſuch, whom we call legittimate and lawfull borne Children. Firſt of all (Gentlemen) I entreate yee to conſider, that Baſtards generally, are begot in more heat and vigour of loue, with more agreeable conformity of willes, and farre ſweeter Vnion of the ſpirites, then the moſt part of our Legittimate Children. Conſider withall, that their conception is performed by ſtolne opportunities, warie preuentions, watchfull diſcretion, and an infinite number of more ingenious deceipts, and amorous actions, then eyther needeth, or is required, in a ſetled condition of marriage, free from that fierie feare, which is the ſole ſpurre vnto a longing appetite. Such Conceptions (many times) are acted without anie gayetie of heart, without anie fauourie pleaſing of both the ſouls, or that height

Baſtards termed by the Italians Mules Foales.

The actiue, willing, and reciprocall loue in the act of Baſtardes.

of affection and delight, that makes an act well done, before it be halfe doone. Which is the reaſon (as I thinke) why we ſee many ſightly and formall Fathers, to haue Children dul of ſpirite, lame of diſpoſition, and deformed in body.

How Baſtards (for the moſt part) do yeeld preſage of themſelues.

Contrarywiſe, yee ſhall not find a Baſtard (for the moſt part of them) but he is ingenious, of ſprightly iudgement, and commonly acompanied with beſeeming corpulence of bodie, and ſome other faire fore-telling rules, of good aduenture and Fortune. Beſide, it ſeemeth as a certainty, that Nature had ſome peculier reſpect of Baſtardes, in ſquaring them forth ſuch liberall allowances, as to erect and builde magnificent houſes, in places of ſolemne and publick note, yea, in moſt celebrate and ſtupendious Cities, as hauing this care, that in following times, they ſhould riſe to great requeſt and honour. And that it muſt needs be ſo, wee may euidently diſcern by al Baſtard thinges, be it but in fruits, Horſes, or anie other matter to be alledged, that they are better, feater, and fairer then any other are.

Examples deriued from Baſtard thinges.

Of Mules.

To begin with Mules or Mulets, which are Beaſts that we cannot (although wee would) in reaſon blame or deſpiſe. For, what is he, who can deny, that theſe kinds of Beaſts do not endure all paines, and al turmoiles we can deuiſe to put them to? Notwithſtanding, they eate very little, beare heauier burdens, and pace more ſmooth, and for mens eaſe, then naturall Horſes do or can. And this is the reaſon, why reuerend and Religious Prelates, men of graue and great iudgement, eſpecially Phyſitions, for the eaſe and health of their bodies, make choiſe of their dayly riding on theſe Beaſtes, rather then other.

Of Baſtarde fruits, being grafted vpon contrary ſtockes.

If we ſpeake of fruits, we ſhal find, that the daintieſt and moſt excellent of all other, are ſuch as are grafted vppon contrarie ſtockes, which are called conſtrayned, or Baſtard fruits. They commonly, are greater, fairer, ſweeter, and more ſauoury, then ſuch as come of Naturall plants: & as for inſenſible things, we ſhal finde, that the name of Baſtard hath bin giuen to weapons of warre: witneſſe the Baſtard Sword, Croſſe-bow, Musket, Culuering, Cannon, and manie more, which would bee too troubleſom to recount.

Inſenſible things.

But let vs come to men againe, & beginne with *Romulus* and *Remus*, Founders of the verie greateſt Citty in the worlde, were they not both Baſtardes? What was *Iſmael*, *Hercules*, *Perſes*, and *Ramires*, King of *Arragon*: a Prince (beyond all other in his time) moſt vertuous and famous? What was King *Arthur*, & the Emperour *Alexander*, who for his deeds was ſur-named Great? And, not to alledge *Iugurth*, let vs ſpeake of *Conſtantine*, Emperor of the *Romaines*: of *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, and others of elder time, whoſe memories are not of inferior reputation, to them that haue beene accounted legittimate. But let vs come to moderne and preſent times, and wee ſhall finde, the greateſt houſes of Princes in *Fraunce*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, and elſewhere, to be renowned by Baſtardes: and Hiſtories are filled with their knightly deedes and valour: Witneſſe Duke *William* of *Normandie*, who Conquered *England*. The Duke of *Borſe*; the Lorde *Iohn Sforza*, and many more.

Examples deduced of men famous in diuers ages of olde.

Moderne and later times.

Examples of Learned men & great Writers.

Let vs ſee howe manie learned men, the ſtolne pleaſures and ſweete embracings of women, haue yeelded vs. And we will not ſhame to beginne with worthy *Peter Lombard*, who yet to this day, (for honours ſake) is called, *The Maiſter of the Sentences*; who likewiſe hadde two Bretheren, adorned with the ſelfe-ſame Learning and ſanctity as hee was. Such embracinges likewiſe left vs, the skilfull *Iaſon du Main*, who was reckoned the verie incompareable Index or Protocle, of the direct Cannon, and Ciuill Lawes. VVee had alſo, by the ſame meanes, *Eraſmus Roterodamus*, who though a reuerend Abbot of *Flanders*, was ſaide to be his Father, yet in the iudgement of the beſt Learned, he was moſt deepe in Diuinitie, and more then meanely excellent, in the Arts of Grammar and Rhetoricke.

The praiſes of *Eraſmus Roterodamus*.

His induſtry, not only ſtirred vp good Letters in *Germanie*, *Brabant*, and *England*, but alſo reſtored and amended infinite good Authours, which were before mangled and depraued; yea, his excellent Learned workes, furniſhed all the Studies and Liberaries of *Europe*.

I will not ſpeake of the Wiſe *Chriſtopher Longueil*, of *Malignes*; whome a Good and Vertuous Byſhoppe leſte vs, as a true *Cicero* of our time, beſides the great

great knowledge he had, in the Lawes imperiall. Shall I say any thing of *Iacobus Faber*, the restorer of *Aristotles* Phylosophy, and extirpater of the old most Barbarous Sophistry? Or of *Cælius Calgaguinus*, held of his time, as well for ciuility of good manners, as profound intelligences in the best Sciences and Disciplines) a most liuely splendor and Ornament, to the famous City of *Ferrara*?

Iacobus Faber the restorer of *Aristotles* Phylosophy.

Vndoubtedly, he that (borne in innocence) followeth the way of honor, and walkes in the pathes of Vertue, cannot be counted base begotten in this world. To aproue this, if a bad mā do beget such a good son, he cannot without his owne consent, imprint in his faire spirite, the blemishing spots of his own incontinency. But notwithstanding this, if he be so borne, what Bastard soeuer he bee: in a well disposed, holy, and vertuous life, he may bury the name & impudicity of his parentes, and all the remembraunce of their vnchast act. And what is he (so vnprouided of good iudgement) that had not rather be honest and ciuily manered, though he proceede of Parents touched with some shame, then be reputed a Villaine, and bad disposed wretch; yet descended of great and worthy progeny, as oftentimes we see it com to passe? As for the poore Bastard, he findeth not himselfe to be in any fault, neither hath broken holy Lawes concerning his Byrth. The error that is committed, redoundeth rather to his Parents, who (transported with ouer-much vnbrideled looseneſſe) would needs go against the ordinance of diuine Iustice. We shall finde beside, that illegittimate birth, hath beene the meanes of bringing proud minded sons, to benigne, humble, and affable cariage of themselues.

Vertue & honour are the best pathes to walke in.

The Bastarde is not in fault by reason of his birth.

So I conclude, that to bee a Bastarde, should breed no offence to any one. In regard that our blessed Sauiour (then whom, no person is to be thought more high, nor any, that euermore detested dishoneſt and hatefull thinges) was not displeased, but made choise of some poor sinners, in the ranke of his holie Genealogie, as it is reuealed by the testimonie of S. *Mathew*, the most faithfull and diligent Secretary to his Maiesty.

The Authors Conclusion.

CHAP. XLIIII.

Of the disastrous end, and shamefull death, of two Mahometan Caliphs.

FOr better compriehenſion of this chapter, which treateth of two auaricious Caliphs; I thinke it most conuenient, to let the Reader vnderstand, before I passe any further, what office it is that a Caliphe holdeth. It is a dignity or estate, which people of the Mahometan Religion, vsed to conferre vpon such a man, whom they thought to be of holy life, a great and diligent obseruer of Mahomets Law, as also well learned therein; graunting him besides, to command as wholly in royall authoritie. At the beginning of this Religion, al Caliphes, were Kings: witnesse Mahomet himselfe, inuenter thereof, who was King of *Arabia-Homar* his successor in a great part of the East: *Hibrain* the lean or meager, King of *Bagadet* or *Babylon*. One named *Sophy*, was King of *Persia*; and since then, his successors haue kepte the Empire, euen to this day. Egypt was also held by Caliphes, vntil such time as *Saladine* expulsed them thence, and from the Realme of *Mossul* in like manner.

Concerning the dignity or office of a *Caliph*.

Mahomet K. of *Arabia*.

The Prince-Turke, although he be of the Mahometan Religion, hee doth not entitle himselfe *Caliphe*, but most Soueraigne Emperor, or the *Grand-Seigneur*. For, he hath people in the landes, which are called *Muphtis*, who do discide these doubts, and such points as may happen about the Articles of religion: & as they determine, he standeth resolued. To bee briefe, the foresaide two Caliphes, held each of them a kingdome in the Title of *Caliphat*. One of them was King of *Mossul*, Caliph of *Baldach*, the Capitall City of the Kingdom, otherwise called in holy Scripture *Susa*. This Cittie is scituated towards the East, making the Frontier of great *Armenia*.

The Prince-Turke.

Mar. Paulus in Lib. 1. Cap. 16.

We are now to know, that about the

The scituation of the kingdome of *Mossul.*

yeare of Grace, when the Emperor *Fredericke Barbarossa*, with many Christians was gone into *Syria* against the *Sarazins*, and in the time of Pope *Gregorie* the 9. a great and potent Emperour came out of *Tartaria*, named *Alland* (yet cald by some others *Haelon*) with an Armie of foure hundred thousand men on foot, & three hundred thousand horse, being vrged so to doo, by some Easterne Princes and Christians, to refraine the audaciousnes of the Sarazins, he being a warlick man, and endued with many Vertues. He was neyther Christian nor Mahumetist, and yet a Pagan that worshipped the Sunne and Moone.

Haelon king of the Tartars, stird to armes by the Estern Prince.

After he had fought against the people of *Condares*, the *Paricanes*, *Bactrians*, *Bomareans*, *Rosanes*, *Dahes*, and manie other puissant Realms of the *Scytheans*, he cam into *Arabia*, where he subdued also foure Kings; and so iournying on in *Armenia*, passed neere to *Baldach*, the chiefe Cittie (as hath beene saide already) of the kingdome of *Mossul*. This Citie was rich and opulent, by reason of great traffick which the Inhabitantes made to the *Indiaes*, by helpe of a goodly Riuer passing through the middest thereof; and taking his Originall in the Cittie of *Chisy*, by which riuer, within eighteene dayes they coulde saile to the *Indiaes*. There is made great quantity of Silke, and cloath of Gold & Siluer, with an infinite number of other faire and rich commodities.

Baldach a very welthy Citie, and trading to the *Indiaes*.

The Caliph of *Baldach*, vnderstanding that this Prince approached so neere his Lands, and with an army of such power sent into *Arabia* and *Numidia*, to make a leauy of Soldiers to place in Garrisons in all the tenable Townes of his Kingdom; and among others, in his capitall Cittie of *Baldach*. *Alland*, making no doubt of taking this Citty, did his best endeauour to get entrance: but founde it very difficult, in regard of their resolution that defended it within. Neuertheless, he made an Oath and Vow, that he woulde not budge thence, vntill he had taken the Citie. By meanes whereof, the siege lasted longer time then the Caliphe dreamt of: for victuals begin to faile them, although they were still conueyed in secretly, but sold at verie deare rates.

The Caliph leuied forces for safetie of his Land.

Alland maketh a Vow to take the City.

The Soldiers and other people, consumed all their meanes in nourishing themselues; and when they had no further supplies, they desired but a quarter of such things, as were not able to content thē, or but the left part of their wages before hand, onely to withstande the stroke of extreame necessity. The Caliph made them answere, that he was naked of money; but he would impose a Taxation on the people; and therewith, they should be paide. The inhabitants, by reason of the long siedge, were quite emptied both of victuals and money, as well as the Soldiers, who perceiued wel inough how matters went; and therefore, all of them (with one consent) did conspire against the Caliphe, that had a wonderful aboundance of Treasure, and yet refused to helpe them, who had no cause of beeing there, but for the safety of his life. Wherefore, some selected personnes, in name of all the rest, went forth secretlie to the enimy, capitulating with him, that they would surrender vp the Citty: conditionally, that it shold neither be pilled, nor burned, nor any one put to death, but only the Caliphe, and his house & treasures to remaine at his disposing.

A Conspiracy against the Caliphe, and vpon what reason.

A purpose of surrendering vp the Cittie.

The Emperor of *Tartaria* being wise, and one of the discreetest Princes of his time: vnderstanding, what they of *Baldach* had willingly offered, accepted their honest offer; and in the night time, hee sent in thirty thousand men, who tooke the *Caliphe*, sleeping securely among his mucke, and committing his body to prison, saw all things safe looked vnto til the next morning. At which time, *Alland* entred the Citty; and the base-minded Caliph was presented vnto him, of whose greedy Auarice he had been sufficiently informed. Forthwith he caused him to bee brought along with him to a strong Tower, where he had lockt vp his infinit treasures, because he would himselfe be a witnesse, whether they were answereable to the report, or no. After he hadde a while looked on his wealth, it mooued some admiration in him; because hee found there 16000. Markes of Gold and in Siluer, three times as much, besides numberlesse precious Stones, and other Iewels of inestimable price. Hee tooke forth all the victuals which were there as carefully enclosed as his wealth, only for his owne bellies satiety; & then shutting vp the wretch himselfe among his riches, would vse no long Oration to him, but spake as followeth.

The Empetors acceptance of the offer, surprizal of the *Caliph*, and sending to prison.

The wonderfull riches of the Caliphe.

If

The speeches of *Alland* to the Caliphe.

If thou hadst not beene so much affected, to the preseruation of thy Riches, thou hadst the meanes of deliuering thy selfe, them, and the Citty also. Now vse thy Treasures as thou canst, which thou hast so dearelie loued, eate them, and drinke them, at thine owne pleasure. So, making fast the doors vpon him, he placed good and sufficient Gnards about the Tower, that no sustenance might any way be brought vnto him: and on the seauenth day, the poore and rich auaritious Wretch dyed. During which time, the Emperor soiourned in the Cittie, refreshing his Army, and people came from diuers Prouinces, and Kinges of neere neighbouring Confines, to conferre with him, bringing great store of prouision for his Souldiours, which he payed very truly and liberally for. I find it faithfully written, that this was one of the richest Armies, that euer was knowne to passe into *Europe*. Hee distributed the aboundant riches of the Caliphe, in part, among them that had yeilded the Citty, and the rest to his Army, reseruing not a iot therof for himselfe. Thus this infortunate man, was he that enioyed least of his owne Treasures, so greedily scraped together; and yet many people fared much the better by thē, after his wretched death.

The death of the Caliphe.

The distribution of the Caliphe wealth.

Fourescore yeares before, or there about, according to the *Sarrazine* Histories, there was another *Caliphe*, & King of Ægypt, who resided at *Cayre* (for, as I haue already said, the *Caliphes* did then raign in those quarters) and feared the great multitude of the Christians, which were come out of *Europe*, for recouery of the Holy Land. And because it was thought impossible (if they surprized *Palestine*) to preserue whatsoeuer was possessed in *Ægipt*, the power of the Christians beeing so much doubted: he called *Saladine* to his ayde, who was King of some part of *Tartaria*, a young Man, and couetous of glorie, honours, and principalities: who came with a worthy troupe of Souldiours, well invred to Warres, to helpe the *Caliphe*. It fell out so, that they re-conquered such places as had beene taken from him, and won one notable battel; wherein, such Christians as remained, capitulated for their passage, had promise to auoyde the Country. *Saladine* hauing ended the expedition for which he came, demaunded recompence; and paiment for his men of warre; who had (as yet) touched no Money, but two quarters, and so hee purposed present returne home againe.

Guiel. Anglic. Epicf. Tyrienſis

The Caliphe called *Saladine* to his assistance.

Saladine demandeth recompence for his paines, & men.

The vnthankfull *Caliphe* Priest, made him answer; that at the instant, his Coffers were emptied of Mony, by reason of his long Warres maintenance: and therefore he was voyd of all meanes, to recompence him as he had worthily deserued. But, after a small time of breathing and repose, sufficient recompence should be sent him. As for his Souldiours, he needed not to giue them any Wages, considering, they had dailie held the field, feeding on the Country, where-with they might well rest themselues contented, and the spoyles of the Enemy.

The ingratefull Caliphes answere to *Saladine*.

Saladine, who was aduertised, that the *Caliphe* had gathered vnualuable Treasures, and was somewhat impacient, that he could haue no other payment but wordes: suddenly smote him on the head with an Iron Mace, and slew him. When the Guards and others heard the death of this couetous Wretch, in stead of taking vengeance, they saluted him as their King, and exercised large liberalitie of those ill gotten goods, to al the Army, and chiefest Men of Ægypt. Whereby they made a setled assurance of their State; and after him, his Successours haue raigned peaceably in *Egypt*, for the space of four hundred yeares.

Saladine suddenly slue the Caliphe.

Saladine is made King of Egypt.

In like manner, it happened to a Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Chanons of Saint *Sophia*, who suffered the *Grecian* Empire to bee lost; because no assistance of treasure could be had (from them that had gripply hoarded it vp a long time) for the Emperour *Constantine Paleologus*, besiedged by the *Turke*; to pay the *Hungares*, *Italians*, *French*, *Spanish*, and other Nations which came to succour him. So that, in the end, the *Turkes* became full possessors thereof, and they were all made Slaues, as all the rest of *Greece* was dealt with beside.

The Empire of Greece lost throw couetousnesse

You may see then, what recompence auaritious men do iustly receiue; who may well bee compared to Rats, that liue in rich Mines, and gnaw on Gold and

Couetous mē compared to Rats in Mines of Gold and

and Siluer, and yet (notwithstanding) gaine no benefit thereby. But when they are taken, and vnbowelled, then their rich stuffing is found: and so they make others wealthy, though altogether against their wils. They are likewise resembled to Pipes, Channels, or Conuoyes of Waters from Fountaine heads, that disgorge their carriage for all other mens affaires, and keepe nothing for themselues. The same may we iustly say of such miserable minded men, of whose wealth no man can haue benefit, till after their death; as hath appeared by these two *Mahometane Caliphes*.

CHAP. XLV.

Of certaine Beastes, and other Creatures, that (by a naturall instinct) do beare enuie to Man, in some things, which they thinke may be profitable to him; yet kept or remaining in their power. And therefore doe striue (by all their vttermost meanes) to hinder him from enioying the benefit of them.

The opinion of the learned concerning Enuie.

MAny learned Diuines, Philosophers and Poets, haue left vs in their Writings, that there is not any greater torment, or passion of the Spirit, which more meagereth the body, or disfigureth the face, then Enuie. And truely, this vice is not onelie a possessor of men; but likewise of reptile creatures, Foure-footed beastes, waterie inhabitants, yea, of Dæmons. For there are many of them, that (by meere instinct of nature) do know some thinges to be abyding in themselues, which may returne som commoditie to Man, without any touch or preiudice, either to their life or health, or returning them the least discommoditie in the World, although it consisteth but in an Excrement, or some superfluitie issuing from their bodies. And yet notwithstanding, such is their mallice to man, as to frustrate him thereof: some will hide it vnder-ground; others deuour it, or in some other manner procure the losse of it.

Naturall enuy in Beastes and other creatures against man.

The *Stellio* is an euill creature.

As an inducement to others, we wil begin with the *Stellio*, which almost is like vnto the Lizzards among vs; they hide themselues in Walles, and there is little difference betweene them, but onely in small spottes of their skinnes, which do resemble little Stars. But this *Stellio* will not looke a man in the face, as the Lizzard doth, and seemeth to take a delight therein. For he shunneth him by all meanes, except hee can hurt him, by byting, or otherwise; which is most venomous if he doe it. They are different also in their Excrements, for that of the *Stellio*, mingled among complexion or painting, raiseth ouglines & deformitie in them that vse it. Contrariwise, those Excrements of the *Lacertes*, or *Lizzards*, doe greatly embellish them that make vse of them among their Vnguents, such as they apply to their faces, to make them looke the more amiably. And questionlesse, if the *Stellio* did know, that his Dung were profitable to Man: he would take order, that it should (by no meanes) be found.

Difference betweene the Stellio and the Lizzard.

Whereas, the Lizzard, louing men, and knowing that his ordure bringeth him som benefit: he empties it in a publike and cleanely place; as vpon stones, where it may be gathered of euery one, to make what vse he pleaseth thereof. The Stellio (indeed) doth as much, but it is to another end: for he leaueth it openly to be found, because it hath some neere resemblance with the Lizzardes, to the end, that when vse is made thereof by man, it may make him more deformed and loathsome, then a confirmed Lazer.

The Excrements of the Lizzard.

The Excrements of the Stellio.

Beside what hath already beene said, he hath a propertie, which is, that euery yeare (at Spring time) he casteth his skinne, as Serpents doe: but knowing, that it serueth Man, as an assured and siguler remedie, against the wofull disease of the Falling-Sickness, to deprine man of the benefit, which (harmlesse to himselfe) hee might receiue thereby, so soone as he hath left or cast it off, presently he deuoureth it. And this is the reason, why they are so rare and deare, and that (for to be possessed of them) people giue such watchfull attendance in the Spring time, to get them,

An excellent propertie of the skinne of the Stellio.

In what manner the Stellio casteth his skinne.

them, so soone as they are despoyled or throwne off, which is in the extreamest heat of the day, and in some remote place out of haunt, by rubbing himselfe against some stone. When he is discharged of it (as by their dilligent attendance they doe discerne) he would presently eate and swallow it, but that it requireth longer time: and therefore they seeke to entrap him, or hunt him, or else to kill him as he is feeding on it; and by these meanes they recouer it, yet not without great vigilancy and carefulnesse.

Great difficulty in getting the skinne.

In the yeare 1586. there was a *Turke* at *Lyons*, who had to the number of a dozen of those skins, and none of them being greater then the finger of a Child of seauen yeares old, yet he sold them at ten Crownes apiece. A Gentlewoman of *Auuergne*, that was then at *Lyons*, being come thither, to be cured of the Epilepsie or Falling-Sickneſſe: an Apothecary named *Vymarde*, gaue her counsell in the case, and so shee bought two of the skinnes. They being beaten into powder, she was to drinke them in one and twenty daies: to wit, the weight of three graines, with an ounce and a halfe of Piony Water, euery morning fasting; after which, shee felt her selfe not touched therewith, in the least maner whatsoeuer.

A memorable History of a Gentlewomā at *Lyons*, knowen for a truth.

I my selfe saw three of these skinnes, which an Apothecary of *Paris* (a Man very excellently experienced in his Art, and curious in thinges that were rare and strange) named *Peter Cucthe*, shewed me. With one of them he pleasured a Knight of *Malta*, who was subiect also to the same infirmitie; and albeit he was a Man of threescore years old, yet it fully cured him. It may appeare to many, that these thinges which I write, are almost impossible; because they seeme to happen, against any precepts of the Phisition, and daily experience. But let such doubtfull men know, that secrets in nature are day by day discouered, which (before) were neuer dreampt or thought on, expressing rare and admirable effects, as hath beene obserued (well neere) in all ages.

A matter of truth, and knowne to the Authour.

The Hart or Stag likewise, is as enuious towardes man, as the Stellio is, because when he casteth his first Head, especially, that on the right side: he hideth it in the earth, or within some hollow Tree, or otherwise as best he may, but very subtilly, because men should derriue no benefit by it, which (indeed) is very great and excellent, if it can bee found. For I am well assured, that there is not any Antidote among the Apothecaries, nor remedy read in the Books of Phisicke, that can compare therewith, although it were the true Horne of a Vnicorne. For, if a man be distracted in his sences, or meerely mad, if he take the filing of this Horne, no more but seauen Grains thereof, in a draught of white Wine, or of Baulme-water, twenty daies together, it will perfectly restore him.

The Hart or Stag enuious against Man.

The vertue of the head or horn first cast by the Stag, as wel against all poysons, as many dangerous diseases.

Moreouer, whosoeuer taketh nine Graines of it fasting, with the Syrope of Lymons; vndoubtedly, that day he shall not be smitten with the pestilence. It preserueth from all poysons. And they that drinke of the Water, or haue it tempered with some of this Horne burned, standing steeped four & twenty houres: it both killeth and auoydeth all Wormes, in any that are offended with them. It is also very singuler, being Clysterized to dissenteriques. By approoued experience, it helpeth also the Falling-sickneſſe, if during thirtie dayes, the weight of twenty Graines be taken, either with some decoction, or soueraigne Water. But the partie must beginne to take it, the first daie, when the Sunne entreth into the signe of *Aries*. This Horne hath many other vertuous properties; As, to voide the stone out of the raines, and out of the bladder. The decoction thereof, not onely easeth the paine, but also intirely cureth the Gout: if wee may giue credit to the great *Grecian* Phisition, *Alexander Trallianus*. All which vertues, and many more, for breuities sake I am enforced to passe ouer: because I come next to the Mare, which beareth as much enuye to mens delights, as any of the former.

A prescription for the time of taking this medicine

When the Mare hath foaled, shee hath this bad qualitie, that with her teeth, she suddenly snatcheth or biteth from the young Foales fore-head, a little Morsell of Flesh there growing, about the bigneſſe of a small green Fig, which the *Greekes* vsed to call *Hippomanes*. And it hath so great and excellent

The mallicious nature of the Mare.

Hippomanes, what it is, and wherefore it is profitable.

a properry, that if either man or woman doe beare it about them, and can compasse the meanes, to conferre with him or her, on whom they dote so much in affection, as they are desirous of carnal knowledge or copulation; the weight of three Graines only, mingled among any Meates or Confections, will (in a very short while) vrge affection in him or her that receiueth the Drug; albeit they were (before) neuer so vnwilling. This *Hippomanes* is very difficult to bee recouered, and he must not be a dull or slothfull body, that goeth about to get it: but one that is most watchfull, and quicke of Spirit, which will appeare by his paines, if he endeuour to haue it. For, to speake vprightly, if it could bee easily come by; many notorious abuses would be committed thereby. But God who hath created all thinges to be vsed well, and for the benefit of man: taketh away all commodious meanes, from loose and voluptuous people, in easilie getting this peece of flesh, because they should not lewdly abuse themselues.

Dull or negligent persons cannot come by this *Hippomanes*.

Hippomanes procureth honest and vertuous affection,

This *Hippomanes*, doth not serue only to procure loose and veneriall loue; but likewise it causeth honest and vertuous affection: prouided, that it bee ioyned with the Stone called an Emerald, for then (by a strange & vnknown property to vs) it maketh men happie and successefull, in all their Negotiations; as also hardy, couragious, & martially disposed. A Gentleman by birth, an *Angeuine*, who made no meane esteeme of my friendship; often shewed mee one of these *Hippomanes*, which he wore about his necke, in a case of Christall, being dried, and about the bignes of a Filberd, somewhat hard, and blacke of colour. He hath bin so fortunate, that in fiue seueral combats or *Duelloes*, man to man: he was still the vanquisher, and himselfe little hurt. In the end, he was so louingly respected by the duke of *Anion* (who afterward was King of *France* and *Poland*) that when the said Lord left the Crown and Countrey of *Poland*, to claime his right in the Kingdome of *France*: passing thorough *Germany*, the Emperor espied this Gentleman attending on the King, but he grew so extraordinarily affected towards him, that he won both the Kings fauour and his, for abiding with him, which hee promised to recompence very royally, as afterward he did. The Emperor so dearly respected the Gentleman, that he aduanced him to a worthy mariage in *Austria*, where he had very rich & noble gouernments, and commaunded ouer the Emperors Armies against the *Turke*. The sum of all is, that all happinesse, which could accompany a man of honor, was found in him, and not only my selfe, but many more, not meanly or triuially acquainted with him, did imagine this felicity (next to Heauens fauour) to proceede from nothing else, but onely the *Hippomanes*, which he alwaies bore about him. One thing I am well assured of, that he was beloued of diuers worthy Ladies, from whom hee deriued many regardful fauours: which kindnes could not proceed form any beautie or handsomnesse in him, because hee was very hard-fauoured, and much crooke-backt. Himselfe told me many times, that it cost him much pain & diligence, to recouer the *Hippomanes*, relying vpon no mans trust, but his owne watchfull care, and awaited til the Mare was newly discharged of her Foale. He vsed such meanes, that he did cut it from the foals forehead, albeit the Mare both bit, and smote him often with her heeles: but when she found it gone, she would neither feed, nor let the Foal suck; but died within three daies after. Euery man may beleeue as best him pleaseth. I protest, that I do not set down any thing in this case, but what I heard frō him that had the thing it selfe, and shewed me the maner therof. But to come to our first purpose, the *Hippomanes* hath beene as well knowne to our elders, as to vs; as wee may read in *Virgill*. *Marullus* speaketh of one, that was not natural, but compounded: the composition wherof I wil not here set downe, because it is vnworthie to be declared. I hath as powerfull operation, in procuring affection, as the other: but most often, in such extreamity of louing, it maketh men mad and foolish, and therefore I refrain to set down any more. I think, that nature, the handmaid to God, produced the first *Hippomanes*, for a medicinable vse to such, who being ioyned in marriage, doe not loue one another, or cannot enioy the benefit of mariage, by reason of natures coldnesse: in which case, it is a most soueraigne remedy, and I haue known it very successiuely practised in such a case.

Opinion conceiued of the Gentlemans felicity, the Author himselfe being an eye-witnesse.

How the Gentleman recouered the *Hippomanes*.

Another *Hippomanes* described by *Marullus*.

The Authors opinion concerning the first *Hippomanes*.

A vse not to be discommended.

The Hiſtory of a Gentleman, that had an *Hippomanes*

This K. was named *Henrie* the third.

It is therefore presuppoſed, that the Mare, by a meere naturall inſtinct; knowing what a helpe and benefit this *Hippomanes* would be to Man: as enuious, that he ſhould enioy ſo much goodneſſe by her, maketh as ſpeedie a deuouring thereof, as the *Stellio* doth of her skinne.

Rondelet. in Lib. de Piſc. 16. Cap. 17.

Now, not onely do theſe Foure-footed beaſts on earth, bear ſuch mallice to Man, but Fiſhes in the Water doe the like, as (very many) that haue frequented the Seas, haue ſeene and obſerued. Among other Fiſhes liuing in the Water, they haue noted the Sea-Hare to be touched with enuy, as much as any of the foreſaid Creatures, although ſhe ſeemeth to haue no vnderſtanding of the act. For it is a Fiſh, drouſie, ſleepy, ſnorting, lumpiſh, deformed, and vnwholſom. This foule fiſh, hath a kind of Curd within her, which ſo ſoone as ſhe ſhooteth or caſteth, ſhe preſently deuoureth it againe: onely becauſe ſhee hath a naturall vnderſtanding, that it hath many ſecret vertues, to help both Men and Women. For it is a ſinguler remedy to eaſe Women that haue the bearing downe of the Mother. And being taken inwardly, or applyed outwardlie, it is a ſoueraingne help againſt the byting of all venomous Beaſts. It prouoketh Weomens Floures, when they are verie grieuouſly ſtaied: and bringeth away a Child dead in the Mothers Wombe, with the after burthen or birth alſo. Being drunke with Vineger, it preſerueth againſt poyſon, and is ſuccourable for the Chollicke, frettings or grindings in the belly, and all clotted or congealed bloods. When it it is Clyſterized, it awaketh all Lethargies, and preuaileth againſt all benummings whatſoeuer. Receiued in drinke, it is good againſt all tremblings, ſwounings, and all griefes and defects in the Nerues. *Ælianus* hath recorded, that the Sea-Calfe hath oftentimes beene ſeene to ſucke her ſelfe, and draw her owne Milke: becauſe men ſhould haue no vſe thereof, in regard it is very much auayling againſt all the fore-named diſeaſes.

The Sea-hare that hath a Curd, naturally good for many cauſes.

Notes worth the obſeruation.

Aelianus in Lib. 3. Cap. 18

The Sea-Calfe.

The Vrchin or Hedge-hog well knoweth, that he is not followed by Huntſmen, by any deſire to eate his Fleſh, for it is of moſt vile digeſtion: but the purſuite is onely for his skinne, which hath many good properties. For, beeing burned, the Aſhes thereof is very helpfull for ſuch, as cannot auoide their Vrine, but drop by drop. It is alſo verie precious, for Vlcers or ſcarrified wounds, being put into them. Now, becauſe he would not affoord Man any ſuch remedy, hee ſhuts himſelfe (like a round Footeball) vp in his skinne, and ſo auoydeth his owne vrine in it; which conuerteth to venome, and killeth him in his skin. As for this beaſt, it ſeemeth that he is not much aſhamed of ſpoyling his skin; becauſe he looſeth it and his life together.

Of the vrchin or Hedg hog, and vertue of his skinne.

The *Lynx* likewiſe knoweth, that his Vrine is medicinable, for ſo ſoone as he yeildeth it, it conuerth into a Stone: and then he hydeth or couereth it with Earth, to the end it may not be perceiued by any man, and (indeede) it is a thing very rare, and hard to bee found. The Vrine of the *Lynx*, thus ſtonified; taketh away all ſpots and wrinckles. It whiteth, and maketh a faire colour in the faces, of ſuch as annoint themſelues therewith; eſpecially, beeing mingled with the Oyle of ſweet Almonds, there is nothing more aſſured, or that whiteth and taketh away all corruption of the teeth.

The Lynx, & the vertue of his vrine.

Euill Spirits doe beare mallice to Man, as well as theſe Creatures; not onely to procure his damnation, or depriuing him of the vſe of Gold and Siluer, which is found in Mines, and the bowels of the earth: but likewiſe, that (beeing in this Mortall life) he ſhould finde no remedy of bodily infirmities. For we finde, by good authority, that Spirits doe bite or nibble off the roote of a Plant, which is cald *Succiſa*, otherwiſe tearmed *Morſus Diaboli*, or Deuils bit: becauſe it hath beene iudged in all times, that the Deuill himſelfe byteth theſe rootes, and yet could neuer pluck them wholly out of the ground, whatſoeuer paines and diligence he beſtowed on them, yet ſtill they are found to be bitten, and al opinion hath held, that the Deuill is the Authour and doer thereof. It is an Hearbe ſufficientlie knowne, and frequent among vs, in the vſe of many, and ſerueth moſt conuenientlie, for the ripening of peſtilenticall ſores and Carbunckles, being bruiſed

The mallice of euill Spirits to man.

Succiſa, or *Morſus Diaboli* and the vertues thereof, as it is to be applied to diuers grieuous diſeaſes.

ſed in a Morter, and laid thereon. The decoction of it in Wine, being drunke in the morning, it both healeth and preſerueth from the plague, ſeruing alſo moſt ſoueraignely, againſt the paines of the Mother. The powder of this roote, is good to kill all Wormes in the belly. It is likewiſe proper, for the taking away of al black ſpots, paleneſſe, & bruiſes. By theſe Hiſtories, borrowed out of *Ælianus*, an ancient Greeke Authour, thou mayſt (friendly Reader) obſerue the workes of God, worthy of admiration; and wherein he is to be praiſed and honoured.

Aelianus in lib. 3. cap. 18. 19. &c.

CHAP. XLVI.

The vnfortunate and ſucceſſeleſſe Loues, of Strato and Ariſtoclia: And of Achamas, the Sonne of Theſeus, with his miſerable death.

IN the Citty of *Aſtarta* in *Boeotia*, was a moſt goodly, rich, young and Noble Virgine, of whom, two gallant worthy youths became extraordinarily enamoured: to wit, *Strato*, the *Orchomenian*, and *Caliſthenes Aliarnus*, each of them coueting to enioy her in mariage. In the end, it was agreed, that *Caliſthenes*, becauſe he was of her Countrey, and a Kinſ-man, ſhould moſt conueniently enioy her. The day of Nuptials drawing neere, the Parents of *Ariſtoclia* (in regard of his intire kindneſſe and affection) inuited *Strato* alſo to the ſollemne marriage dinner. But he, whoſe fiery loue could not eaſily be quenched: had ambuſhed a troup of young Gallants by the way, in whoſe company he ſeazed on the Bride, as ſhe was going home to her Husbands houſe. And being poſſeſſed of her, he held her very ſtrictly in his Armes, purpoſing to make like rape of her, as *Paris* did of *Helen*. *Caliſthenes*, the new maried Bridegroom, laboured by all means to recouer her from him: but the yong Lady (being detained by *Strato* and his Friendes ſo violently) alſo tyred and ouer-ſpent with ſtriuing; dyed in his Armes. *Strato* beholding his deare affected *Ariſtoclia* ſouleleſſe, ſlew himſelfe vpon her body: giuing the world therby to know, how highly hee prized the life of his beloued *Ariſtoclia*, without whom he could not liue, and therefore requited her death with his owne.

** Orchomenus*, a Towne in *Boeotia*, by a Riuer of the ſame name.

The violence of loue, when it exceedeth gouernment.

Achamas, the Sonne of *Theſeus*, after the ſacke and ſpoyle of *Troy*, came with certaine Shippes among the * *Biſaltes*, a people of *Thrace*, where hee was intirely beloued by *Phillis*, Daughter to the Lord and Gouernour of that Region: and her hee tooke to Wife, vnder condition, that (after her Fathers death he ſhould ſucceede in the Kingdome. It fortuned, that *Achamas*, being deſirous to viſite his owne Countrey, and to ſee ſome of his Kinred and Friends: deſired (with very earneſt inſtance) both of his Wife and Father in Law, that he might bee fauoured with ſo much liberty; promiſing to returne with all poſſible ſpeede. Hauing obtained his requeſt, *Phillis* bare him company a great deale on the way, and gaue him a little Casket or Coffer faſt lockt vp, entreating him; that in regard of the loue he bare to her, he ſhould neuer open it: but when he had an abſolute determination; neuer to returne to her againe. So, with many kiſſes, and mutuall embracings, they gaue a louing Adieu to each other, and parted. *Achamas* being arriued at *Cyprus*, hauing no reſpect of promiſe made to *Phillis*, for returning againe to her: ſet downe his reſolution, to continue there, and therefore was the more forward in deſire, to open the Casket that his Wife had giuen him. Which he had no ſooner done: but a ſudden furie ſeazed on him, inciting him to a diſtracted madneſſe, in which violent Phrenzie, falling with his bare breaſt on the point of his Rapyer; he ranne it quite thorough his body, and thereby ſuffered the puniſhment of his owne wilfull periurie.

Others do repute this *Achamas* to be the Sonne of *Antenor*.

* A free Country of *Macedon*, by the riuer *Strymon*.

The integrity of loue, feare full of obliuion.

Wilfull periury in loue, iuſtly reuenged.

The End of the Seuenth Booke.

The Eight Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kings of Poland; their Lawes, Customes, administration of Iustice, and all things else deserning memorie.

Of the name, manner, and scituation of *Poland*.

POLAND, in elder times called *Sarmatia*, is saide to receiue that name of the word *Pole*, which (in that Language) is as much to say, as plain, smooth or eeuen. And so much the rather it is to be credited; because all the Country is plaine, spacious, full of thicke Woods, and very few Hils or Mountaines in it. The Earth is cold and freezing, whereby it produceth little store of Wine or oyle: but contrariwise, it yeildeth much Graine, and diuers other kinds of Pulse. It aboundeth in Cattle, Flesh, Honny, Milke, Butter, Waxe, and Fruits of all sorts. It affoordeth perfect Lead, and Salt in great plenty. It hath Mines of Iron, Gold, and Siluer, which are found in diuers Hilles, and in certaine Riuers: but there is no search made for them, onely thorow their negligence. There are also (in some places) pits of Brimstone and Sulphure: but as concerning any Bathes, producted by nature; *Poland* is very barren, and scarse of them.

Such commodities as Poland affordeth.

Zechus and *Lechus*, or *Lethus*, were the first that euer gouerned in *Polonia*, or builded there any Cittie or Castle. They both held the Regiment for some time, but after the whole race of *Lechus* was extirpated: the Barons of the kingdome, beeing assembled about the Successors of *Lechus*; concluded to liue at libertie, and without any farther check or controule. Neuertheless, that Iustice might be administred to the people, and they gouerned as necessity required: they ordained twelue *Vaiuodes*, or *Paladines*, which order hath continued in that Kingdome, euen to our daies, but not without great hurt to the whol Land. For there was no change of these Officers, but the dignity lasted their life time: although they carried themselues badly in their authority, despising their betters, and euill entreating their inferiors. Among these *Vaiuodes*, such as were *Castillians*, Commaunders of Castles, Captaines, Iudges, and such like great Magistrates, holding these offices til they died: did what themselues pleased, whereby ensued, that this Kingdome could neuer haue any great progression in Armes, being so oppressed and kept vnder by such pettie, and no potent or mightie Lords. But, in no long while after, the faction of *Lechus* (growing in hatred of the *Vaiuodes* or *Paladines* gouernment) would needes haue one peculiar Prince. And therfore they made choise of a worthy and valiant man, named *Gracchus*, who dwelt at the foot of the *Samaritian* Mountaines, neere vnto the Riuer *Vistula*.

Zechus and *Lechus*, the first Rulers or Gouernours in Poland.

The election of twelue *Vaiuodes*, otherwise cald *Paladines*.

Magistrates during their life time.

Gracchus chosen to be the first Prince of Poland.

He builded a citty, calling it *Graccouia*,

(which is now corruptly named *Cracouia*) a Citty greatly bleſſed, both in beauty and ſcituation, as alſo infinite Merchandizes, which is there Traffiqued from all Nations of the World, it beeing the Metropolis of the whole Kingdome.

The Citty rounded with the riuer *Rudis*.

The Citty is round engirt with the Riuer *Rudis*, which entering into the Land by ſundry Channels, ſpreadeth it ſelfe ouer all the Market places. It hath ſeauen Gates, and many honorable Pallaces, belonging to great men: and a Fort alſo, builded in a very conuenient place, wherein there is a moſt excellent colledge of Students. On the other ſide of the Riuer *Viſtula*, vppon the ſhoare banck, directly fronting *Cracouia*, there is a Caſtle, cald *Caſimira*, after the name of King *Caſimirus*. This citty, as we haue already ſaid, being the only Miſtreſſe of the whole Land, is very beautifull, rich, and beſt edified beyond all other. The people, vniuerſally, are wiſe, pleaſing to Strangers, delighting much in their owne Natiue drinke, for there is verie ſmall ſtore of wine. The earth is plentifull in all good things; and in briefe, it is a fat and beneficiall Countrey.

Concerning the Cities building and behauiour of the people.

The race of *Gracchus* failing, it returned again to the gouernment of twelue *Paladines*, but with much infelicities: becauſe, in contending for Competitors, diuers factions grew among them, and (conſequently) Inſurrections in Armes, to withſtand one another, whereby great dammage happened to the whole Land. Among theſe turbulent Spirits, there was a *Polander*, named *Priariſlaus*, a man expert in armes, of quicke apprehenſion, and one that could well fiſh in ſuch troubled Waters. The people reuolted all to his faction, they made him their King, and he was the fift Gouernor of that Prouince, after the firſt *Lechus* or *Leſchus*. After his death, another Gallant young Man ſucceeded him, tearmed by the *Polacks*, *Leſchus* the ſecond, who proued to be a Man of ſinguler prudence: but, made old with time, and dying, he left it to his Son *Leſchus* the third.

The gouernment of *Paladines* aduanced againe.

A K. created againe, named *Priariſlaus*.

This man made his Sonne *Pompilius* legittimate, but deuided the Kingdome betweene twenty other, that were his Baſtards, to the great detriment of the Country. But *Pompilius* being the lawfull King, entred againe on the gouernment, and leauing *Cracouia*, appointed his Seate in another Citty, called *Gneza*: but finding it too moleſtuous, hee transferred the State to another Citty, named *Cruſincza*. In this Citty he dyed of the Stone, according as himſelfe had continually fore-told, that in ſuch manner his death would be. And the chiefe Lordes being aſſembled in Councell, they concluded, that no more of *Pompilius* his Poſterity ſhould raigne ouer them: but (with one conſent) made choiſe of a Countrey Gentleman, named *Piaſtus*, one of no great ſtature, yet ſtrong, and well ſinnewed. This was the firſt branch of thoſe Kings, that continued to the time of *Caſimirus* the ſecond, and of *Lodowick*: of which ſelfe ſame race alſo, deſcended the Moderne Princes of *Sleſia*.

Cracouia forſaken by the K. and the State transferred to another Citty.

Piaſtus choſen king of *Poland*

This *Piaſtus* accepting the gouernment, would take on him but the Title of Duke only, whoſe ſucceſſion comming at length to *Boleſlaus*, in the yeare D.CCCC.XC. IX. he was then made King by *Otho* the third, Emperour. But the Kingdome comming to another *Boleſlaus*, ſucceſſor to the former; he was expulſed thence, and dyed. Whereupon, the *Polonians* aduanced in his place, his Brother *Vladiſlaus*, in the yeare MLXXII. by the Title of Duke. But in yeare MCCXCV. the Title of King was taken againe, by *Primiſlaus* the ſecond, who (at firſt) was Duke of the greater *Poland*, and of *Pomerania*, or *Pomerland*, and ſo continued the ſucceſſion, euen to *Ladiſlaus*, the firſt begotten Sonne of *Caſimirus*, who (while his Father liued) was deſigned to bee King of *Hungaria*, and of *Bohemia*. He tooke in marriage *Anne*, Daughter to the King of *Fraunce*, by whom he had *Lodowicke* and *Anne*. *Lodowick* ſucceeded his Father in both the Kingdomes, and tooke to Wife *Marie*, Siſter vnto *Charles* the Emperour. But in the yeare of Chriſt, MCCCCXCII. the Barons of *Polonia*, (at a dyet) elected after the death of *Caſimirus*, his Son *Iohn Albertus*. His continuance was but a while, therefore, by the greater part of the Barons, *Alexander*, Great Duke of *Lythuania*, was elected: who going in Armes againſt the *Tartarres*, died in *Vilna*, aged fiue and forty yeares.

Piaſtus refuſed the name of King, calling himſelfe Duke of *Poland*.

The order & lineal deſcent of the Kings of *Poland* and *Bohemia*.

Alexander great Duke of *Lithuania*, elected King of *Poland*.

Poland deuided among twenty Baſtards.

Sigiſmund

Sigismund, his younger Brother succeeded him, in the year MC. and he had the title of King, in *Anno*. MCVI. and made great war vpon the neighbouring Nations; especially on the *Moscouites*, of whom he slew thirty thousand, in the yeare MDXIIII. He deceasing, *Augustus Sigismund* took his place, and after him, succeeded *Henry* the third, brother to *Charls* the ninth, King of *France*, who was chosen and made King. But his brother dying, and hee affecting his paternall Kingdome, more then the other: forsooke *Poland*, and went into *France*, to his rightfull inheritance. The *Polanders* beeing thus forsaken, they made choise of *Maximilian* the second, being Emperor, to be their King. But he, not resoluing to accept it, and the kingdom standing on some doubtfull tearmes: *Stephano Battori*, Prince of *Transiluania* (beeing a man of great valour) came into *Poland* with a slender power, where he was created King, and so continued.

Henry, heire to the Crown of *France*, K. of Poland.

Stephano Battori, Prince of *Transiluania*.

1 Next vnto the King are the *Paladines*, and next to them, the *Castilians*, on whom (in very deed) dependeth the whole gouernment of the Prouince. Neuertheless, there are Iudges, both criminall and ciuill: and others, that take order for occasions of warre or peace, as in all other States and Kingdomes. They can make a very great Army of Horsemen, and they are reputed sufficiently valiant. In briefe, it is they that curbe and controule the *Tartarres*, from presuming into those partes and limits. It is to be noted, that the *Paladine* of *Cracouia*, is the chiefe of al other in dignity, and next to him, the *Castellano* of *Cracouia*, vnder whom are (well neere) infinite Captaineships.

The Gouernours in degrees next to the King.

The *Paladine* of *Cracouia*.

2 *Polonia* is deuided into two parts, the one being tearmed the Lesser, and the other the greater. In the lesser *Poland*, which is at the head of the Riuer *Vistula*, is the Citty of *Cracouia*, a verie Noble and famous Cittie. But the greater *Poland*, is that which containeth in it *Gnezna* and *Posnania*, two worthie Cities, with other especiall and honoble places.

Poland deuided in two parts, the greater and lesser.

Moreouer, it hath the gouerning of *Prussia*, and part of *Pomerania*. In *Poland* the very greatest Dukedome, is that of *Mazouia*, and it is feudatary to the King.

The Archbishoppricks of the Kingdom are two: the one in the Cittie of *Gnezna*, a Citty of the greater *Poland*, and the other in *Theopolis*, of *Russia*.

Two Archbishops Sees.

CHAP. II.

Of many famous and worthy men, who, hauing left gouerning in the Common-wealth: made their retirement, to a priuate and solitary kind of life.

One of the *Catoes*, hauing attained to the age of eight and fifty years; gaue ouer his publique charge and trauaile, in affaires of the Romaine Common-wealth, and went to weare out the remainder of his daies, neere to *Naples*, in a Country village, which then was called *Picenum*, but now it is named *Marca de Aeona*. Where he maintained his faculties, and nourished himselfe, which such reuennues, as his poore Landes and Liuing affoorded him. This good and vertuous *Cato*, keeping a simple Cottage, one while perusing his Bookes, and otherwhiles looking to his Vines and Plants: his Neighbours had written (with a Coale) ouer his doore, these wordes. *How happy a Man art thou (ô Cato) because thou onely knowest, what it is to liue in this world, among other men?*

This was not the Consull, for he neuer gaue ouermedling in the publique occasions. Neither was it he of *Vtica*, that slew him selfe.

Lucullus the Consull and *Romaine* Captaine, continued at the wars against the *Parthians*, sixteene yeares together: during which time, he won much honour to Rome, many Prouinces to the Common-wealth, great renowne to himselfe, and mighty Treasures for his House. This man, after his returne from *Asia* to *Rome*, found the State full of partialities and dissentions, through the quarrels betweene *Marius* and *Sylla*. He resolued to leaue *Rome*, which forth-with he did put in effect, causing certaine places of sumptuous workemanship, to be builded neere *Naples*, along by the Sea side, in a place now cald *Castello di Lupo*. Ther he made his soiorning

Lucullus the Consull, Captaine against the *Parthians*.

Stabia, a Towne in *Campania*, destroyed by *Silla*.

ning for the ſpace of eighteene yeares, in quiet repoſe and ſilent pleaſure; free from all the turmoyles and trauailes of State, and in this contentment he ended his daies.

The Emperor *Diocleſian* forſaketh his Empire of Rome.

Diocleſian, after he had gouerned *Rome* eighteene yeares, and had attained to very old age: he gaue ouer the Empire, from whence he diſmiſſed himſelfe into *Nicomedia*, with no other intention, but onely to returne home to his owne Houſe, and there in peace and quiet to ſpend the reſt of his life. So, he hauing taken his leaue and farewel from pomp and dignity, came to * *Salon*, which was the place of his birth, prouoked thereto (as I am perſwaded) with the naturall loue, that all men do beare to their natiue Country, and there he dealt in huſbandry ten yeares together. Two yeares after he had caſt off the Empires Clog, the *Romaines* ſent two worthy Ambaſſadors vnto him, to entreat (if he were ſo pleaſed) to returne to *Rome* againe. The Ambaſſadors being come thither, they found him in a gardē by his houſe, weeding his Beds of Lettice and other Hearbs: but when hee had heard their Legation, he made them this aunſwere. *My Friendes, do not you thinke it more honeſt and better, that hee who digged and planted theſe Lettice, ſhold eate them peaceably and quietly in his owne houſe: then to forſake ſuch wholeſome fare, and returne to the tumults and rumours of Rome? I haue now made good proofe, both what it is to commaund, and what benefit enſueth, by labouring and deluing in the ground. Leaue me then to my ſelfe I entreat ye, in this priuate ſtate of life: for I much rather affect, to maintaine my life by the labour of my hands, then to be troubled with the charge of the Romaine Empire.* With this aunſwere the Ambaſſadours tooke their leaue, and parted. At another time afterward, he made the like excuſe, being inuited to the marriage of *Conſtantius*, by the Emperors *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, alleaging his weakneſſe, and infirmity of old age. But the Emperours ſent againe vnto him, writing Letters full of terror and threatnings, that his excuſes were not allowable in this caſe. Whervpon, he began to ſuſpect, that they intended ſome ſhamefull death for him, becauſe he had lend ayde and fauour to *Maxentius* and *Maximinus*. And therefore dranke a certaine poyſon, whereof he dyed, being aged ſeauenty years and more.

* A Region in *Bithynia*.

The anſwere of *Diocleſian* to the Ambaſſadours of Rome.

Diocleſian inuited to the marriage of *Conſtantius*, when excuſes would not auaile him, poiſoned himſelf.

Doris the *Athenian*, hauing gouerned the Common-wealth ſixe and thirtie yeares, in vpright ſinceritie and Iuſtice; became aged, and weary with publike negotiations. Wherefore he diſlodged from *Athens*, and went to a Countrey-Houſe or Farme, which he had in a not far diſtant Village: and there, reading Bookes of husbandry in the night time, and practiſing the exerciſe of thoſe enſtructions in the day time, he wore out the ſpace of fifteene yeares. Vpon the frontiſpice of his Gate, theſe wordes were engrauen. *Fortune and Hope, Adieu to ye both, ſeeing I haue found the true entrance to reſt and contentment.*

Doris the worthy *Athenian*, that forſooke State, and followed huſbandry.

Scipio Affricanus, was one of the moſt deareſt eſteemed, and reuerenced Captaines, that euer Rome had; for, during the ſpace of ſixe and twenty yeares, being the continuance of his Warres in *Spaine*, in *Affrica*, and in *Aſia*, hee neuer committed any diſhoneſt action, neuer loſt any battaile, nor euer failed in Iuſtice to any one. He ſubdued *Affrica*, ruined *Carthage*, conquered *Hannibal*, deſtroyed * *Numantia*, and re-eſtabliſhed *Rome*; which Cittie, after the battell of *Cannas*, he (almoſt, or altogether) neuer vtterly forſooke. Notwithſtanding, in the two and fiftith yeare of his age, parting from *Rome*; he retired himſelfe to a ſmall inheritance of his owne, between *Pozzuolo* and *Capona*, and neuer after would be ſeene againe in *Rome*.

The glory & honour of Rome, *Scipio Affricanus*.

* A Cittie of *Celtiberia* in Spaine, beſieged foureteen yeares by the Romains, yet deſtroyed at laſt by *Scipio*.

All theſe excellent men, of whom we haue ſpoken, and an infinite number more, left their Kingdomes, Conſulats, Dignities, Gouernments, Cities, Pallaces, Fauours, Courts; and Riches, to the end, that they might liue peacefully. And it is the more memorable, in that no ſlanderous tongne can auouch, that any of them forſooke their Countries, as being infamous, wretchedly poore, or baniſhed: but onely beeing thereto moued, in pure and ſimple goodneſſe, and on their owne liberall free will, for the more commodious order and direction of their liues, before death ſhould tyrannize ouer them.

Vertue onely was the obiect of all theſe worthy mens intentions, and no enforcement by ſhame or villainy.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the impehfection of Politicall Science, with a consideration of the imbecilitie of Law-makers, &c.*

In the one & forty Chapter of the last Booke.

IN a former Chapter, we haue signified, that there are such multitudes of people, such difference of degrees, qualities & conditions, such peruersity of wils, humours, and affections in euery Cowmon-wealth: that no humaine wit is able to reduce them to that perfect temperature and hermony, which is requisite for the cõseruation of ciuill vnity and amity. To the end, that all may continually concurre, in the obedience of one Law, in one kind of gouernment, and liue therin contented, each one in his vocation, in security, peace, and plenty, which euery Law-maker or Gouernour of a Common-wealth ought to procure. Which may partly be iudged by the gouernment of a Family, be it great or little, because it is many times turned vpside downe, and dissolued by the peruerse humour of some one or two, being not corrigible by any counsell, or chastisement of the head or Maister. What maruaile is it then, if in whole Kingdomes and Common-weales, among so many thousands of different persons, and of different humors: there are so many exorbitant and turbulent Spirits, that no wit or power of man can bee able to tame or temper them? And do we not see many times, that the couetousnesse, or the lust, or the treason, temerity or folly, or the ambition of some one man, endangereth or ouerthroweth a whole Empire? The Kingdome of *Macedon* was lost through the couetousnesse of *Perseus*, King thereof. The treason of one Count *Iulian*, offended by the lust of *Rodoricke*, King of *Spain* (who defloured his daughter) was the cause that the *Moores* conquered *Spaine*, and possest it sixe or seauen hundred yeares. The temerity of *Terentius Varro*, when he was Consull of Rome, & gaue battell to *Hanniball*: caused the great ouerthrow which the *Romaines* receiued at *Cannæ*, to the great daunger of the Common-wealth, which (in the end) was vtterly ouerthrowne by the ambition of *Iulius Cæsar*.

Comparison by the gouernment of a Familie.

One man oftentimes causeth the destruction of a whole Empire

Plut. in Paulo Aemilio.

Rodcric. Totetan. in Lib. 5. de rcb. Hispan. Cap. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

Titus Liuius. Dec. 3. Lib. 2. Plut. in Iul. Cæsare.

But what should I speake of a King of *Macedon*, or a King of *Spaine*, a Consull of *Rome*, or a *Iulius Cæsar*; when the turbulent humor of a base fellow, or a pety Companion, such a one I meane, as a *Blacke-Smith*, or a *Iacke-Straw*, or a *Iacke-Cade*: hath bin able to put al England in a garboile, to the great daunger of the State? Seeing then, that the fault or error of some one man, may ruine or endanger a Kingdome: how shal mans wit or pollicy bee able, sufficiently to preuent the inconueniences, which must needs grow thorow infinite faults and errors, that (in tract of time) are committed in euery Common-wealth, by so many thousands as are therein, through the folly or mallice of men?

The Garboils and tumults in England, raised by Iacke Straw and his fellowes. Stow, Haule Holinshed.

Furthermore, if we consider, what politicke science (whereby Common-wealths are instituted and gouerned) is able to performe, and how farre it may extend it selfe: we shall easily see, how little perfection and establishment any State can receiue, by the Law-maker or Gouernor thereof, be he neuer so politicke. For whereas other Sciences and Arts were (as *Aristotle* teacheth) inuented by some, augmented and amplified by others, and brought in time to perfection: it falleth out otherwise in the pollitick science, which is so vncertain & variable, that although the rules & precepts therof, were many hundred years ago deliuered by most famous Philosophers, and explicated & enlarged since, by infinite Authors, Ancient and Moderne; yet, both reason and experience sheweth, that it neuer arriueth, neither can reach to intire perfection. For, neyther one and the selfe-same pollicie, is fit and conuenient for all Common-wealthes, (as one Art or Science is not fit and conuenient for all kinde of Men) neither is a Common-wealth so dureable in one manner and forme of gouernment: that the selfe-same pollicy will euer serue for the same State. Seeing all Common-weales are subiect to mutation, & many times, one is

How farre Pollitick Science may extend it selfe.

Arist. in Lib. Eleneh. Cap. vltimo.

All common weals subiect to alteration.

engendred by the corrupting of another, euery one requiring different lawes, and a different pollicie.

And although the Common-wealth doe remaine in one forme of gouernment, as either in a Monarchy, Aristocracy, or a Populare State: yet such is the variety of times, and instability of the humors and affections of men, that new Lawes and different pollicies will be necessary thereto. And therefore, whereas the *Romains* had foure kinds of lawes; as *Cicero* testifieth: yet one was *De abrogandis legibus*, to abrogate and repeale lawes; by the vertue and authority whereof, many lawes (made by very wise men) were afterward (by their posterity) annulled and repealed, as vnprofitable and inconuenient. The same may be obserued in the very Lawes of God, which haue varied, according to the different state of man and times: as it is euident by the Law of *Nature*; the Law of *Moyses*; and now lastly, the law of *Grace*. The reason whereof, S. *Augu.* giueth, saying. *It is not to be wondred at, that God made different Lawes, in different times: seeing that in one day, and in one house, and in one man, one thing is conuenient to amend another, and one thing to one man; and another, to another, and that the thing which is expedient now, will (an hour hence) bee vnlawfull and inconuenient.* Whereby it appeareth, that time, which breedeth certainty of iudgment, and experience in men, for the perfection of other Sciences and Arts: doth so change and abolish lawes and pollicies, that it causeth in Law-makers and Gouernors, ignorance, error, and confusion. For this cause, *Plato* affirmeth expresly, that no man, be he neuer so excellent of wit, or neuer so prudent & practised in affairs; can be able (without the inspiration and assistance of God) to make sufficient Lawes, for the perfect establishment of a Common-wealth. And therefore, in the institution of his owne written Common-wealth, and lawes thereof: he craueth helpe of Almighty God, and otherwhere saith. *As brute Beasts cannot be happily gouerned by Beasts, without the helpe of Man: so Man cannot be well and happily gouerned by man, without the helpe of God.* And againe, in another place he teacheth. *That as men cannot liue without lawes; so neither could men haue had sufficient Lawes from Prometheus* (that is to say, from the prouidence of men) *if Iupiter himselfe, the creator of all, had not sent Mercury to men with laws, to bee the Interpreter of his Diuine will.* Whereby he signifieth (misticallly after his manner) that without Gods especiall assistance: no wit or prouidence of man can suffice to institute, and conserue any State or Common-wealth, either by the meanes of lawes or otherwise. This also *Salomon* well knew and acknowledged, who therefore craued Wisedome of Almighty God, for the gouernment of his people, adding. *Quis enim potest iudicare populum istum, populum tuum hunc multum? For who can, without thy help, iudge and gouerne this thy people, so many in number?* And againe. *Giue me (ô Lord) that wisedome vvhich assisteth thy Seat. For I am thy Seruant, a weake Man: Et minor ad intellectum iudicij & legum; And not of capacitie to vnderstand, what is Iudgement and Law.* Thus said this prudent King, considering, and humbly acknowledging his own imperfection. In respect whereof, Almighty God gaue him greater wisedome, honor, and glory, then euer had any earthly Prince.

But now, for the further proofe of this matter, let vs examine some of the Lawes, of three or foure of the most famous Law-makers that euer were: that, by discouerie of their errours, the weakenesse of mans wit, in the institution and administration of a Common-wealth, may the better appeare. And whereas some haue founded and instituted many Comwon-wealths indeede, and some in writing, to serue for Patterns to others: I will here speake only of foure, of greatest fame, of either sort two; As of *Solon* the *Athenian*; *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedemonian*; *Plato* the *Diuine*; and *Aristotle*, Maister to *Alexander* the Great. When the Cõmonwealth of the *Athenians* (hauing beene gouerned for many yeares together by the Lawes of *Draco*) was falne to decay, through the excessiue couetousnes and rigor of rich men, whom the poorer sort (being loaden with debts, and not able to pay thẽ) were forced to serue as Slaues, by the sentence of the Iudges, wherupon there arose daily infinite tumults and seditions: it seemed good to them all, to recom-

Foure kindes of Lawes among the *Romaines*. *Ciccro de legib.*

The lawes of God haue varied according to the different state of man, and times.

August. De Confess. lib. 3. cap. 7.

Time breedeth maturity of iudgement.

Gods inspiration necessary for the making of good Lawes. 1

Plato in lib. 4. De Legibus.

Idem in Minoe Idem in Protagora.

2 Chron. 2. 11 2. Ctron. 3. 7. Wisd. 9. 4. 5.

Salomans humble ackeowledgement of his weakenesse

The lawes of foure famous Law makers, examined & reproued.

The *Athenians* were gouerned many yeares by *Dracoes* lawes.

re-commend the reformation of theyr whole ſtate to *Solon*, a man ſo highlie eſteemed for his wiſedome, that hee was accounted one of the wiſemen of *Greece*: who perſwading himſelfe, that it could not be conueniently reformed, except the poore were releeued and eaſed of their debts, imparted his minde therein, to ſome of his friends firſt; who, perceiuing his reſolution, borrowed great ſtore of money, and employed it in Lande. Whereuponit folowed, that when *Solon* had publiſhed his New Law, (which he cald *Seyſacthia*, that is to ſay, *A diſcharge of Debts*) they remained exceedingly inriched, their Creditors defrauded, and he much ſuſpected of deceite, as to haue ſecret intelligence with his friends, and part of their gaine.

The Reformation of the Cõmonwelth of the *Athenians* by *Solon*. *Plut. in Solonc.*

And although it ſeemeth, that therein he had wrong (for he loſt by his own Law as ſome haue written, fifteene Talentes, which were owing him) yet he cannot be excuſed in two things. The one, in that he cauſed not his friendes to reſtore the money, which they had guilefully borrowed. And the other, that without examination of the perticuler cauſes & reaſons of euerie mans debt, hee ordained a generall abolition of all debts, good and bad; whereby, as well thoſe which were able to pay, as the vnable, were diſcharged: and all creditors (without diffrence) defrauded, contrary to all equitie and iuſtice. Which as *Cicero* ſaith, ſpeaking of the like caſe, *Requireth aboue all thinges, that euerie man haue his owne.* And that equall regard be had to the right, as wel of the rich, as of the poore. And that is no way obſerued ſaith he, *Cum locupletes ſuum perdunt, & debitores lucrentur alienum, when rich men looſe their owne, and debters gaine that which belongeth vnto others.* Beſides, in this caſe, the neceſsitie was not ſuch, to breake Iuſtice ſo notoriouſly, becauſe the incõuenience might haue beene redeemed otherwiſe, without iniury to any. As partly by the means which he himſelfe alſo practiſed, to wit; by raiſing the money: and partly, by borrowing ſome great ſummes, with the which he might (at leſt) haue made ſome compoſition with the Creditours, in behalfe of the Debtors, and haue repayed the money after in time, by penalties, confiſcations, and ſome moderate taxes, whereby the poore might haue beene for the preſent releeued, and no man wronged.

Two foule errors of *Solõ*, about the reformation of the *Athenian Commonwealth*

Cic. in lib. 2. de Offic.

Great iniuſtice committed by *Solon*. *Cicero vbi ſup.*

How *Solon* might haue reformed the Comonwelth without the breach of Iuſtice.

Therefore, *Cicero* greatly commendeth *Aratus*, who when the Citty called **Sycionia*, had beene oppreſſed 50. yeares by Tyrants, and himſelfe banished with ſixe hundered others, of the verie richeſt men to bee found therein: firſt founde meanes to kill the Tyrant; and after, hauing called home all thoſe that were baniſhed: and finding difficultie, in reſtoring them to their goods & liuings (whiche were in the poſſeſsion of other men; and had beene in fifty yeares ſpace, alienated by many Contracts, and bargaines of ſale, Dowries, Leaſes, and ſuch like) thought it not conuenient, either to take the ſaid liuings from thoſe that poſſeſſed them; or yet to leaue the other vnſatisfied. And therefore, he borrowed a great ſumme of mony, of *Ptolomy*, King of *Alexandria*; and examining euerie mans cauſe, and making an ineſtimate of the Lands, dealt ſo between the parties, that for ready mony, ſome of them were content to leaue their poſſeſsion; and others to ſell their right, and ſo ſurceaſe their claime whereby peace and concord was made. *Et ſic par eſt* (ſaith *Cicero*) *cum Ciuibus agere, & non alijs ſua eripere, alijs dare aliena. So it is fit to deale with ſubiects, and not to take from ſome their owne, & to giue it to others to whom it did not belong*, as *Solon* did, who therfore was to be blamed, not only for error, but alſo for Iniuſtice.

*An old City of *Peloponneſus* neere *Corinth*. *Cicero in lib. 2. de Offic.*

The wiſedom of *Aratus*, in reforming the Cittie of *Sicyona*.

Cic. vbi ſupra.

I omit other errours of *Solon*, which might be obſerued in the forme of Commonwealth, to come to the examination of one of his Lawes, whereby hee ordained: *That whoſoeuer in any publick ſedition ſhould be newtrall, and take neyther parte, ſhould remaine euer after infamous.* His reaſon was, becauſe hee thought it not conuenient, that any man ſhold ſo much loue his owne eaſe, as not to participate in the trouble of the Common-wealth, whereof he was a member. Which reaſon, togither with the law, *Plutarch* wiſely reiecteth; for that it would be an aſſured meanes, to put (as it were) Fire vnto Gun-powder, & to ſet all the Commonwealth on a flame, without hope of anie internall remedy.

An abſurde Law of *Solon*, forbidding newtralitie in a publicke ſedition. *Plut. in Solonc.*

For (ſaith he) *euen as in a ſicke bodie, all the hope of helpe within it ſelfe, is to bee expected from the partes that are ſound. And there-*

Idem in his Booke of inſtructions, for ſuch as deale in matters of State.

therefore, when the bodie is wholy corrupted, there is no helpe of remedie but from abroad: euen so, in a politick body, sicke with sedition, all the interal remedie, is to come from the whole and sounde partes thereof.

That is to say, from such as are newtrals, who may labour with the one part, and with the other, to compound the quarrell: for otherwise, where all is in tumult, no remedie can bee expected, except it come from abroad. And therefore, *Plutarch* holdeth it for the highest and principall point of polliticke Science in anie Gouernor, to know, how either to prenent seditions that they neuer grow; or else quickly to appease them, when they are growne, be they neuer so little. For, euen as the least sparke that is, may fal into such a matter, that it may set a whole house on fire: so the least ciuill sedition, may fall among such persons, and in such a time, that it may put a whol Commonwealth in combustion, and vtterlie ruine it. And for this cause, wise Gouernors haue an eye, not only to dissentions concerning the Commonwealth, & publick matters: but also, to priuate quarrelles, though they be among meane men, because (many times) they redound to publicke detriment, whereof *Plutarch* recounteth a very notable example.

Solons Lawe reiected by *Plutarch.*

Ibidem. A principall point of politicke science, either to prenent seditions, or quickly to appease them.

Two young men of *Syracusa*, were so great Friends, that the one of them beeing to go abroad vpon occasion, recommended vnto the other the care of his Concubine. Hee in his friends absence, being ouercome with loue and lust, abused her. In reuenge whereof, his friend (at his return) corrupted the others wife; by which meanes, there grewe a great quarrell betwixt them. And the matter comming to the notice of the Senate, a wise Senator gaue aduise, to banniſh both, least their priuate quarrell might breed some publicke sedition. But his Counsell was neglected; whereupon followed, that the Friends on eyther side taking parties, made (within a while) such a tumult and ciuill warre in the Cittie, that the whole state was ouerthrowne thereby.

Plutar. Ibidem. A Storie of the dissention of two young men of Syracusa.

Good aduise neglected causeth much harme.

But, as all priuate quarrels may proue daungerous to the Commonwealth, so most of all is it, when they grow betwixt the greatest personages. In which respect, *Phillip de Comines* greatly blameth such Princes, as do not seeke to compose dissentions and quarrelles, among some of their greater subiects: but rather nouriſh them, by fauoring one partie more then another, wherein they do no other (saith he) *but helpe to set their owne house on fire.* Whereof hee alledgeth two notable examples, the one of the Queene of *England*, wife to King *Henrie* the sixt, who taking part with the Duke of *Sommerset*, against the Earle of *Warwicke*, was an especiall cause of that Warre, which the Earle made (many years togither) against the King and House of *Lancaster*, to their vtter ouerthrow. *And therefore* (sayth he) *the Queene should haue done much more wisely, if she had shewed her selfe at the first indifferent betwixt the two parties, & holpen to agree them.*

Phil. de Com. Cron. du Rey Louis. Cap. 138

War in England betwixt the King, and the Earle of *Warwicke.*

The other example which hee alledgeth, is of *Charles* the seauenth, King of *France*; who, when hee was *Daulphine*, tooke part with the Duke of *Orleance*, against the Duke of *Burgundy*, in a priuate quarrell of theirs. In reuenge whereof the Duke of *Burgundy*, called *Henrie* the fift, King of *England*, into *Fraunce*, and helped to Crowne him, and his son after him, Kings in *Paris.*

Henrie the fift K. of England Crowned in France.

And whereas, *Phillip de Comines*, seemeth to take it for no inconuenience, that a young Prince, should sometimes for his sport and pleasure, nouriſh some iarres and quarrelles among the Ladyes and Gentlewomen of his Court, I cannot but dissent from him therin, because Womens iarres, may make mens wars. And experience hath taught, that mutations haue sometimes hapned in States, by womens quarrels. As in *Rome*, where *Fabius Ambustus* hauing married his two Daughters; the elder, vnto a Nobleman called *Sulpitius*, who was after made consull; and the younger to a *Plebeian*, called *Licinius Stolo*, who (by the Lawes) was not capeable of that dignity. It chanced, that a disgust fell betwixt the two Sisters; for that the younger, visiting the elder, who was then wife to the Consull, and holding her selfe to bee contemned of her, in respect of her meaner estate, lamented so pittifully to her Father, that to appease her, he practised with the people, to make his Sonne in Law, *Licinius Stolo* Consull, in derogation of the ancient Law and Custome, which excluded the *Plebeians* from the Consulship. And although the chiefe Senatours, opposed them-

Phillip de Comines, reproued, for alowing in a yong Prince, to noriſh qusrrels amongst the Ladies of his Court. *Plin. de viris illust. Tit. Liui. Dec. 1. Lib. 6.*

The danger that groweth to a Prince by maintaining diuision among his subiects.

The trouble that often ariseth by the dissentions of Women.

themselues thereto with might & maine, as to a great noueltie, and a matter verie preiudiciall to the dignity of the Senate, yet he preuailed; and not only procured a Decree, that from thenceforward, the *Plebeians* might be Consuls, but also obtained the election of *Licinius Stolo*, his Sonne in Law. And this was done, to satisfie the disdaine of a woman against hir owne Sister.

The dissention betwixt the Dutches of *Somerset*, & Q. *Katherine Par* in *England*

But more dangerous and lamentable, was the quarrel of two Sisters in *England* in the time of King *Edward* the sixt, one of them being Queene *Katherine Parre*, lately before, wife to King *Henrie* the 8. and then married to the Lorde *Thomas Seymer*, Admirall of *England*; and the other was the Dutchesse of *Sommerset*, VVife to the Lorde Protector of England, Brother to the Admirall. These two Ladies, falling at variaunce for the precedence which either of them chalenged; the one, as Qu. Dowager, and the other as wife to the Protector, who then gouerned the King and all the Realme, drew their Husbandes into the quarrell, and so incensed the one against the other, that the Protectour procured the death of the Admirall his Brother: wherupon also followed his owne destruction shortly after. For, being depriued of the assistance and support of his Brother, he was easily ouerthrowne by the Duke of *Northumberland*, who caused him to be conuicted of fellony, and beheaded. Beholde what inconuenience followed, by the falling out of two women. Therefore *Aristotle* wisely aduiseth Princes, *To haue care that their wiues doe no disgraces, nor giue iust cause of disgust vnto the Wiues of their subiects, because Commonwelths haue bin ouerthrown by such meanes.*

Beholde the fruits of mallice & spleene in Women.

Aristot. in Pol. Lib. 5. Cap. 2.

But what meruaile is it, if the quarels of weomen may bee daungerous vnto a Commonwealth, seeing a famous and pernitious faction in *Italy*, began by the occasion of a quarrel betwixt two Boies, whereof the one gaue the other a box on the eare. In reuenge whereof, the father of the Boy that was strucken, cut off the hand of the other which gaue the blow. VVhose Father, making the quarrell his owne, sought reuenge of the iniury done to his sonne, and began the faction of the *Neri*, and the *Bianchi*, that is to say, *Black* and *White*: which presently spred it selfe thoroughout *Italy*, and was the occasion of spilling much Christian blood.

A quarrel began in Italie, betwixte two Boyes, which caused much blood-shed.

Tarcagnota hist Mund par. 2. lib. 15.

VVhereby we may see, how necessary it is, for Gouernors, to haue an eye vnto quarrels, though among mean persons. And how dangerous it is for a Prince, to make deuision in his State, betwixt great persons, to ballannce and counterpoize one of them with another, to the ende, that they shall not conspire against him. As *Machiauel* counselleth absurdly, following the olde tyrannicall Precept; *Si vis regnare, diuide. If shou wilt Raigne, make diuision.* As though it should bee alwayes in the Princes power, to moderate the same at his pleasure, whereof no mortall creature can assure himselfe, bee he neuer so wise or potent. And therfore, we may say of such dangerous courses, as saieth the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, *Qui amat periculũ peribit in illo*, He that loueth danger, shall perish in it.

The danger of *Machiauels* doctrine, concerning diuision.

Eccles. 3, 27.

Neuertheless, to returne now vnto *Solons* Law, which condemneth neutrality in publicke seditions or factions; although in some cases, the said law would be pernitious to a Commonwealth: yet in some other, I holde it so necessarie, as that no man could do his dutie eyther to God or his Countrey, except he should put the same in practise.

In what cases neutralitie is to be allowed or disallowed

As for example, if the quarrell were for matter of Religion, or touching either the seruice of God, or the publicke good of the Commonwealth; or for the iust defence of the rightfull Prince, and Gouernour thereof. In these cases, all neutrality were vnlawfull. For, when there is question of Gods seruice, to bee then neutral, were nothing else but to betray Gods cause, and to declare a Mans selfe to be his owne enemie. According to our Sauiours saying; *Qui non est mecum, contra me est, & qui non colligit mecum dispergit. Hee that is not with mee, is against me: And he that gathereth not with me, scattereth.* And therefore, the Neutralles in that case, are those whome the Holy Ghost calleth *Tepidi*, men that are lukewarme, of whom the Scripture saith in the person of God. *Vtinam esses aut calidus, aut frigidus. Sed quia tepidus es, euomam te ex ore meo. I wold thou wert eyther hot, or could. But because thou art but luke-warme, I wil therefore spet thee out of my mouth.*

Neutralitie vnlawfull in deuisions concerning Gods seruice.

Luke 11, 23.

Apoc. 3, 15, 16.

Againe in the other case, where the Controuersie concerneth the good of the

the Commonwealth, or the iust defence of the King or Gouernor: Newtrality in this case, were meere treason, and shold iustly deserue not onely the note of infamy (as *Solons* Law ordained) but also any rigorous punnishment whatsoeuer. And therefore in all such cases, all men are bound in conscience and duty, without any delay, to declare at least their good willes and affections, for maintainance of so iust a cause. And where perswasions will not suffice, then to employ all force, yea, and their liues, for suppressing of such seditious wretches, rather then to suffer that they may any way preuaile.

Neutralitie condemned, in matters concerning the iust defence of the Prince or Cõmonwealth.

But in other cases, as when some perticuler mens priuate dissentions, do grow to a publicke sedition; or, when the contention is not betwixt the head, and some of the members, but betwixt the members themselues; to adhere to either partie (as *Solons* Lawe commaunded) were no other, then in stead of Water wherewith to quench fire, to cast on Oyle, to norish and augment it, to the great danger and detriment of the whole State. Therefore, in such a case, the neutrall & indifferent man, may best helpe to remedie the disease of the Commonwealth, putting on (as *Plutarch* saith) the *Buskin of Theramines, which serued for both feet.* That is to say, dealing indifferently with both parties, to draw them to a composition; not for his owne ease, or to auoyde the participation of publick or common calamity, as *Solon* in his Law supposed of Neutrals, but to extinguish the fire kindled in the Commonwealth, or at least, not to minister further matter therto, by any act of his.

Neutrality in priuate quarels condemned.

Plutarch in his instructions for such as deale in matters of State.

Thus then we see, how *Solon* erred in his Lawes and ordinances, though *Aristotle* seemeth to preferre him before all other Law-makers, censuring & controlling all the rest, and excusing him in that wherein others reprehend, and concluding him to be an excellent Law maker. So doth *Plato*, who for patternes of all such as shall institute Commonwealthes and Lawes, proposeth *Minos*, *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*, of which last man I meane to speake.

Plato de Legib.

CHAP. IIII.

The Weakenesse of Law-makers, exemplified in certaine wicked and absurd Lawes, of Lycurgus, Plato, *and* Aristotle. *With certaine Obseruations, no lesse pious, then Politicall.*

Lycurgus was no lesse famous for his royall Birth, then for his great wisedome. For, he being Brother to *Polidectes* king of *Lacedemonia*, succeeded him in the Kingdome, at the earnest request of the people, in regard, that his Brother left no yssue, but only his Wife great with Childe. And beeing earnestly solicited by her, to marrie with her, with promise to destroy the Childe in her wombe, to the end, that his Kingdome might bee the more assured: hee did not only refuse it; but also, when the Childe was borne, and proued a Sonne, he proclaimed him King, taking onely to himselfe the tutelage of him, and the gouernment of the Realme during his minority. With intention in the meane time, to reforme it, beeing growne to great corruption, and almost vtterly decayed. And therefore, he abolished most of the olde Lawes, and ordained newe; by the vse whereof, the *Lacedemonians* flourished many yeares, aboue all the rest of the *Græcians*; insomuch, that they hadde the Dominion of al *Greece*, for some certain time.

Plato in Licurgo.

Lycurgus earnestly solicited by his Brothers wife to mary with her.

Of the lawes of the *Lacedemonians*, reformed by *Licurgus*.

Neuertheless, if we examine his Commõwealth, and the Lawes therof, we shal finde, that hee failed both in true prudence, & immortall Vertue. For whereas a good Law maker, ought to frame his Commonwealth, no lesse to Religion, Iustice, and Temperance, then to Fortitude, that it may stand and florish, as well in time of peace, as in warre: his Lawes tended principally, to make the people valiant and warlicke: whereupon it followed, that the *Lacedemonians* flourished so long as they had warres. But when they came to enioy peace, they fel to decay within a while, as *Aristotle* noteth, whereby the error of *Lycurgus* euidently appea-

How *Licurgus* erred in framing his Cõmonwealth rather for warre then peace.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 2. cap. 7.

appeared. For, as peace is not ordayned for warre, but warre for peace, as motion and labour is ordained for rest (in which respect, *Cicero* saith: *Warre is to be vndertaken, so that peace may bee attayned thereby.*) So in like manner, a Commonwealth is rather to bee framed and ordained for peace, then for warre, and yet for both, that it may stand by both. In which respect, the Commonwealth of the *Athenians*, as *Plutarch* writeth, chose *Pallas* for their Patronesse, who was called both *Polemica* and *Politica*, that is to say, *Warlicke* and *Ciuill*. As also the *Thebanes* had for theirs, *Hermonie*, which was helde to bee the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*: whereby they signified, that the hermony of a Common-wealth, consisteth in the consonance and coniunction of Military and Ciuill Discipline. Which also *Iustinian* specified, in the institutes of the Ciuill Law, saying; *Imperatorium maiestatem, &c. It is conuenient, that the Imperial Maiestie bee not onely decked and adorned with Armes, but also defended with Lawes.*

Cicer. in Offic. lib. 2.

Plut. in Phocione & pelopida.

Iustin. Institut. in præmio.

But in the Commonwealth of the *Lacedemonians*, this was no way performed. For the Lawes of *Licurgus*, tending only to make them strong, laborious, and valiant: could not make them Religious, iust, and truly temperate, which for Ciuill Discipline, and peaceable gouernement, is most requisite. As for Lawes tending to Religion, we find none made by *Lycurgus*, nor any religious act of his, but onely one more ridiculous then Religious. As hee that dedicated an Image to Laughter, which hee made a God, or (at least) would haue to be worshipped as a God, to make the people mery at their publicke Feasts and meetings. And as for Lawes pertaining to Iustice, he made few, and one among the rest, which opened a great gappe to Iniustice, and to all cozenages and deceipt. For he ordained that it should be lawfull for any man, to steale any kinde of meate, so that he were not taken or discouered in the dooing of it. And that Boyes and Children should haue so little allowed them to eate, that they should be forced to proule & steale for their better prouision, to make them thereby the more industrious, nimble, & quicke of spirit: and others, more warie and watchfull, to keepe well that which they had in so much, that he which could steal most cunningly, was most commended.

Whereto the Lawes of *Licurgus* tended.

A ridiculous Law of *Licurgus*.

Plut. in Licurgo

But who doth not see, that this was the next way to fil the Commonwealth with Theeues? For, is it likely, that they (who from their Infancie) are brought vppe in stealing & pilfering trifles, wil afterward (when they haue got the full habit thereof) not forbear to steale things of greater importaunce? Or, can Theeues practise their occupation with more safetie anie way, to become in the end most expert, and thereby pernitious to the Commonwealth, then with the warrant, and vnder protection of the Lawe? Seeing the penaltie ordained for them that were taken with the manner, was not inflicted for the Iniustice of the fact, but for their lack of skil and dexterity in the performance, which must needs make euery one labor to excell in the act of Theeuery. Finally, when the Law not onely permitteth but also induceth men to deceiue somtimes, and in some thinges, doth it not also dispose, and, as it were, direct them to deceiue as often, and howsoeuer they may? Therefore, good and wise Law-Makers seeke to preuent euils, and to cut off the occasions of vice, and not to administer matter or occasion thereto, which in our corrupt Natures, breedeth a bridle to restraine it, and not a spurre to pricke it forward.

Cunning Theft and deceit allowed of in the laws of *Licurgus*.

Contending for excellece in theeuetie.

The care and respect of good Law-makers.

And this may also be saide, in respect of another Law of *Lycurgus*, inducing to intemperance, and al kind of incontinencie. For, although hee ordayned some thinges notably, for the education of youth, tending (as it seemed) vnto the represion of Concupiscence and dissolute life (as a verie spare and homely diet, hard bedding of Reeds, or as some write, no beds at al, continual labor and exercise, one only Garment for the whole yeare, and such like) yet it appeareth, that his meaning was no other therein, but only to make them able to endure the labour and toile of warre.

Another Law of *Licurgus*, inducing iutemperancie and incontinency.

Iustine in lib. 3.

For he ordained other lawes, so much in fauour and furtherance of Lust and all carnality, yea in the verie worst kind, that it may be iustly saide, he made his whole Commonwealth, worse then a *Burdello*. For he instituted certaine Wrastlings & Daunces, with other exercises of Boyes and Wenches naked, to be done in publicke at diuers times in the yeare, in the pre-

Plut. in Licurgo

Absurd lawes of *Licurgus*, tending to lasciuiousnesse.

presence of both old and young men: but what effect it might worke in the mindes and manners of their Cittizens, a man may easily iudge. Especially, seeing both their Lawes and Customes permitted, that men should be enamored of Boyes, which was held for lawdable, and necessarie for their good education: it beeing presumed, that their louers woulde carefully enstruct them in vertue and honesty.

Leuit. 20, 10. *Lex Iulia.*

Furthermore, Adultery, which was punnished with death, not onely by the law of *Moyses*, but also by the law of the *Romaines*, and other Nations, as a thing pernitious to any Commonwealth, was not onely permitted, but also approoued by *Lycurgus* his law. Ordaining, that if an olde man married a yong Wife, shee might (with her husbands license) make choise with any yong man that she liked, to haue a childe by him, which hir Huf-Husband brought vp as his owne. And if a valiant or vertuous man (as good Souldiers were there termed) liked well of anothers mans wife, hee might demaunde leaue of her husband, to haue yssue by her, which was not denied, but thought conuenient for their Commonwealth, to maintaine a good race or breede of Valiant man therein, as *Plutarch* testifyeth, in defence of this Law of *Lycurgus*. This then being so, what meruaile is it, that al sinne of the flesh and beastlines, raigned more in *Lacedemon*, then any where else in *Greece*, as *Aristotle* witnesseth? Nay what wonder was it, that almighty God (of his iust iudgement) plagued them for it in the end, with a memorable ouerthrow at the plaine of *Leuctra*? Where they lost the Dominion of *Greece*, by the occasion, and for the punnishment of an horrible Rape, committed by two of their Cittizens.

Adultery permitted by *Lycurgus*.

Plut. in Licurgo

Arist. in Polit. Sib. 2. Cap. 7. The ouerthrow of the *Lacedemonians* at the plaine of *Leuctra*. *Plut. Narratione amator. Diod. Siculus in l. 15. c. 14. cap. 20. nu. 3.*

But to conclude, concerning *Licurgus* and *Solon*, I will not stand vppon other things, reproued by *Aristotle* in the lawes of *Lycurgus*: seeing it is euident inough, by that which I haue touched before, that these two mirrors of Law makers (for so were *Solon* and *Licurgus* accompted of al antiquity) may serue no lesse then others of meaner marke, for examples of mens infirmities, and weakenesse of wit in matters of Commonwealth. To whom, I will now adde *Plato* and *Aristotle*, who, although they founded no Commonwealths, as the other two did; yet, they framed (in writing) either of them one, wherein they laboured to shew, both the excellencie of their owne wit, and the perfection of humaine policy; yet therin notwithstanding, they euidently declared the weakenesse of both.

Licurgus and *Solon* accounted by antiquity, mirrors of Law-makers.

Plato in lib. de Legibus.

For, what can bee more absurd or impious, then the community which *Plato* ordained in his Commonwealth? Not only of goodes and possessions, but also of women? which was done to the end, that no man should haue any thing proper or peculiar to himselfe: insomuch, that fathers & mothers should not know their own children, neither yet any child know his owne Parents. Whereby hee thought, to establish such a perfect vnity in the Commonwealth, that no man should be able to say; this is mine, or this is thine, but euerie man haue a generall care of all. Whereas, if that Lawe were put in practise, the vtter ouerthrow of the Commonwealth, and of all humaine society must needs follow theron. For Matrimonie beeing taken away, and such a promiscuous and beastly procreation introduced: the Naturall loue betwixt Parentes and their Children; Bretheren, Kinsfolkes, and Allies, all Consanguinity, Kindred, and Affinity, wold be quite abolished. Horrible Incest betweene Kinsfolkes, Brother and Sister, Father and Daughter, Mother and Son (which all Nations abhorre) would ordinarily be committed, and in occasion of quarrels (which somtimes could not be auoided) one Brother would kill another, the Father the Sonne, and the Son the Father, through want of knowing one another: beside very manie other inconueniences, declared verie perticulerly, and at large, by *Aristotle* in his Politickes. He proueth also very euidently, that the vnitie which *Plato* fought to establish in his Common wealth by law, would not follow theron, whereby appeared his double error. All which I omit for breuities sake, to speake a worde or two of another Lawe of his. Hauing ordained, that young men shold for encrease of their strength and agilitie of bodie, exercise themselues Naked at certaine times, and in certaine places appointed for that purpose, called *Gimnasia*, he commanded also (not as *Licurgus* did in *Lacedemonia*, that young Girles and Wenches should daunce Naked among Boyes; but farre more absurdlie) that

The impious Lawes of *Plato* in his commonwealth.

Promiscuous and beastly Procreation in the Lawes of *Plato*.

Arist. in Polit. L. 2. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Another most absurd *Platonical* Law.

that Weomen, in the flower of their youth, should Dance, Wraſtle, Runne, Ride, and do all exerciſes with yong Naked men, as well as they. *Which* (ſaieth he) *whoſoeuer miſliketh, vnderſtandeth not howe profitable it is for the Commonwealth.*

Plato accounted to be the Prince of Philoſophers.

But who coulde immagine, that the Prince of Phyloſophers (for ſo was *Plato* eſteemed) could ſo farre forget himſelfe, as, hauing inſtituted and framed his Commonwealth, to all kinde of vertue, as the onely meanes to arriue at perfect felicity: for which purpoſe, he gaue notable documents and Precepts; & made excellent Lawes concerning all vertues: and among the reſt, touching chaſtitie: who, I ſay, conſidering this, could imagine, that this Profeſſor, Maiſter, and teacher of Vertue; this commender and Commander of Chaſtitie; woulde not onely permit, but alſo ordaine a thing ſo contrarie to his owne profeſsion, to the end of his Commonwealth, and vnto his owne Lawes, Precepts, and Counſels, as the laſciuious Aſpect of naked women? Whereby, the fire of Concupiſcence being kindled in men, and the bridle of Naturall modeſtie taken from weomen: what elſe could followe thereon, but all beaſtlie diſſolution, and Carnallitie of life, as well in the one, as other?

Plato contrary to himſelfe, allowing young women in the companie of naked men.

For, Precepts are giuen, and Lawes ordained in vaine, againſt incontinency; when the occaſions, prouocations, and nouriſhmentes thereof, are permitted. Which whoſoeuer vſeth to admit, playeth with the flame, as the Flie doth, and commonly is burned thereby. How many do wee ſee daily ouercome with vice, and eſpecially that of the fleſh, becauſe they will not forbeare the occaſions? we may put fire to ſtraw when wee will, but we cannot quench it when wee will. It is in our owne power and choiſe to combate with our enemy, but the victorie is not in our hands. Euen ſo, we may eaſily enter into the conflict; and admit the allurements of ſinne when we liſt, but cannot ſo eaſily ouercome it, nor yet retyre our ſelues when we liſt: And therfore, in this kinde of combate, the verieſt Coward gets the victory, that is to ſay, hee which flieth away at the firſt, or rather dare not abide, to ſee ſo much as the face of his enemies. In which reſpect, the Holy-ghoſt aduiſeth vs, *Fugite a fornicatione, Fly from fornication.* And, *Iuuenilia deſideria fuge, Fly from all the luſts of youth.* And again, *Sicut a facie Colubri, fuge peccata, As from the face of a Serpent, ſo fly & run away from ſinne.* Whoſoeuer delighteth to admit the occaſions; whoſoeuer, I ſay, doth not ſhut vp the doores and windowes of his eyes & ears, againſt the enticements of luſt, but is content to entertaine them into the ſecret Cabinet of his heart, although hee were ſtronger then *Sampſon*, holier then *Dauid*, and wiſer then *Salomon*, let him make account to be vanquiſhed as they were.

Lawes ordained in vaine againſt Vice, when the occaſions thereof are permitted.

What remaineth not in our power we haue no command of.

1.Cor.6,18. 3.Tim 2,22. Eccleſ. 21,2.

Sin preuented, is halfe conquered.

Therefore *Ariſtotle*, *Platoes* Scholler, knowing how eaſily men are corrupted, by the hearing and ſight of wanton and laſciuious obiects; and eſpecially, Children (whoſe firſt impreſsions of good or bad, are hardly remoued euer after) ordained in his written Common wealth, that they ſhold be kept from the hearing of wanton talk, and from the ſight of laſciuious Comedies, and ſuch other repreſentations as might moue them to carnal cogitations, which enflame cõcupiſence to all inordinate appetites. In reſpect whereof, hee commaunded, that Magiſtrates ſhould not ſuffer in the Commonwealth, any diſhoneſt Images, or wanton pictures, which might repreſent anie vncleane or laſciuious act to the beholders. VVhich when I conſider, I cannot but lament the little care that is commonlie had thereof, in any Chriſtian Commonwealthes; where, not onely moſt mens mouths ouerflow with beaſtly and diſhoneſt talke, but alſo al places are furniſhed with wanton and laſciuious pictures and Images, euen as with ſpecial ornaments. Beeing kept likewiſe in their Bed-chambers, and moſt ſecret Cloſſets and Retreats, for ſatisfying their libidinous eies, and prouoking their ſpent and languiſhing Luſt, with the frequent and greedie aſpect of them. I am aſhamed to ſay the reſt, or that I haue ſayed ſo much, conſtrained thereto by the iuſt griefe, which I conceiue for ſo great an abuſe, that hauing beene forbidden and diſallowed by Paynims, is neuertheleſſe permitted among Chriſtians.

An excellent order taken by Ariſtotle, forbidding wanton talk, and laſciuious pictures. *Ariſt. in Polit. Lib.7 Cap.17.*

The ſmal care in Chriſtian Commonwealthes bemoaned.

That which hath beene diſallowed by Paynims, is ſuffered by Chriſtians.

But to returne from whence I digreſſed. I conclude, that theſe *Platonical* laws had been more fit for a *Sardanapalus*, or a

Heliogabalus, if they had written of Commonwealth affairs: then for a *Plato*, who professed himselfe to bee a Physition of soules, a reformer of manners, a teacher of temperance, and the Schoolemaister of all Vertue; so blinde is man, be hee neuer so wise, without the light of Gods grace. But perhaps, some may thinke that *Aristotle*, his Scholler (who was the wonder of the world for his wit, and vndertooke to censure and sindicate him, and all other Lawe-makers before him) saw clearer into matters of Law & Commonwealth, then they. Let vs then examine him a little, and we shall find, that he erred more absurdly, then anie one of them.

As may appeare by two of his lawes: whereof the one was, that if a man had any deformed or lame child, he should cast it out like a whelpe, and expose it to perrish. And the other was, that if a man had aboue a certain number of children, which number hee would haue to be determined, according to euery mans abilitie, his wife should destroy the fruite in her wombe, when she found that she had conceiued. Wherin he shewed himselfe more vnnaturall and inhuman, then the verie brute beasts. For, as *Cicero* saith verie well. *These two thinges cannot agree together, to wit; that Nature would haue procreation; and yet, when the Creature is borne, that it should not be beloued and conserued. Which appeareth euidently*, saith he, *in brute Beastes, whose labour and care in conseruation of that which is borne of them is such, that we may acknowledge the force and voyce of Nature therein. Wherefore, it is manifest, that as we Naturally shun and abhorre all kinde of griefe, so should we bee likewise moued to loue the yssue of our Bodies.* Elsewhere also he saith; *Whereas it is common to all liuing creatures, to haue a care of those things which they haue brought forth: Euen so Nature hath giuen specially to man, a loue to his Children, and a care to prouide them of all things necessarie.* Thus saith he, and common experience teacheth as much.

What then can bee more dissonant from reason and Nature, then that a mā who is borne, and Naturally enclined to Clemencie, Humanity, and Pietie; should shew himselfe vnkinde and inhumaine, not towards Beasts, but towardes men; not towards strangers, Friendes, or Seruants, but towards his own children? And that for no fault of theirs, but for some defectes or deformitie of bodie, which they could not remedy, but ought rather to moue pitty and compassion in a man, then rigour or crueltie. Beside, such corporall defectes, doo not for the most part, hinder the operation of the minde and vnderstanding. Therefore, it may well happen (by execution of this inhumaine Lawe of *Aristotle*) that not onely a Father shalbe depriued of a good Sonne: but the Commonwealth also, looseth a necessarie and notable Member. For as *Seneca* saith: *Ex casa vir magnus exire potest, et ex deformi, humilique corpusculo formosus animus, & magnus. A notable man may come out of a poore Cottage: and a beautifull and high minde, out of a lowe and deformed body.* Could Corporall imperfections and deformities exclude *Æsope* from the number of Philosophers? Or take from *Cræsus* the reputation of a most excellent & wise prince? Hee Wrote of himselfe (hauing inuited *Anacharsis* the Philosopher to come to his Court) *That although Nature hadde made him deformed, Crook backt, one eyed, lame of a Legge, a Dwarfe, and, as it were a Monster among men: yet he thought himselfe so monstrous in nothing, as in that hee had no Philosopher in his Court, and of his Counsell.*

The like may bee saide of a notable, though verie deformed Byshop of *Cullen*; of whose great Wisedome and Vertue, *William* of *Malmesbury*, giueth testimonie, declaring the occasion of his aduancement, to that great Arch-Byshoppricke, in this manner:

An Emperor of Germanie, saith hee, *being a Hunting, and wandering by chance with verie few or none with him, in a Morning, vpon the Sunday before Lent, called* Quinquagesima, *came vnto a poore parish Church, dissembling himselfe to bee a Souldier, and desired to heare Masse. The Parish Priest, beeing a man so deformed of bodye, that he was* Peæ portentum Naturæ, almost a Monster of Nature, *saide Masse before him. And as the Emperor wondered with himselfe, that Almighty God, who is of infinite beauty and Maiestie, vvoulde suffer so deformed a creature to do him such high seruice, it chanced that the Priest, reading*

Plato professed to bee a Physition of soules.

Arist. in Polit. lib. 2. cap. 1, 2, 3 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Two absurde Lawes of *Aristotle*.

Arist. in Polit. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Cicero de finib. Lib. 3.

Cicero in Offic. lib. 1.

The absurditie and inhumanitie of *Aristotles* Lawe, for the exposition of lame & deformed Children.

Deformity of body doth not preiudice the beauty of the minde.

Sen. ad Lucul. Epist.

King *Croesus*, very deformed of body, yet a wise and excellent Prince.

Gneuara in vita Mar. Aurelij

Gulielm. Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 10.

A Storie of a deformed Priest, made Archbyshop of *Cullen*.

ding the Verse of the Tract, which was that day; Scitote, quoniam Dominus, &c. Know you that our Lorde is God, and that he made vs, and not we our selues; *he pronounced that in such a different tune and voice, from that which he hadde reade before, that the Emperor tooke it as an apte answere to his present cogitation, and began to conceiue so reuerently of the Priest, (being further enformed of his life and vertue) that he made him Archbyshop of Cullen, much against his wil, &c.* Whereby appeareth the absurdity of *Aristotles* law. For, if it had beene in force, where this deformed Byshop was borne, the church had wanted a notable Pastour, and the Common-wealth an excellent and spirituall member.

Furthermore, it is manifest by *Aristotle* himselfe, that this Law of exposition of Children, is most vniust and iniurious vnto the Commonwealth. For, whereas he prooueth in his *Ethicks*, *That a man may not kill himselfe*: hee affirmeth among other thinges, *That hee which besides the course and forme of Law, doth hurt another, who neither defendeth himselfe, nor hurteth him, doth iniury to the Cõmonwealth.* Therefore, how much more iniurie is it, to destroy an innocent Childe, that can neither defende himselfe, nor hurt any other, and may (in processe of time) doo notable seruice to the Commonwealth?

The like also may be said of the other Law of *Aristotle*, concerning abortion, or destruction of the Childe in the Mothers womb, being a thing seuerely punished, by all good Lawes, as iniurious not only to Nature, but also to the commonwealth, which is thereby depriued of a designed Cittizen, as *Cicero* termeth it. So speaketh he of a Woman of *Miletus* in *Asia*, who hauing procured the abortion of her Child, a little before hir time of trauaile, was condemned vnto death. *Neque iniuria* (saith hee) *quia designatum Reip. ciuem sustulisset. And verie iustly, for that she made away one, that was designed to be a Cittizen of the Commonwealth.* In which regard, the Ciuill Law doth grieuously punnish all wilfull abortion, after Conception, whether the Childe haue life, or no: inflicting death, if the Childe were alreadie quicke; and otherwayes, banishment, with Confiscation of the Offenders Goodes, if they be Noble, or of account; and condemnation to digge in the Mines, if they be poore. Besides, our Cannonists do holde it to be a deadly sinne, either to procure abortion after conception (though the childe bee not quicke or voluntarily to hinder conception, or to cause sterility: because it is (say they) *Contra bonum prolis generandæ, Against the good of generation*, which Nature ordaineth, for the continuation of mankinde, and maintenance of humaine society. Therefore, whereas *Aristotle* himselfe aduiseth, that the abortion bee procured after conception, before the Childe haue life, adding this reason, *For that to do it after, were Nefas, a Wicked act.*

His reason excuseth not his absurditie in this Lawe, and condemneth him of wickednesse in the former, concerning the exposition of Children. For, if it be a wicked act, to kill a quick Child before it be borne: much more wicked and cruell is the act; to expose it vnto destruction and death after it is borne, when it hath farre more sence and feeling of hurte; and Naturally mooueth more to compassion.

But perhappes some will say, that hee which exposeth or layeth forth a Child, dooth not kill it: for, that it may happe (as manie times it hath) that the Childe may bee taken by some other, and nourished: as it chanced vnto *Moyses*, *Romulus* and *Remus*, *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, and diuers others.

Whereto I aunswere, that although the prouidence of GOD, ouercommeth manie times the mallice of man; yea, and turneth it to good: yet mans offence, is neuer a iotte the lesse, neyther can anie chance that happeneth after an acte, alter the Nature of the acte. I meane, it can neither rectifye it, if it bee ill done; nor make it ill, if so bee that it bee well done.

And therefore, I say, seeing reason and the Lawe of Nature commaundeth (as I haue shewed before) that euery one haue an especiall care, of the life & conuersation of his Children, he which not onely forsaketh his owne Childe, that hath not anie way offended him; but also exposeth it to the perill of death, cannot be excused of vnnaturall dealing, inhumanitie and impietie, although some stranger should chance afterward, to proue more

Psalme 100, 2

A note well strained, & in apt houre.

Aristotle in lib. Ethic. 5. Cap. 11. Aristotle against himself

Aristot. in Polit. lib. 7 Cap. 16. The absurdity of Aristotles law, concerning the destruction of children in their mothers wombe.

Cic. in Orat. pro Cluentio.

ff. de pœnis Lib. Si aliquid pa. rag. qui abortionem.

Syluester verb. Abortus. Armilla ibid.

Aristot. ibid. vt supra.

Aristotle confuted by his own assertion

An obiection made & aunswered.

Exod. 2, 5. *Plut. in Romulo Iustin. in lib. 1.*

A note well worth the obseruation in Fathers and Mothers.

more humaine and pious toward it, then the Father himselfe.

Well then, to conclude this point, I say of *Aristotle*, as *Augustus Cæsar* said of King *Herod* (when he vnderstoode, that among the Innocents which he had caused to be killed, after the birth of our Sauiour, one of his owne Sons was slaine) *It is better*, quoth he, *to be Herods Pigge, then his Sonne.* And this he said, in regard that Pigges were not killed in *Iudea*, because the Iewes did not eate anie Swines Flesh. And euen so I say, it were better to bee a Beast in *Aristotles* Commonwealth, then a man, for Beastes shoulde bee assuredly cared and prouided for by their Dammes: whereas the Children of men, should bee in daunger to be forsaken both of Father and Mother, and so perish.

Macrob lib. 2. Saturnal. cap. 4.

Herods owne sonne slain among the Innocents.

And heere I cannot forbeare to say somewhat, of another Constitution of his, which I knowe not, whither it were more absurd or ridiculous. We made mention a little before, of a notable Law of his, forbidding in his Commonwelth, the vse of lasciuious Pictures & Images; least young men, and especialy children, might be corrupted in manners by sight of them. Neuertheless, he excepteth in the same Law, the Images and Pictures of certaine Gods: *In whom* (saith he) *Custome allovveth Luciuiousneße.* Meaning no doubt, the painted and graued Stories of the Adulteries of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and *Venus*, and other Gods and Goddesses, set foorth euery where amongest the Paynims, as well in publicke places, as in their priuate Houses and Temples. Wherein may bee obserued, the ridiculous absurdity of this great Phylosopher, not only in matter appertaining to Religion, but also in matter of Commonwealth; yea, and concerning his owne law formerly mentiond. For, what could it auaile, to take away all other wanton pictures and representations that might corrupt the minds of youth, when he expressely alloweth the vse of Lasciuious Gods pictures, which must needes corrupt them much more, and as it were, instill into them, vicious affections & wils together, with their Religion, and by example of their Goddes? For, by their immitation, they could not but hope to attaine, as well to perfection of Vertue, as to eternall beatitude and felicite, beleeuing as they did, that they were true Gods?

Another absurd errour of *Aristotle.*

Lasciuious pictures and Images of Gods, absurdly allowed by *Aristotle.*

If Gods do amisse, men presume to follow.

For, how could any man bee perswaded, that Adulterie deserued punnishment, or was not a great, yea, a Diuine Vertue, seeing *Mars* taken tardy with *Venus*, or *Iupiter* stealing away *Europa*, in the shape of a Bull; or violating *Læda*, in the forme of a Swanne; or entering into the house of *Danae* (by the Louer) in a Golden showre? Would not anie man that were Religiously deuoted vnto these Gods, bee animated by sight of them to do the like? Yea, and Children, learning their Religion, and not only hearing, but also seeing euery where, by Pictures and Images, that such actes were committed by their Gods, could they imagine, that the same were euill, and not to be imitated?

Mens mindes corrupted amongest the Gentiles, by the sight of the lasciuious pictures of their Goddes.

This is verie well declared by *Lucian*, of his owne experience, who, in his Dialogues, maketh *Menippus* say thus: *When I was yet but a Boy, and heard out of* Homer *and* Hesiode, *of the Adulteries, Fornications, Rapes, and seditions of the Gods, Truely I thought, that those thinges were very excellent, and began euen then, to be greatly affected towards them. For I could not imagine that the Goddes themselues wou'd euer haue committed Adultery, if they had not esteemed the same to bee lawfull and good.* The like also signifyeth *Chærea* in *Terence*, who beholding a Table, wherein was painted how *Iupiter* deceiued *Danae*, when he came in at the top of the house, saith; that hee was greatlie encouraged to defloure a yong Maid, by the example of so great a God. *At quem Deum?* (saith he) *Qui templa cæli summa sonitu concutit. Ego homunicio hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud ita feci & lubens. But what God was this? Euen hee, which shakes the highest Temples of the Heauens vvith Thunder. And therefore, might not I, that am but a poore wretch, doe the like? Yes truely, I did it, and that with all my heart.*

Lucian in Menippo.

Ter. in Eunuc.

These are the effects, that the sight of such Lasciuious Pictures of the Goddes, must needes worke in their minds which beholde them; and are withall, Religiously affected towards them. And therefore, *Aristotle* permitting these, and forbidding all other, to preuent thereby the wonderfull corruption of youth, may verie fitly bee compared vnto one, that should

Aristotles absurdity made plaine & manifest.

A verie true and apt Comparison.

should make a Law to prohibite the burning of houses, except it were with some artificiall wilde fire, that could not bee extinguished. For such may be said to be the fire of Concupiscence, kindled in the minds of men or Children, by Religious acts or representations, which maketh such impressions, as neuer after can be rased out againe, so long as affection to the same Religion remaineth. Which maketh me therefore to conclude, that *Aristotle* failed and erred no lesse, or rather more absurdly, then the other Lawmakers, whose errors hee censured and controlled.

The weaknes of mans wit, and the imperfection of Lawes inferd vpon the premises.

Heereby two things are inferred, and do appeare euidently. The one, the weakenesse of mans wit, when it is not supported and directed by the grace of GOD. And the insufficiencie of humain lawes, through the weakenesse of the Law-Makers, who intending (manie times) to make good and wholesome Lawes, for benefit of the Commonwealth, doo ordaine things very inconuenient and preiudiciall thereto: which *Cicero* obserueth in some of the Wisest men of his time. *I can tell you* (saith hee) *of Marcus Cotta, whose Law concerning priuate iudgements, was abrogated by his own Brother, the same yeare that it was made. And the Lawes of* Licinia *and* Mutia, *made by two most wise Consulles, were in the iudgements of al men not onely vnprofitable, but also, pernitious to the Commonwea'th. As also the Lawes called* Liuiæ, *were abrogated by the Senate in an instant. And in like manner, I holde the Lawes* Seiæ *and* Apuliæ *to be nothing worth.* Thus farre *Cicero*.

Cic. de Reip. in fragmentis.

The like whereof might be exemplified in euery Commonwealth, but this shal suffice at this time, concerning Lawmakers. Now let vs consider Law in it selfe, what it is; to what end it is ordained; and what it can perform in a Commonwealth, for the perfection & establishment thereof.

CHAP. V.

What Law is: To what end it was ordained. And what it can performe in a Commonwealth.

Pla. in Mino. de Rep. et de Leg.

PLato, speaking generally of all Law, as well written as vnwritten, defineth it to be, *A reasonable rule, leading and directing men to their due end; for a publicke good, ordaining Penalties for them that transgresse, and Rewards for them that obey.* And *Cicero* more briefly thus: *Law is* (saith hee) *the highest or chiefe reason grafted in nature, commaunding those things which are to be doone, and forbidding the contrary.* And againe, *Law is the force of Nature; the vnderstanding and reason of a Wiseman; the rule of right and wrong.* And speaking more perticulerly of written Lawe, hee saith; *It is the reason & vnderstanding of a Wiseman, who ordaineth in writing what he thinketh good by way either of commandement, or of Prohibitions.* Lastly, the *Ciuilians*, most briefly and properly defineth it thus. *Lex est sanctio sancta, iubens honesta, prohibens cõtraria. Law is a holy decree*, that is to say, *A Decree which ought not to be broken, commanding good and holy things, and forbidding the contrary.*

Cic. in lib. 1. de Legibus.

Idem.

The definitiõ of written Law.

Accurs. in instit. ff. de Legib. et Senat. cons. 3.

This Law, *Plato* calleth, *The soule, that giueth forme and life to the Commonwelth, and the Anchor that stateth and assureth it.* And *Cicero* sayth; *That neither any house, nor Cittie, nor Nation, nor yet humaine kinde, can stand vvithout Law.* Nevertheless, how excellent or defectiue soeuer it is for a Commonwealth, yet it is to be vnderstood, that all Lawes whatsoeuer (which are meerely humaine) are Defectiue and insufficient, for the perfect Gouernement of a State. For whereas humaine Lawes consisteth eyther in Written Statutes or Decrees, or in the Commandements and Ordinances of a wise Magistrate (which Magistrate, *Cicero* therefore calleth, *A Speaking Lawe*, as he also calleth the Lawe, A dumb Ma-

Plato de Legib.

Cic. in lib. 3. de Legib.

All Lawes written or vnwritten, are defectiue.

The Magistrate a speaking Law: & the Lawe a dumbe Magistrate.

giſtrate) yet it is euident, that neyther of both apart, nor yet both concurring, can ſuffice.

The imperfection of written lawes.

For the firſt, whereas written Lawes are vniuerſall, and concerne the action of men, which are infinite and perticuler, it is not poſsible, that any Law-Maker ſhould extend his Lawes ſo farre, that they may ſufficiently prouide for all caſes that may occurre; but that hee muſt leaue place for the determination and iudgement of men, according to equity. As not onely *Ariſtotle*, but alſo the *Ciuilians* themſelues, doe teach, and experience is daily ſeene thereof. In the neceſſity of interpretation and mittigation of Lawes; in Diſpenſations, and in Appealations from Law to Conſcience; whereby the imperfection of al written Lawes, ſufficiently appeareth. And as for the ordinances of wiſe Magiſtrates, it is manifeſt (by that which I haue ſayde before, concerning the errours of wiſe Gouernors and Law-makers) that the weakneſſe and blindneſſe of mans wit, and the corruption of his Nature, is ſuch; that hee can neither ſee ſo clearely in all caſes, nor yet be ſo voide of affection and paſsion, that he can be able to determine, decree, and iudge according to equity. In which reſpect, *Ariſtotle* diſputeth, *Whether it were better, That a Commonwealth ſhould be gouerned by good Lawes, or by the wil of the beſt man?* And he preferreth the Gouernment of Lawes, before the other, ſaying; *The Law is (as it were) a pure and cleare vnderſtanding: whereas the vnderſtanding of the beſt man, is ioyned with ſenſual appetite, whereby it may bee corrupted.* And therefore, where the Law gouerneth, there God gouerneth: but where man gouerneth, be he neuer ſo wiſe and vertuous, there a cruell Beaſt (to witte; Concupiſcence and Paſsion) entreth into the gouernment with him, and manie times obſcureth his vnderſtanding. For which cauſe, the Magiſtrate ought in all caſes, wherein the meaning of the Law is cleare: to iudge and determine according to the preſcript thereof, as the Ciuill Law it ſelfe ordaineth. And *Cicero* ſaith: *As the Magiſtrate gouerneth the people, ſo ſhou'd the Law gouerne the Magiſtrate.* Whereupon I inferre, that ſeeing no Law-maker can ſo ſufficientlie prouide for the gouernement, and direct ruling of a Common-wealth, by the Letter of the Law; but he muſt leaue infinite caſes, yea, and the interpretation of the Lawe themſelues, to the determination and iudgement of men, who are alſo (on their part) defectiue, to wit; ſubiect vnto paſsion and error: It followeth then, that neither the Law without the Magiſtrate, nor the Magiſtrate without the Law, nor yet both concurring, can ſuffice for the perfect gouernment of a commonwelth, but ſhould bee to ſupply the defectes of each other. And therefore I conclude, that there is no ſufficient and aſſured meanes, to eſtabliſh any State by humain Lawes.

Ariſ. in Ethic. lib. 5. cap 10. Iul. lib. 1. ad dictum ff. de legib. & Senatus conſtit. 3 et Iul. Lib. 89. digeſ.

The imperfection of vnwritten lawes

Better to bee gouerned by good Lawes, then by the wil of the beſt man, & why. *Ariſ. in Polit. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

Where good Laws gouern God doth goueme.

As a Magiſtrate ſhould gouerne the people, ſo ſhold the law gouerne the Magiſtrate. *Iul. lib. 15. digeſ. ff. de legi. & Senat. conſtit. 3.*

This will be more euident, if wee conſider, what are the eſpeciall ends whereto Lawes were ordained, and what they can perform. Two things are principaly intēded by them. The one, the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, by the deciſion of cauſes, controuerſies, and ſuites, betwixt partie and partie. The other, is the reformation of manners, and repreſsion of vice, for that it is pernitious to a Commonwealth. Of the firſt I haue already ſpoken ſufficiently, as well in the weakeneſſe of the Law-maker and Magiſtrat, as imperfection of the Law, in the determination of cauſes. And therefore, I will a little further enlarge my ſelfe, concerning the latter; which is, ſuppreſsion of Vice, and reformation of manners: and I will declare, that humaine Lawes cannot ſufficientlie performe, either the one or other.

Cicer de legibus

No ſufficient meanes to make a perfect Common welth, by humaine Lawes & Magiſtrats.

Two principall endes wherinto humain Lawes do tend.

A reference to the former diſcourſe.

If Lawes were able to reforme mens maners, or to repreſſe vice, they muſt do it, either by *Precept*, or by *Prohibition*, or by *Permiſsion*, or by *Rewarding*, or by *Puniſhing*, for in theſe fiue things, conſiſt al the force of human lawes, as the Lawiers do teſtify of themſelues. For the two firſt, to wit; *Precept & Prohibition*, they are altogether vnable and inſufficient, to bring the corrupt nature of man to any perfection or vertue. For, what other help haue we thereby, but only the knoledge of our duty? which knowledge alone, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, *Helpeth litle or nothing to vertue, the praiſe and commendation whereof, conſiſteth in action and operation.* Becauſe it nothing auaileth, though wee know neuer ſo much, if we do not put our knowledge in practiſe. And as little it profiteth a ſickeman, to know what meat is good for him: when hee hath ſuch a loathing vnto it, that hee cannot eate it. Euen ſo, the

ff. de legib. & Senat. conſult. tit. 3. Iſidor. Lib. 5. Ettmol.

The force of human lawes conſiſteth in Precept, Prohibition, Permiſsion, Reward and Puniſhment.

Ariſt. in Ethic. lib. 2. cap. 4.

the corrupt nature of man hath litle help or remedy by the knowledge of his duty: when vertue is ſo loathſome vnto him, that he cannot brooke it. For, as *Seneca* ſaith. *Nihil proderit dare præcepta, niſi prius amoueris obſtantia præceptis. It is to little purpoſe to giue precepts, except thou firſt remoue the obſtacles of them.* And therefore the Poet ſaide truely

Seneca. Epiſt. 95 Precepts alone little auaile to the obtaining of vertue.

——Si poſſem, ſanior eſſem;
Sed trahit inuitum, nouus vis, aliudq; cupido,
Mens alius ſuadet, video meliora, probo q;,
Deteriora ſequor.

That is to ſay;

I would bee better, if I could; but a new and ſtrange force draweth me againſt my will. Senſuality perſwades me one thing, and reaſon another. I ſee and approoue the better, but I follow the worſe.

Alſo, the Apoſtle ſpeaking in the perſon of our corrupt nature, teſtifieth the ſame, ſaying. *Scio quia non habitat in me, &c. I know that there dwelleth no goodnes in me, that is to ſay, in my fleſh: For I haue a good will or deſire, but I cannot performe it. For I doe not the good which I deſire to doe; but I do the euill which I would not do.* Thus farre the Apoſtle. Whereupon it followeth, that precept and prohibition of the Law (whereby wee haue the onely knowledge of good and euill) litle auayleth vs for the attayning of vertue; except the infirmitie and corruption of Nature, be cured by ſome other meanes. For *Animus* (ſaith *Seneca*) *vt ad præcepta poſſit ire, ſoluendus eſt. The Soule muſt be looſed from the bonds that tye and entangle it, or otherwiſe, it cannot follow the good precepts that are giuen.*

Rom. 7. 18. 19.

The precept and prohibition of the Law.

Senec. Epiſt. 95.

But what if the prohibition of euill doe hurt alſo, if it be not otherwiſe holpen? The Apoſtle prooueth this clearely. *Peccatum* (ſaith he) *non cognoui, &c. I knew not ſinne, but by the Law, for I know not concupiſcence, but becauſe the law ſaid: Thou ſhalt not luſt. And ſinne, by occaſion of the Commaundement, hath wrought all concupiſcence in me.* And how true this is; common experience may teach vs, ſeeing nothing is more proper and peculiar to the mallice of mans Nature; then deſire to doe that which is forbidden, and commonly for no other reaſon, but becauſe it is forbidden. Which the Poet ſignifieth elegantly, ſaying;

Rom. 7. 7. 8.

Prohibition (of it ſelfe) rather hurteth then otherwiſe.

Cui peccare licet, peccat minus; ipſa poteſtas
Semina nequitiæ languidiora facit, &c.
Nitimur inuetitũ ſemper, cupimuſq; negata.
Sic interdictis imminet æger aquis. (ta:

Ouid. Lib. 2. de Arte amandi.

He which hath leaue to ſinne, ſinnes leſſe: for the libertie to ſinne, weakeneth the very roots and ſeeds of ſinne. We alwaies ſtriue to doe that which is forbidden vs, like to the ſicke Man, who thirſtes moſt after forbidden Water.

Mans corrupt nature thirſteth after thinges forbidden.

And another Poet ſaith to the ſame purpoſe. *Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas. Mankind runneth head long to ſinne, when it is forbidden him.* For euen as a torrent or Land flood, running a violent and precipitous courſe, and meeting with any ſtop by the way, becomes the more furious, and with re-doubled force makes it ſelfe paſſage, bearing downe all before it: Euen ſo, mans corrupt Nature, being carryed head-long with vnbrideled deſires, and finding it ſelfe repreſſed or hindred, by any Law or Commaundement; breaketh down the bankes or bounds of dutie with re-doubled fury, in ſuch ſort, that it committeth double offence, to wit; it doth not onely the deſired euill, but breaketh the Law alſo. As the Apoſtle inſinuateth, ſaying: *Lex iram operatur, &c. The Law worketh or cauſeth wrath, for where there is no Law, there is no breach of Law.* Whereupon Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith. *The letter of the Law killeth, for it makes a man rather know euill, then eſchew it, and by that meanes, rather encreaſeth then diminiſheth ſinne: becauſe mans concupiſcence or vnlawfull deſire, is accompanied alſo with breach of the Law.* Whereby it appeareth, that the Law in commaunding or forbidding, helpeth not ſufficiently the reformation of mans corrupt nature.

Horatius 1. Carminũ Od. 3.

An excellent compariſon.

Rom. 4. 15.

In decerptis ex S. Auguſt.

But can Permiſſion, or conuenience with euill (which is another point of the Law) worke any greater effect? Who ſeeth not, that it dooth nothing elſe, but bewray the imbecilitie and imperfection of the Law? Becauſe it is forced to permit that, which it gladlie would, and ſhould remedy, but cannot. And therefore I will proceede, to treat of *Reward* and *Puniſhment*, wherein, as *Solon* was wont to ſay, principally conſiſteth the gouernment of a Commonwealth. And *Iſidorus* ſaith; *Legis præmio aut*

Permiſſion ſheweth the imbecility of the Law.

Iſidor. Lib. 5. Etimol.

Of reward & punishment.

aut pœna, vita moderatur humana. Mans life is wholy gouerned by reward or punnishment of the Law.

Now then, for as much as these two haue all their operation, about the effects of Vertue or Vice, that is to say; about good or bad actions (which are onely rewarded and punished by Law) and not about the rootes and causes thereof, to wit; the good or bad habits or affections of the mind, from whence doe spring all good and euill actions: It is manifest, that though they may bee Motiues to good; yet they cannot bee effectuall and sufficient meanes to work it. For, so long as the cause remaineth; so long will the effects follow thereof, at one time or other. We see that trees are yearely lopped, and Vines cropped: yet while the rootes remaine sound, they bud afresh, and bring foorth new Boughes, Leaues, and Fruits. Euen so, although euill and sinfull Acts be punished in wicked men, yet if the causes from whence they proceede (to wit, inordinate affections and passions) be not taken away; they produce the very same effects sooner or later, openly or secretly. For, what commonly followeth on the punishment of a vicious Act, when the habit of the Vice remaineth: but that the offender sinneth more warilie another time? And how often do men offend the lawes, without punishment, yea, without any feare or danger thereof? *That Man* (saith *Cicero*) *who feares nothing but a Iudge and a Witnesse: what will he not do in the dark? Or when he finds a weak and rich man alone, of whom he may safely haue the spoile?*

Example by the yearely lopping of trees & vines.

Cicero de legib.

How many waies the penalties of politicall Lawes may be escaped.

Furthermore, how many waies may the penaltie of the Law bee auoyded? Some escape it by their power, in which respect, *Anacharsis* compared Lawes to the Spiders Web: which takes onelie the little Flyes, while the great ones breake thorough it. Some againe auoyde it by corruption, either of the Iudge, Witnesse, or Iurie. And some by fauour or friendship. Others by negligence of Officers, which doe not execute the Lawes: And some by the Princes pardon. But what shall we say of such, who offend the Law, not onelie without punishment; but also with reward? To the ende, that this may the better appeare, and that wee may see (withall) what force Law may haue, for suppressing the mallice of mans nature: let vs consider the power of a contrarie Law, which encountreth euery Common-wealth, and impugneth Politicall Law, to wit, the Law of the Flesh, whereof the Apostle saith. *Video aliam legem, &c. I see another Law in my body, repugnant to the Law of my minde.* And for as much, as this Law hath also her *Precepts*, *Prohibitions*, *Rewards*, and *Punishments*: Let vs put it in a Ballance with the Ciuill and Politicall Law, weighing the one with the other, that we may see, whether wil be like to ouer come, in a man deuoyd of Gods grace, & consequently in Common-wealths, that relye onely vpon humaine pollicie and power.

Rom. 7. 23.

An exact comparison of politicall Law, with the Law of the Flesh, to shew the aduantage of the later.

It is therefore to be considered, that the Carnall Law, flowing from the very bottome of mans corrupt Nature; is so much stronger, and more forcible, then the other, to moue and draw him: by how much it is more internall and familiar with him, and the end or scope thereof more agreeable, and consonant to his corrupt humour, will, and affection. For Politicall Law tendeth onely to *Bonum verum*, and *Bonum commune*, *A true good, and the common good*, consisting in sollide & perfect vertue: whereas the Carnall Law tendeth to *Bonum apparens*, and *Bonum priuatum*; *An apparant and priuate good*, consisting onely in a Mans owne profit, pleasure, and delectation, whereto euery one is (of his owne corrupt nature) enclined.

Whereunto the Politicall and Carnall Lawes doe tend.

The like also may be said, of the Statutes and Decrees both of the one and other, that is to say; their *Precepts* and *Prohibitions:* consisting in Commaundements Negatiue and Affirmatiue. Wherein the Carnal Law hath also the like aduantage, in respect of the greater facilitie of the precepts thereof, and difficulty of the things it forbiddeth. For, whereas the Ciuill and Politicall Lawe commaundeth vs, to loue our Neighbours as our selues, and to preferre the publique good before our priuate; to be temperate and continent; not to Steale; not to deceiue; not to commit Fornication or Adultery: The Law of the Flesh, beeing opposite in all, commaundeth the contrary; as to loue our selues better then our Neighbours; to prefer

The Statutes of both the Lawes, politicall and carnall.

The opposition of the law of the flesh.

Plutar. in Solon

preferre our priuate good before the publique; to steale; to deceiue for our commoditity; and to commit Fornication and Adultery for our pleasure. And to conclude all, in one precept, it saith: *Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas. Eate, drinke, and be merry, for after death there is no pleasure.*

The Carnall Laws precept

The Statutes of the Carnall Law, the Holy Ghost layeth downe notably, in the Booke of Wisedome, speaking of wicked men, in these wordes. *Dixerunt impij, &c. The wicked said. Let vs enioy the goods that we haue, and vse the Creature in this time of our youth, without delay. Let vs fil our selues with Wine and Oyntments, and let vs not loose the floure of the time, &c. Let vs leaue euery where the signes of our mirth, for this is our part, and this is our lot. Let vs oppresse the poore iust Man, and let vs not spare the Widdow, nor haue respect to the hoary Haires of any. And let our strength be the Law of in-Iustice.* These are the Statutes of the Flesh, which how much more consonant and agreeable they are to mans corrupt Nature, and how much more easie to be performed, then the statutes and decrees of Politicall Law, which commaunds and forbids the contrarie; I neede not to declare.

Wisd. 2, 6, 7. 8 10, 11.

The Statutes of the carnall Law.

But who knoweth not, that to learn Vice, a man hath no neede of any great wit, or of a Councellour, or of compulsion? who is so simple, that he hath not wit enough to be wicked? Whereas, to be vertuous, we neede not onely wit and capacity, Maisters & Teachers: but also Lawes, stripes, Prisons, Giues and Gibbets. And yet, as *Seneca* saith; *We may thinke we profit well, if we be none of the worst.* So that, he which is eyther left to his own corrupt Nature, or hath no other then humaine help: is drowned in vice and sinne, before hee come within a kenning of vertues port. *We are* (saith *Seneca*) *taken vp by the way; wee labour to come to Vertue, being already entangled and intercepted by vice.* And no maruaile, seeing men voyde of Grace, (for such I speake of) haue neither sufficient Armes to defend themselues, nor refuge where to saue themselues. For reason, which is their onely Weapon, not being strengthened by Grace: is so weak and brickle, that it breaketh at the first blow. And Morall Vertue (wherein consisteth all their hope and refuge) is so hard to be attained: that a man receiueth many deadly wounds of his Enemy, before he can arriue where it is. Besides, his danger is the greater, because his Warre is so domesticall and intestine; that hee is not secure from harme himselfe. For, he is to fight, not onely with the World and the Deuill: but also with his owne passions and affections, in so much, that his greatest feare may be; least he himselfe betray himselfe, and render himselfe Prisoner to his Enemy.

Mans prompt nesse and forwardnesse to learne euill.

Senec. in Epist. 75.

Seneca vbi supra.

Reason the only weapon, being strengthened by grace.

Furthermore, wee see that our proclinity to Vice, and auersion from Vertue, is such, that as it sufficeth to flesh a Dogge onelie once vpon a Sheepe, to make him a Sheepe-wurrier as long as he liues: Euen so, one onely tast of vice is enough, to make a man vicious euer after. Whereas contrariwise, many acts are requird, to the attraining the habite of any one vertue, and so timely is mans friendship with sensualitie, the Mother of Vice, and so late his knowledge and vse of reason, which leadeth to vertue: that he hath gone halfe the way to Vice, before hee know where Vertue dwels.

Vice is very easily learned but vertue very hardly.

By meanes whereof, he commonlie groweth to bee vicious very earlie; to wit, in his Childe-hood, and vertuous very late, if euer he proone vertuous at all. For the way to vertue is long, and full of difficulties; but the way to al kinde of vice, is easie, and, as *Salomon* saith; *Complanata lapidibus, Made plaine with stones*, eeuen, and wel paued, short, and gone in a trice. *Hesiodus* saith, *Haud procul illa habitant, breuis est via quæ sit eundem. Vice dwelleth not farre from vs, the way is short, and all in a descent* Whervpon the Poet saith; *Facilis descensus Auerni; The descent to Hell is very easie.* Finally, of these two waies our Saiour saith. *Lata porta & spatiosa via est, &c. The way is broad and spatious that leadeth to perdition, and many enter in thereat: but the Gate is strait, and the way is narrow, which leadeth to life, and few men finde it.* Thus we see, what great aduantage the Law of the flesh hath, of the Politicall Law, in respect of the facilitie that men finde, to fulfill the precepts thereof, which (in some) are nothing else, but to be vicious.

Men learne halfe the way to vice, before they know vertues dwelling.

Eccle. 2[illegible] 10.

Hesiodus.

Virgil in Lib. 6 Aenad.

Mat. 7, 13, 14.

The aduantage that the carnall Law hath of the politicall law.

But

The Carnall Law hath her Aduocates, Orators, Philosophers and Teachers.

But wanteth it any thing, wherewith Politicall Lawe is furnished? Hath not she them in as high a degree, and able to hold equall competence? Hath not this Carnall Law (thinke you) her Aduocates, Orators, Philosophers, & Teachers, to publish and proclaime it, to plead it, to teach it? What say ye to all the Sect of *Epicurus?* Whose Doctrine consisted principally in the Precepts of this Law, and impugning (as much as he durst) the Ciuill and Politicall Law? In which respect, al *Epicurians* were banished out of many good Common-wealthes of *Greece*; as *Plutarch* testifieth, and that worthily. For *Epicurus* hauing made a demaund, in certaine questions which hee wrote, whether a wise man would not doe against the Political Law, if he might be sure to escape vnpunished? aunswered freely thereto himselfe, *Yes truly.* And writing to *Idomeneus*, one of his Schollers, he admonished him seriously; not to subiect himselfe to the Lawes and opinions of Men, when soeuer he might hope to auoid the penalty of the lawes. And *Metrodorus*, a Disciple and familiar friend of his, writing to his Brother: forbad him to go to the warres, or endanger himselfe for the good of all *Greece*; aduising him, rather to drinke good Wine at home, and entreate himselfe well, that his body might receiue all pleasure and contentment. Concluding, that the chiefe and soueraigne good, consisteth in the belly, and in the pleasures therof. This is the Philosophy that belongeth to the Law of the flesh, and experience sheweth, what number of professors there are thereof in euery Common-wealth. *Quorum Deus venter est*, as the Apostle saith; *Whose bellies are their Gods.* Whose endeuors tend to nothing, but to their priuate pleasure & commodity. Who imploy their wits, studies, and pens, to nothing so much, as to publish and promulgate the Carnall Law, in amourous and lasciuious Books, wanton Poems, and scurrillous baudy Ballads, which abound euery where, to the corruption of youth, and consequently, to the preiudice of the Commonweale, & to the great shame of Magistrates, that see and suffer it.

The doctrine of *Epicurus* & his followers.

Metrodorus a Disciple of *Epicurus.*

Idem in his Treatise, that a man cannot liue merily in the Sect of *Epicurus.*

Phil. 3, 19.

Youth corrupted by lasciuious books and ballads.

Moreouer, to the end we may see, that this Carnall Law will yeild in nothing to the Politicall: hath it not also Common-wealths wherein it gouerneth, and a prudence and pollicy appropriate vnto it? Yea, polliticke Princes and Magistrates that practise it, and politick writers that teach and maintaine it? Looke vpon all tyrannicall States, where all is ruled according to the precepts of this Law: doe Magistrates and Gouernours practise any other pollicy, but *Prudentiam carnis*; as the Apostle calleth it, *The Prudence and wisedome of the flesh?* And *Machiauell*, whose workes are so highly esteemed of many men at this day: doth he teach any other gouernment, then that which proceedeth from the principles of this law, to wit; from selfe loue, and perticuler interest? Yet this were not so much to be wondred; at if it had not also a Religion conforme to it selfe, with Doctors and Diuines, to Preach and defend it. For as Politicall Law, hauing the help and assistance of true Religion, is more perfect, and worketh far greater effects in the Common-wealth, for the establishment and conseruation thereof: So also hath the Carnall Law, being masked with the Vizard of some Religion, eyther true or false, is of farre greater force, to ouerthrow or destroy any Common-wealth. And therefore it seeketh alwaies, to haue eyther the apparance and shew of true Religion, (in which respect, *Machiauell* teacheth his Tyrant to be an Hippocrite) or else it serueth it selfe, with some new fangled and false Religion: which the Apostle signifieth, when amongst *Opera carnis*, *The workes of the flesh*, he numbreth Sects of Heresies.

Rom. 8.6.

Machiauell de Principe.

The Carnall Law hath Religion and doctours and Preachers.

Gal. 5.20.

But perhaps you will say, that the other Law (in rewarding and punishing) surmounteth this, and represseth it in such sort, that it can haue no force in any wel gouerned Commonwealth. Let vs then examine this a little, and we shal finde: that the Politicall Law hath no oddes of this in that point, for it hath rewards and punishments also, as well as the other. The rewards which this Law proposeth, are diuers; for it promiseth (for some thinges) the pleasure & delight which is taken in the action, with the which, the party thinketh himselfe so well satisfied: that he is contented (many times) to bestow his Mony, yea, to venter his life to obtaine it.

The Carnall Law hath Common-weals wherein it gouerneth.

The rewards which the law of the Flesh proposeth.

Some-

Sometimes againe, it propoſeth ſome commoditie or benefit, which may accompanie or follow the fact. And laſtly, it findeth meanes (otherwhiles) to rob vertue of her reward, and apply it to it ſelfe: in ſo much, that there is no remuneration promiſed by the Politicall Law, whereof the Carnall may not ſometimes giue hope, to ſuch as follow it. As I will make euident, by compariſon of the one with the other: whereby it ſhall appeare, that the Carnall Law hath euery where the aduantage.

The two laws compared together.

Therefore (I ſay) that the rewardes propoſed for Vertue by the Politicall Law, are vncertaine, in reſpect of the other, for neither is ther any at all aſſigned for very many good actes, neyther are all thoſe rewards promiſed, performed. Whereas on the contrary, the rewards of Vice, are commonly more certaine, for eyther they goe before the act (as it falleth out in bribes, and many other caſes of vnlawfull gaine, where the reward is paid before hand) or elſe they accompany the fact (as in al caſes of intemperance and incontinency, wherein onely pleaſure is ſought, or in coſenages and deceipts, which bring preſent gaine) or elſe they follow vpon the deede, as when ſome vnlawfull act is done, vpon promiſe of future pay. So that, for Vice the reward is alwaies eyther aſſured, or (at leaſt) hoped for and expected; which is no ſmal Motiue to induce men thereto. But for vertue, neither is there any reward to bee had many times, nor yet hope of any by politicall Law, as we ſee by experience in very many Men, who liue laudably in the Common-wealth all their liues: and yet are ſo farre from hauing any remuneration, or from expecting any; that they thinke themſelues happy, in that they can eſcape the penalties of the Law.

The reward for vertue very vncertain.

The rewards of vice are certaine, for the moſt part.

Good men dy many times, yet neuer reſpected.

But let vs proceede a little further. Is there any reward for vertue, ſo aſſured by Politicall Law, that Vice cannot; yea, doth not abtaine it daily? Hath it not honour (many times) for reward, as well as Vertue? Who ſooner riſeth to the higheſt offices, and credit in ſome Courts: then the Miniſters of the Princes pleaſures, or Inſtruments of his wickedneſſe? As *Seianus*, vnder the Emperor *Tiberius*. Two Slaues, called *Narciſſus* and *Pallas*, vnder *Claudius*. *Tigellinus*, vnder *Nero*. *Pexennius*, *Cleander*, *Regillus*, *Iulianus*, and other Slaues, vnder *Comodus*. All which men, gouerned both the Emperours, and the Empire: to whom I might adde diuers other, if I thought it conuenient. For, whether wee looke to former times, or to the preſent: we ſhall finde euery where, as many aduanced by euill meanes, as by good. For no man is ſo wicked: but if he haue Mony, he may hope for any preferment whatſoeuer.

The minifters of vice ſooneſt exalted to honour.

Sueton. in Tiberio, Claudio, Nerone.

Lamprid. Hero. Pedro Mexia. de vitis Imper.

Curia pauperibus clauſa eſt, dat cenſus honores,
Cenſus amicitias, pauper vbiq; iacet. (res,

Ouid. Eleg. 7.

The Court (ſaith the Poet) *is ſhut vp to poore men: but wealth giueth honours, wealth giueth friendſhip, and the poore Man lyeth euery where in the duſt.*

And if we conſider alſo, how Princes doe commonly beſtow their rewardes: wee ſhall ſee that merit is leaſt reſpected. Which *Phillip de Comines* ſheweth by a pleaſant example, of *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *Fraunce*, and *Charles* Duke of *Bourgundy*. Who, after the battaile (which was fought betwixt them at *Montlehery* in *France*) being determined to reward and puniſh ſuch, as had deſerued well or ill in their Armies, and finding, that diuers ranne away on both ſides, while the battel was doubtfull (ſome on the one ſide an hundred Miles Eaſt-ward, and others on the other ſide, as many Weſt-ward) the K. of *France* tooke from one of his Subiects, all his Offices and dignities for running away, and gaue it to another that ranne ten miles further then he. The Duke of *Bourgundie* depriued alſo one of his, of all his goods and authority, for the like cauſe, & within a while after, gaue him more then euer hee had before. *Whereby* (ſaith *Comines*) *it appeareth, that Princes beſtow their rewardes and fauours, not like Angels, but like Men, as they are.*

Philip de Comines in Cron. du Roy Louys. Ca. 7

Rewards giuen without any deſert.

Seeing then, that Vice hath not onely particular rewards, either of gaine or commoditie, or of pleaſure at leaſt, (which contenteth ſome more then Gold) but alſo hope of the rewards due to vertue it ſelfe, eyther by the Princes error or infirmitie, or by his fauour, or by

Kingdomes & Crownes oftentimes are obtained by wickednesse.

by purchase, or by accident and chance, (whereby many wicked men are also aduanced.) What aduantage can the Politicall Law haue of the other, by proposing reward, though it be neuer so great? Doe we not see Crownes and Soueraignties (wherin most men place the greatest felicity of this life) procured by murders, mischiefes, and most wicked meanes? And doth *Machiauell* propose any lesse reward to his Prince (for extreame wickednesse) then assurance in Soueraignety? So that the most wicked man that is, hauing hope to get or conserue a Crowne, (or rather, Soueraigne State) by some murder or mischiefe: what greater, or so great a reward, could he expect for all the vertue in the world, by obeying Politicall laws? Did not very many (in old time) get diuine honours, though they were most wicked men: as *Iupiter*, *Venus*, *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Tiberius Cæsar*, and diuers Emperours as bad as he? And so it would still fall out, if Christian Religion had not expelled Idolatry out of the world. Whereby we see, Politicall Lawes, without the helpe of Gods Grace and Religion (for I consider them here) cannot assigne so great a reward for vertue: but that the wickedst man in the world may hope also to haue it, though he follow and obey the lusts of the flesh.

Wicked men honoured for Gods in elder times.

Wicked men somtimes get rackes and topes in stead of dignities.

But a man may say, that many wicked men, which promise themselues great gaine or aduancement, by some wicked act: get nothing in the end, but rackes and ropes in recompence thereof. This I grant, but then let vs also consider on the other side, how many notable Men, eyther loose their liues in actions, for which they should bee rewarded, or, in stead of the reward which they deserue, get nothing but ignominy, banishment, hatred of their Princes or people, death, and vtter ruine? As *Marcus Coriolanus*, *Furius Camillus*, *Scipio*, *Cicero*, *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Dion* the *Sicilian*, and infinite others. Some of which men, were depriued of their Dignities, others banished their Countries, and others shamefully put to death by publike authoritie; after they had done great seruices to their Common-weales and States, wherein they liued. And did not *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*, discouer a great secret, concerning the humors of Princes, in rewarding seruices past, when he said; *Il perd souuent d'auoir trop bien serui*; *It ouerthroweth Men many times, to haue done too good seruice?* Signifying, that Princes are more willing to haue others beholding to them; then to bee themselues beholding to any. And some, as well Princes as others, are of such Nature, that when they see their obligation so great to any man, as they thinke that they cannot commodiously reward him, according to his satisfaction and merit: they hold him then but for an eye-sore, and seek to rid him one way or other. Therefore, how vncertaine and casuall is the reward of vertue by Politicall Lawes, seeing the distribution thereof is in the hands of such: as for some perticular respect, or interest of their owne, may not onely forbeare to reward, but also (some-times) vndoe and destroy those, that haue best deserued of them and the Common-wealth? Thus much of *Reward*.

Philip de Comines Cap. 92.

The vncertainty of the reward of vertue, by Politicall law.

Now, to speake of *Punishment*, wherein consisteth the greatest force of any Politicall Law, for the repression of mans mallice: let vs see, what are the penalties or punishments, where-with the Law of the flesh terrifieth men, to diuert them from vertue, and to draw them to vice. For, although it cannot (of it selfe) inflict any punishment vpon the true louers of vertue, who tread downe and triumph ouer all power of the flesh, and Lawes thereof: yet it setteth vp certaine Scarre-Crowes, to fright such simple Soules as it deceiueth, proposing vnto them farre greater difficulties, labour, and paine, then there is (indeed) in the practise and exercise of vertue. Which difficultie, they hold for no other then continuall affliction, and (as it were) a penalty or punishment, inflicted vpon such as labour to be vertuous. By meanes whereof, they contemne the penalties of Politicall Lawes, esteeming them, not only more easie to bee auoyded, but also more tollerable to bee borne, then the other. I say, more easie to be auoyded, for that, neither there is a penalty imposed for euery offence, neither are those that be ordained, alwaies exacted vpon offenders. For, as I haue noted before, they are many times escaped, eyther

The penalties and punishments which the Carnall Law threateneth.

The Scarre-crowes and false frights of the carnall Law.

The escapes of the carnall Law.

Vertuous me disgraced and punished.

Read *Plutarch* in the liues of all these men

ther by power, or by fauour, or by corruption of Officers, or by their negligence, or by their Princes pardō, whereas the paines that worldly men conceiue to accompany vertue, seeme to them ineuitable, except vertue it selfe be auoyded: whereto no man can arriue, but by the strait, narrow, and painefull way, which I haue before described.

Penalties of the politicall law seeme more tollerable to wicked men, then the penalties of the carnall law.

And againe, the penalties of Politicall Lawes, doe seeme to them more tollerable then the other, because al penal mulcts, consist either in payment of Mony, or in Infamy, or in corporall or Capitall punishment. If in Mony, they feare it not much; for they are content to buy their satisfying there-with, and many we see doe voluntarily begger themselues, to obtaine their pleasures. If the penalties consist in Infamy; what care they for it, who hold sinne for no shame, but as an honour? And (as the *Psalmist* saith) *Gloriantur in malitia; They glory in wickednesse. Et lætantur* (saith *Salomon*) *cum male fecerint, & exultant rebus pessimis, quorum viæ peruersæ, quorum gressus infames sunt. Who reioyce when they haue done amisse, and exalt in the worst thinges. Whose waies are peruerse, whose steppes are infamous.* If the punishment be Corporall, or Capitall, they esteeme the practise of vertue more painefull. For, what affliction, Prison, restraint of liberty, torment or death, can seeme so grieuous to a Man giuen ouer to lust and pleasure, as to afflict himselfe by restraint of his owne will? To conquer and subdue his owne vnbrideled affections? To chastise his body, that it may be made obedient to the Spirit? To mortifie and crucifie himselfe? To dye to his Lust and Concupisence? Yea, and to bee (as it were) his owne Butcher and Hang-man? To execute all this vpon himselfe, not for once or twice, or for a day or two, or for now and then: but daily, continually, and without intermission: for otherwise, true vertue can neither be attained, nor conserued. Can any thing (I say) seeme more irkesome, or any punnishment more corporall, or capitall, to sensual & fleshy men, destitute of grace? *Qui non percipiunt ea quæ sunt spiritus dei; Who haue no feeling or apprehension of matters belonging to the spirit of God?*

Psalme 52, 1.

Prou. 2, 15. 16

Nothing more tedious and irksome to euill men, then vertue.

A hard lesson for a worldly man.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

Corporall torments they think (with *Epicurus*) the greater they are, the sooner they dispatch a Man out of paine, & the lesse they be, the more tollerable they are, and death they hold for an end of misery. But the labours and paines, which they imagine to be in continuall exercise of vertue: they take for a continuall and neuer dying torment, & for an euerlasting death. So that, very many are so disgusted with the onely conceipt & apprehension thereof: that they will not take so much as a tast of vertue, to auoid any penalty of Law whatsoeuer: as we see daily in many Malefactors that are incorrigible. And again, diuers that haue already made some entrance, into the course and way of vertue, are thereby so wearied within a while: that they vtterly despaire, euer to arriue at any perfection therein, such men (I mean) as haue no light or help of Gods grace. Insomuch, that one *Sextius*, a Gentleman *Romaine*, of whom *Plutarch* writeth, hauing giuen himselfe to the study of Philosophy, and the practise of morall vertue, was within a while so discouraged: that his friendes had much a do to keepe him from drowning himselfe. *Æmelius Probus* testifieth, that the Son of the famous *Dion* of *Scilie*, being restrained by his Father, from the licentious life which hee had led (for some long time) in his Fathers banishment: did desperatly cast himselfe from the top of the house, and brake his necke.

Epicurus his opinion of corporall torments.

The great auersion of wicked men from vertue.

Plutar. in Lib. de Tranquil. animi.

Æmelius Probus in Dione.

But put the case, that Subiects might be made vertuous, by the feare of punnishment: what remedy is there for the Prince, when he is of a bad and maligne Nature? Truelie none, for he feareth no penaltie of the Law, being himselfe aboue the Law: and as for good councell, if any man dare giue it, hee dare contemne it. What good did the good councell and precepts, of the Diuine *Plato*, and of famous *Dion*, to the two Tyrants of *Sicily*, the Father & the Son, called *Dionisius*? In requitall of their good instructions, was not *Plato* solde for a Slaue, and *Dion* banished out of *Sicilie*? What benefit reaped the wicked and cruell *Nero*, by all the good discipline he receiued from the wise *Seneca*? Did he exercise any lesse cruelty on him, then vpon all others? And what good effect wroght the good education, example, and instructions, which the

No meanes in politicall law, to reforme a vicious prince

Dionisius Father and Son, two Tyrants of Sicily.

Nero & Seneca

Marcus Aurelius and his Son *Commodus*

Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* (called the Philosopher) gaue to his Sonne *Commodus?* Succeeding him in the Empire, was not he far more detestable and hatefull for vice, then his Father was renowned & beloued for vertue? If then there be no sufficient meanes, by lawes, education, counsell, or exhortation, to reforme the vicious and corrupt Nature of a wicked Prince: who seeth not, that (by consequence) there is no assured meanes, to make the Common-wealth vertuous? For though it bee neuer so well ordered and disposed in the body: yet it may receiue such corruption from the head, that it may perish thereby. For, as *Plinie* saith; *Euen as in Mens bodies, so in Common-weales, the disease is most grieuous and dangerous, which proceedeth from the head.* And we commonlie see, that the maners of the people, are conforme to the manners of the Prince.

The Princes life is a great example to the Common wealth.

Plin. in lib. 4. Epist.

Now then to conclude. What sufficient meanes there is in Politicall Law, to suppresse the Law of the Flesh, and to make the Prince and people truely vertuous? Is it precepts or Prohibitions? Nothing lesse. For, if they consist but in wordes; they are easily contemned. And (as I haue said before) Prohibition doth encrease the disease, that is to say; the offence and sin, rather then remedie it. And as for permission of euill, it doth but bewray the weakenesse of the Politicall Law, and shew the force of carnall Law: which the other is faine to permit, because it cannot redresse it. What then? Is it punnishment or reward? Neither of both. For, as I haue signified, either the offences are so secret, that they are not subiect to punishment: or the Law is deluded, and the penaltie many waies auoyded. Or if not, yet in respect of the paines, that wicked men imagine to be in the exercise of vertue, they are litle feared. And as for reward, what reward (ordained by Law) can so satisfie a sensuall man, as pleasure? Which he holdeth for his Soueraigne and chiefe good, and for the onely felicity of his life? In so much, that I haue heard some men, most wickedly protest and sweare, that if it were not for the pleasures of the flesh; their liues would be loathsome and hatefull vnto them. Therefore *Licurgus* (with great reason) despaired, to make either the King, or the Subiects in his Common-wealth, vertuous by the force of Lawes. For which cause, he ordained (as *Aristotle* saith) that the Kinges of *Lacedemonia* should not be perpetuall, but gouerne for a time: least some euill King, if his gouernment were for tearme of life, might destroy the Common-wealth.

No sufficient means in Politicall Law, to make the Prince and Common-wealth truely vertuous.

Al the premises examined ouer in due order for a Conclusion.

The insufficiency of Politicall Law for the reformation of vice acknowledged by *Lycurgus*. *Arist. in Polit. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.*

CHAP. VI.

Of Sleepe and Rest; And what manner of seating, or lying in our Beds, ought to be obserued in our sleeping, as well for ciuility as for health.

BY good reason did *Galen* say; *That Sleepe is the repose of the whole body, and principally of the animall faculties, and without sleepe, a Man could not subsist: therefore there are certaine rules to be obserued in sleeping, as necessary as in eating and drinking.* For it is not enough, that a man sleepe seauen or eight houres in a night; rise early in the morning; shun sleepe after dinner, vpon an indigested stomack, &c. But he is to vnderstand withall, what comportement or behauiour is conuenient for him in sleepe. Beasts and other animals, do heeein lend vs some enstruction, for they do not fall downe backward, when they prepare to rest; but couch downe vpon one of their sides, and (almost ordinarily) on the right side, and according to Nature, neuer faile therein. Neuertheless, albeit that men are endued with reason, yet very hardly shall three men bee found, lying in on Bed, or in one company, that do take their rest after one and the same manner. For one will haue his head raised high, another low. One lyeth to sleepe on the right side, and others on the left very ordinarily. Some on their bellies, or on their backs. In regard whereof, many people (thorow want of due obseruation) doe fall into grieuous diseases, which proue (oftentimes) incurable, or are found stifled in their sleeping, which falleth out too ordinary.

Galen his definition of Sleepe.

Beasts do giue enstruction for sleep.

Man onelie is disordered in the maner of his sleeping.

The man that desireth to preserue his health,

What behauiour is to be obſerued in ſleeping.

health, ſhould ſleepe on his right ſide, during the time of his firſt ſleepe to the end, that the meates may deſcend into the bottome of the ſtomack: becauſe it is fleſhy, and leſſe full of membranes then the vpper part; and ſo, by conſequent, more hot and proper for concoction. Afterward, for his ſecond ſleepe, hauing continued ſome foure houres, or therabout, on the right ſide: he may turne on the left, to the end, that the liuer may the better extend it ſelfe, and reſt vpon the ſtomacke. In doing thus, digeſtion is made perfect; becauſe the Liuer is hotter then the belly, and embracing al, ſerueth as if it were a warmth of fire. But if a man be conſtrained to keep his bed long, at one time & other, he muſt obſerue turnings, one while on the one ſide, and then on the other.

Of ſleeping on the belly, what inconueniences are cauſed thereby.

To ſleep vpon the belly auaileth nothing, except in ſuch as are of bad digeſtion, for ſuch manner of lying heateth the ſtomacke ſo well, that it facilitateth and accelerates concoction: but then it bringeth a great diſcommodity; to wit, that it filleth the eyes full of defluxions, and (conſequently) troubleth the ſight, hindereth the excrements alſo, in their auoydance out of the belly.

Of ſleeping on the backe and reines.

To ſleepe vpon the backe and reines, doth manie times engender ſtones & ſand in them, and being no way helpfull to digeſtion, cauſeth the Rhume to riſe, which coueteth moſt vp to the throat, and haſteneth a man to the Falling-ſicknes, Apoplexies, and other capitall diſeaſes, beſide the puffing vp or ſwelling of the Lights, and the Midriffe or *Diaphragma*. Wherfore, of al healthful ſituations for ſleep, there is none better (as hath beene ſaid) then to reſt on the ſides: for beſide all other benefits enſuing thereby, the body being turned one while on the right ſide, and then againe on the left, feeleth pleaſure, contentment, and ſweeteſt eaſe.

Of ſleeping on the ſides.

The bodies figure in a healthfull mans ſleeping

The body then ought not to bee ſo much extended or ſtretched out, being turned on either ſide: but that the thighs and legs muſt be ſomewhat bended or retired, for ſuch is the figure of a healthfull mans ſleeping. The head ſhould not be laid too high, nor too low: for being raiſed too high, it prepareth a man to the Cough, and infirmitie of the Lunges, and cauſeth that he cannot ſleep ſoundlie. And being laid too low, it procureth broken and painefull ſleepes, and engendereth offenſiue dreames.

Of an apt Boulſter for the head.

Of ſleeping with open eyes.

To ſleepe with wide open eyes, indurates (all along) the Tunickles or couering skinnes of them, and ſo by conſequent, begetteth a ſhort or nere hand ſight, becauſe that the viſuall Spirit cannot penetrate croſſe-wiſe. It may alſo happen, that ſome thing falling ſtrangely into them, may greatly harme and periſh the ſight. And in any ſharpe or extraordinarie diſeaſe, to ſleep with the eyes open, it is an aſſured ſigne of death: except the party haue been long invred thereto; or haue had ſome great fluxe of the belly; or taken ſome violent purgation; or elſe hath endured long watchings.

Of ſleeping with the mouth open.

To ſleepe with the mouth open, is very contrarie and incommodious to the health of a man, becauſe hee draweth aboundantly to him (by the vocall Artery) all the ayre that it meeteth withall: which commonly (in the night time) is very impure and troubled. By meanes whereof, the Conduits whereby a man reſpireth, being ouer-moyſtened: either it maketh the voyce hoarſe, or dull and feeble. Whereas, if a man ſleepe with his mouth cloſed; then the exteriour ayre (by little and little, and not in any exceſſiue quantitie) entereth at both the paſſages of the Noſthrils, and ſo goeth on to the Lights, where it moderateth the heate of the heart. Which is the cauſe, that they which ſleepe with their Lippes faſt ſhut; doe feele themſelues the leſſe diſturbed.

Of ſleeping with the mouth cloſe ſhut.

The lips faſt ſhut.

For they that ſleepe open throated, by reaſon of the breath, which entereth and iſſueth forth aboundantly: the tongue and roofe of the mouth becommeth very much dried, which makes them, both in the night time, and in the morning, to finde themſelues much altered.

Sleeping opē throated, how dangerous it is.

In like manner, when the breath is ſome way kept and retained, concoction is made the more ſtrongly & ſoundly: euen as meat is the better boyled in a couered pot. There may happen many other inconueniences beſide, for in ſleeping open throated; a Feather may fall, and paſſe into the body, which will cauſe a continuall Cough, by reaſon that neuer, or very hardly, it can

A good Compariſon.

A deadly Phtiſicke.

be auoyded, and ſo grow to a deadly Phtiſicke. A Serpent *Stellio*, Spider, or ſome ſuch venomous Creature, may alſo get his paſſage, without all meanes of recouery, as I haue knowne too often.

After what manner to hold the arms

As concerning the Armes, if they be held croſſe-wiſe, like the ſigne of the Croſſe, or elſe halfe courbed, and the hands reſting vpon the little belly; it is very healthfull. But one thing (kinde Reader) take as a warning, that it is a very euill cuſtome, to talke in the night time, and a notorious inciuility. For ſuch as are vſed to prattle at their wakings, doe very hardly fall to faſten on ſleepe againe. And ſo conſequently, ſuch wakings doe cauſe Crudities in them: becauſe their ſleeps haue not bin ſufficient, to boyle the meates receiued into the ſtomacke. Another reaſon is, that it impeacheth and interrupteth the reſt of others, who (perhaps) take little delight in talking at ſuch vnfit houres: but when once they haue made cuſtome of it, they keepe it as an eſpeciall habite.

Of talking in the night time, how hurtfull it is.

Of ſnoring or ſnorting in our ſleepe.

Some, in their ſleepe, are ſubiect to ſnore or ſnort, eſpecially fat and round bellied people. It is a thing very odious and offenſiue, to lie by ſuch a body, or in the Chamber where ſuch a one reſteth. A man were almoſt as good, to lodge in a Stye among the Swine, as neere or with ſuch perſons, eſpeciallie, ſuch as delight in liuing ciuilly and honeſtly. Therefore I will ſet downe a prettie receipt, which a *Portugall* Apothecarie (but yet a *Iew* by his Religion) taught me againſt this vndecency, and the receipt is thus. He that is ſubiect to this infirmity, halfe an houre before he goeth to reſt, let him eate a little Conſerue of an Hearbe called *Perſil d'Aſne*, *Aſſe-Perſelie*, or *Wilde Cheruill*. It is an Hearbe very ſufficiently knowne, and the Conſerue muſt be made of the root thereof. I haue made good experience of it many times. Or elſe let him gargarize a pretty deale of good Vineger, made ſomewhat warme, a quarter of an houre before he lyeth downe. This laſt remedy was practiſed by a Courtier (in the time of King *Charles* the ninth) with very happy ſucceſſe: for, if he had ſnored neuer ſo little (as he was much ſubiect thereto) hee had loſt the gracious fauours of a Gentlewoman, who admitted him to her owne Lodging, her Husband being abſent.

A pretty Receipt againſt ſnoring in ſleepe.

*Myrrhis, Mockcheruill, an Hearb like to Hemlocke. Some call it Kex or Kexes.

The Authors friendly aduertiſement.

Therefore I would gladlie perſwade Fathers and Mothers; yea, Schoolemaiſters and others, who haue the charge of youth and young Children, to conſtraine and accuſtome them in their tender yeares, to honeſt, decent, and wholeſome lodging in their Beds: For, beſide the comlineſſe and ciuility, it is no meane propagation of their health. And let me tell ye more, thorough ſuch vndecent behauiour in bed; I haue knowne many vnhappy quarrels and debates, ſometimes betwixt the Husband and Wife.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the conſtancy, of ſome Lacedemonian, Romaine, and French women: At the deceaſe of their Children, hurts, and nurſing of them.

Of good and generous women come worthy Children.

THat Commonwealth may tearm it ſelfe happy, wher the Weomen are not only chaſt: but likewiſe endued with manly Spirits, full of conſtancy and magnanimity, for of ſuch Women (commonly) are Heroycall Children bred and borne. Which Argument giueth me leaue, to ſpeake of ſome Weomen among the *Lacedemonians*; then the *Romaines*, and laſtly the *French*: but firſt we will begin with the moſt generous *Lacedemonians*.

The ſeuerall names, of *Lacedemon*, & ſcituation thereof.

Lacedemon, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, were all but one, to wit, a people and Country ſcituated in *Peloponneſus*, a Region of *Greece*, where *Lycurgus* had not onely beene King, but alſo was their Law-Maker. He left them many good lawes and Morall precepts, which while both the Men and Weomen knew how to keepe: they continued Lords of themſelues, liuing in all enfranchiſement and

and libertie. But so soone as they wandered and swerued, from those good manners which the said *Lycurgus* had taught them: they became forthwith Seruants and Slaues vnto others. During such time, as they were obseruers of his Morall precepts; it happened, that the *Athenians* made Warre, in hope to subdue them; but as they were farre inferior to them in their forces, so were they as stoutly and valiantly resisted.

What benefit ensued by keeping the Lawes of *Lycurgus*.

Among the women of *Sparta*, there was one, that had but one only Sonne, who was grieuously wounded in the foote, and greatly complained of the yrkesome paines which thereby he endured: but his Mother saide vnto him. *My Sonne, if thou didst set vertue before thine eyes; not onely would this anguish bee forgotten: but (in reuenge thereof) thou wouldst shew thy selfe valiant.* But the Mothers of our Countries, doe customarily augment the grieuances of their Children, by teares and cockerings, too frequent among them. Whereas this worthy Mother, did breath her Spirit into his Heart, to teach him, how hee should suffer harmes manfully, and not to complaine, like a cowardly woman.

Of a mother and her onely Son.

Good & courageous counsell of a Mother.

Foolish Mothers of these times.

Another *Lacedemonian* Woman likewise, hauing tidings brought her, that one of her Sonnes was slaine in the battaile, said: *Why, he was one of my Sons too:* reioysing in the generositie of her Son, and neuer mourning for his death. Contrariwise, another woman, hearing that her Sonne fled away cowardly; quoth she. *He neuer was any Son of mine.* Intimating thereby, that such Sons deserued no acknowledgement, who degenerated from the vertue of their Ancestours.

Two honorable minded Mothers.

I cannot forget another *Laconian* Woman, who had fiue Sonnes, and all of them lost their liues, fighting valiantly for the freedome of their Countrey. She, going into the Subburbs of the Citty, to know the issue of the battaile, meeting with a Vant-currer, demanded how all matters went? And he told hir the fatall hap of her fiue Sonnes. *Wicked Slaue* (quoth she) *this is no answere to my demaund. I pray thee to tell mee, in what estate stands the affaires of the Commonwealth?* Hee told her, that the victorie went with the *Lacedemonians*. *Why now* (quoth she) *thou art an honest man, and I beare my Children's death patiently.* Was not this a Woman full of honour, and endued with an incomparable Spirit; to prefer the welfare of the Commonwealth, before so many liues of her dear esteemed Sons?

Another Mother worthy of immortall cõmendation.

Cicero alleadgeth another, who was a noble *Romaine* Lady, no lesse to be esteemed then the *Laconian* women. She beholding her Sonne, named *Spurius Caluidius*, that could go no other-wise, but euen as Beastes doe, on all foure, through the greatest wounds he had receiued in the warres, fighting for his Countries liberty, and perceiuing him to bee ashamed, because one had scorned him for going in that manner; she said vnto him. *Thou shouldst be the more iocond, and proud of thy valour, that made thee go in this crooked manner; then grieue at that poore spirit, that dare not shew his face where thou hast beene.*

Cicero in lib. de Orat. 3.

A most valiant Romaine Mother.

But let me tell ye, that neither *Lacedemon* nor *Rome*, contained all the generous Weomen: for in our Native Country of *France*, there haue bin very many, and yet are at this present, of whom I will (for breuities sake) alledge but two. The first shall bee Madame *Margaret de Sauoye*, Wife to the deceased *Anne de Montmorency*, Constable of *France*, who had fiue Children, all worthily educated, and euermore most louingly affected vnto the Crowne of *France*, as beeing very remarkeable for their fidelitie, as also well prouided of honourable estates. When newes was brought her, that one of her Sons was dead, named *Mombrun*, whom she most dearely affected aboue all the rest, and was slaine in the battaile at *Dreux*, fought against the *French* Protestants, in the yeare 1562. and also that her Husband (being wounded) was there surprized: She said. *Blessed be God, as well for the bad as the good, and gaue him hartie thankes, not onely because her Sonne was slaine; but that her Husband remained wounded, and a Prisoner, for the seruice of his King, &c.*

Generous women of *France*

The Battaile at *Dreux*, in Anno 1562.

The braue resolution of *Margaret de Sauoy*.

Madame de Saint Blancar, Wife to the late magnanimious *Mareschall de Biron*, was visited by a Lady of great Birth, who brought with her very goodlie workes of Silke, which shee and her Daughters had wrought in Samplers.

Madame de Blãcar, wife to the *Mareschall Biron*.

She brought with her also one of her Children; that daunced delicately, and played sweetly on the Gitterne, whom she shewed to the said Lady Marshall, that she and her Children, should learn to spend their time in the like delightfull exercises. Madame Marshall made her answer; *That shee could not deuise any better works exercises, wherein to enstruct her Sons and Daughters; then in the fear of God, and good maners; whereby their harts would become magnanimious, to do seruice for their King, according as their Father had formerly done.* And indeed, all the Male children issuing of her, were very braue minded and valiant men. As for her Daughters, ouer and beside their happinesse, to marrie with wise and worthy Knights: so were they well eductated in houshold discipline, by their excellent breeding, and famous houses of generous nourishing. As *Madame* the Countesse *de Chasteauneuf*, whose Husband is (at this present) Lieutenant to the King, in higher and lower *Lymosine*. *Madame de Force*, & others that I know.

Madame *de Biron* of a vertuous & manly courage.

Let then great Ladies of blood, and others of meaner birth, bee aduertised by this discourse, that if it happen, that their Husbands and Children dye, or become maimed in their Kings seruice, and for the good of the Common-wealth: they would not bee so weake hearted, as to lament, grieue, or beate their heads against walles, because such behauiour is not seene, but in Women of ignoble and tlender worth. But fixing rather before their eyes, the generous Spirits of these *Laconian*, *Romaine*, and *French* Ladies, formerly exemplified; to account themselues happy, when soeuer the like disasters shall happen to them. Considering withall, that they whom they esteeme to be dead, do liue, and they shall see them again at the day of resurrection, accompanied with much glory and honor.

A generous Exhortation of the Author to Ladies of greatest birth and others.

The greatest to any Christian soule.

To *Iob*, all his goods and wealth were redoubled, onely his Children excepted, for he begat but such a number, and in the like number he had them againe. Yet heerein the promise of God was as well accomplished, as in his other goods: for he knew that they were not dead, but should be raised againe, and re-knowne of their Father and Mother. It may be presumed, that such women as are so full of sorrow and vexation; do not beleeue any resurrection. Otherwise they would embrace aduise and enstruction, to teach their Sons & daughters al such exercises, as might redound to the benefit of the Common-wealth. As their Sons to haue learning, to manage Armes and Horses, with all vertues becomming man-hood. Their Daughter to feare God, and learne womens huswiuery: not idle Samplery, or Silken follies, which (else-where) is the exercise of Eunuches & Slaues. I would wish them to hold as firme a purpose, as did Madame *Katherine du Salaignat*, Wife to the late *Messiere Geffrey de Saillet*, a braue and hardy Knight in his life time. She sending her Sonnes (in their very young yeares) to *Paris* for enstruction, was aduised by some familiar Friend, to keepe them (as yet) at home, because they were but young and tender. She made answer. *That her Children resembled Vessels wholly new, wherein if good liquor were put at the first, they would sauour thereof so long as Nature lasted.* In like manner, if Children embrace good doctrine in their young age, they will relliſh alwaies after thereof, euen to old age. Which they cannot doe, being kept vnder the Mothers Wing, as wee tearme it, where neither are like Maisters, or commodious meanes, as is in such places, wher all vertues are taught, to such as will seeke for them. For this good Lady added, *That she desired rather to be without Children, then that they shold be not vertuous.* And indeed, such did her Sons proue to be, and good Seruitours to their King, notwithstanding all the partialities in *France*.

Example of the Lady Katherine de Salaignat.

A worthy presidentfor all cockering and nice Mothers.

The bountifull mercy of God to *Iob*.

In the case of Death, how Parents ought to comfort themselues

CHAP. VIII.

Against Obtrectation, or Detraction. And why it is more vnseemly for men, to speak euill of Women, then Women of Men.

ALl Diuines and Philosophers, as well Auncient as Moderne, haue held, and doe maintaine, that detraction is one of the braunches of Enuy, which

Detraction one of the branches of Enuy.

which delighteth and nouriſheth it ſelfe by calumny and lying: whereby people of honeſt conuerſation, do continualy receiue moſt greeuous wounds; by giuing ouer light beleefe, to ſuch as haue a felicity in lying. And therefore, *Diogenes* the Cinick being demaunded, what bite of any Beaſt was moſt hurtfull and dangerous, anſwered: *Amongſt furious and wilde Beaſts, none like the Detractor, and among tame or gentle, only the Soother and Flatterer.* Vpon the ſame words, *Themiſtocles* the *Thebane*, ſaid; *There is no greater paine or miſerie in the worlde, then to know and behold the honor of an honeſt and good man, to be in the mercy of a venomous tongue, there to be outraged by detracting ſpeeches.*

Diogenes his anſwere, concerning Detractors and Flatterers.

Full wel we know, that vertuous fame and good renowne, is more precious then any treaſure whatſoeuer. No leſſe ſhame and wrong is done to a man, in taking away his honeſt name and good eſteeme, then as if hee were robbed and deſpoiled of all his ſubſtance. But aboue all other, Detraction and calumny yeeldeth moſt pernitious effects, when Princes do willingly lend eare to deprauers; by whom, euen themſelues doe become at length corrupted. For the enuious detractor, dealeth like a bad Painter, who when he hath made a miſhapen Cocke, commandeth his Boy, to driue all Naturall Cockes farre enough off from his foule handy-worke. So hee, from ſuch as he would command or gouerne, hee ſtriues to keep off al honeſt minded men, for hee cannot worke his intent openlie, becauſe hee ſtands in feare of their Vertue, whom he hateth in his heart. Hee maketh a ſhew of honouring, admiring, and affectuous embracing: but vnderhand, and behinde his backe, hee caſteth forth and ſoweth all ſeditious ſlaunders. But if his claudeſtine, and ſecret-wounding reports of the abſent, do not quickly beget the yſſue of his intent: hee hath yet alwayes readye in his memory, that which in elder times was obſerued by *Medius*.

Good fame is the greateſt riches in the world.

Princes ſubiect to heare flatterers and Detractors.

An excellent Compariſon of the deprauers.

This *Medius* of whom we are to ſpeak was as the Maiſter, or chiefe of all the troope of flatterers, that houered about the mightie *Alexander*, euermore bandying againſt well diſpoſed people in his Court. Hee gaue inſtruction, that no one ſhould bee ſo bolde, as to backebite openly, or vſe the power of calumnie too apparantly. *But rather in ſuch ſort* (quoth he) *that albeit the partie bitten doe recouer his harme; yet that the gripes or ſcratches may remaine incureable.* Euen ſo, by ſuch ſcarres and gripes of lies and falſe accuſations, or to call them better (according to *Plutarch*) by ſuch Cankers and Gaugreues, many great perſons haue ſuffered themſelues to be corrupted and retained ſtill in their memory, deteſtable vntruth, deliuered of vertuous men, to their innocent ouerthrowe, and their owne great diſhonor.

Of *Medius*, chiefe of the Flatterers about King *Alexander*.

The Wicked ſpeeches of detracting *Medius*.

All the enmities and quarrelles, as wel among great as meaner perſons, whence haue enſued ſo manie ſlaughters, as dayly are behelde with great greefe: neuer had any other ground or Originall, but onely detracting the honour or repute of abſent people. Now, albeit this Vice in generall, is moſt infamous, and aboue all other, vnſightly and il-ſeeming in perſons of honor: yet, of both the ſexes, I hold it to be more inciuil and diſgraceful to a man, then to a woman. Howbeit, I know, that there are manie people, that are of contrarie opinion vnto my preſent purpoſe of ſpeech. My firſt reaſon is, that among all the Nations of the world, there is a natural Law, obſerning it ſelfe; whereby a diſſolute life is not held as any Vice, defect, or infamie in men: but in women it is an opprobrie, & ſo extreame a ſhame, that ſhe of whom an euil report hath once paſſed (be it true or falſe in the impoſition) ſhe ſtandeth for euer blamed or branded. Therefore, a wel aduiſed man, wil neuer touch the honor of women.

Detraction the ground of quarrels and murders.

Detraction is more vnbeſeeming in men then women, and the reaſons why.

The firſt reaſon.

There is likewiſe another reaſon, to wit; That Women beeing imperfect creatures, and of little or no dignitie at al, in reſpect of men, it were verie requiſite, that (ſeeing of themſelues they are not capeable, to performe any vertuous action) ſome bridle or reſtriction were impoſed on them, by ſhame and feare of infamy, that any good qualitie (though it were perforce) might bee planted in them. And it ſeemeth, that continency was thought more neceſſarie for them, then any other, for the better certitude of their Children. Now, becauſe this hath beene enforced, euen by all ingenuous ſubtilties, Arts, and poſsible meanes or wayes, to make Ladies become continent;

The ſecond reaſon.

Continencie thoght moſt conuenient in women.

tinent; yea, it hath appeased, and (as it were) consented thereto by themselues, that in all other things they are of no validity, but continually they doe the contrary to all that they ought to do. Wherfore, seeing it is lawfull for them, to commit all other errours without blame, let them neuer bee taxed with those imperfections that they haue done, they being all permitted to them, which (in this respect) must not be iudged inconuenient, or careleſſely regarded by them; prouided, that their Chastitie be preserued.

Women alowed to commit all errours, their chastitie reserued.

And yet for all this, I doe not inferre that it is lawfull for weomen to depraue or mispeake by any means: for, as I haue saide, it is one of the very greatest imperfections, and draweth vnto it more contempt and disgrace, then any other Vice whatsoeuer. But I would aduise honourable and worthy women, if at anie time it happen, that a Woman haue spoken reproachfully of them, or such as do appertaine vnto them, to tollerate & make no account thereof, for the reasons forementioned. But on the contrarie, it is a worke of piety, to offend their quarrel, if any do presume to defend their honor. And so much the rather, because it was neuer knowne, that euerie any Knight, who vndertooke the Combat, to support the honor of a woman, was at anie time vanquished.

An aduertisement to Ladies, and alother women.

An act of pietie to defend womens honor.

Wee haue some proofe thereof, by a History, which *Valentinus Barruchius*, a Natiue of *Tolledo* in *Spaine*, hath sette downe a in great Latine Tome, most exactly written, and in verie elegant phrase, the briefe whereof, is thus: A Daughter to the King of *England*, being maried to a Duke of *Sauoy*, & Prince of *Piedmont*; by not yeilding to the immodest requests of the Count of *Pancalier* (whome the Duke her husband, had left Regent and Lieutenant of al his Lands in his absence while he was busied in the wars of *France*, because hee was there Constable) falsely imposed on her the crime of Adulterie, which he saide she had committed with his Nephew. And being to combate against all such, as woulde gainesay the truth of his deposition, he presented himselfe in the Lists.

A History alledged by *Valentinus Baruchius* of *Tolledo*, concerning the false accusation of a Dutchesse of *Sauoy*.

In the end, as a matter proceeding from Diuine inspiration, a Knight of the Noble house of *Mendoza*, who although he was farre inferiour in bodily strength, not only in regard of a former long sicknesse, but also by so long a way of trauel, which had so tired himselfe and his horses: yet he accepted the cause and Combate, to maintaine the honor of that vertuous Princesse. He foiled him in fight, and made him confesse his damnable imposture. After which, partly by some grieuous wounds receiued, but more by meere spight and hatefull malice, he died within few daies. And yet the said Count was one of the most valiant and strongest Knights (of his time) in al *Lombardy*.

The Noble *Mendoza* of Spain, defended the cause of the wronged Princesse.

In *Fraunce*, about the space of threescore yeares since, the combat was granted by King *Frances*, first of that name, to two French Knights, the one named *La Chastaigneraye*, and the other *Iarnac*. It was a great quarrell to bee discided, because the Lord *de la Chastaigneraye*, had offended the honor of a Ladie, that appertained in blood to the Lord *de Iarnac*. These two Knightes, fighting in the single *Duello*, and according to the Kinges iudgement, the whole Court, and all the spectators, it appeared that *La Chastaigneraye*, would haue the vpper hande, as hauing made good proofe of his person, in diuers battailes, and single combates: yet notwithstanding, *Iarnac* slew *La Chastagneraye*, and, as manie people were perswaded in Conscience, by the iust iudgement of God, for hauing defamed so worthy a Ladie. If it might be permitted, I could alledge infinite other Histories, tending to this purpose: but feare of offending, is my onely hinderance. And therefore, I will conclude with the Prouerbe, more then true: *That neuer were Women depraued, but by a Knaue or a Coward.*

A Combate tried between two French Knights.

General opinion is often times deceyued in proofe.

An auncient Prouerbe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

How Pythagoras founde out (verie ingeniously) the iust measure and proportion of the bodie of great Hercules.

IT is verie memorable, & therefore not to bee let passe in silence, the ingenious inuentiō found out in a subtle and curious maner, concerning the true shape and measure of *Hercules* his body. When it was knowne, that the place where the Olympian Games were solemnized (from fiue years to fiue yeares) in *Achaya*, neere * *Elis*, & before the Temple of *Iupiter Olympus*, had been measured by *Hercules*, who hadde there made a *Stadium*, containing six hundred and fiue and twentie foote, by the measure of his owne foote. Vnderstanding also, that the other *Stadiums*, which his successors afterward ordained throughout all *Greece*, did hold the like length of sixe hundred and fiue and twentie foote, it appeared yet neuertheless, that they were much shorter, then that of *Hercules*. For, *Pythagoras* knew easily by this proportion, how much the foote of *Hercules* contained in greatnesse, from the ordinarie feete of other men. And hauing thus vnderstoode, the size or measure of his foote, hee comprehended thereby: that the whole bodie of *Hercules*, must needs be (according to that proportion) much greater then the bodies of all other men, in regard that his *Stadium* surpassed al the rest.

*A Towne in the west part of *Peloponnesus*, neere the Riuer *Alpheus* where the Olimpiā games were performed.

CHAP. X.

How the Iewes did continually, and from time to time, giue Law and Religion to such as were their Conquerours and Commanders.

SEneca fel into great admyration, so did diuers others, how it shold come to passe, that the vanquished Iewes, dispersed and scattered vnto the foure Corners of the world, should administer Law and Religion to their vanquishers. For, as concerning their subiectiō, they are a people that haue beene troden vnder foote by the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Persians*, *Græcians*, *Romaines*, *Turkes*, *&c.* and how many Maisters soeuer they hadde, yet they neuer changed or altered their Law. Amongst other people, in matter of their Law and Faith, hath beene found some semblable constancie: but that the subdued, transported, vilified, made slaues, led in triumph thorowe Empires; that such men, I say, should not only subdue the hearts of their Triumphers to God, but (in a manner of speaking) traine their Gods also themselues, in triumph after them, is verie admirable. That the Conquerour could not giue Law to the conquered, but that the vanquished hath done it to the victor; the subiect vnto the Prince; the Captiue to the Maister; and the condemned vnto the Iudge; Who would beleeue this, I pray ye, except he saw it? And hauing seene it, how can he say otherwise, but that GOD onelie did it?

But if *Seneca* could hear me peaceably, I woulde deliuer him from this astonishment and admiration, so strangely conceited, as thus. Those Gods which the Iewes had caused to be left to the people (commonly called inuiolable and immortall) consisted of dumbe and insensible Statues, disguised like men, Beastes, and Fishes; and some of them, resembled hideous Monsters. So that infamous Dæmons, possessed themselues of these Statues and Symulacres, and in them required

Seneca in his Booke of Superstition.

The Iewes euermore subiect vnto be made captiues.

A rare & vnusuall thing in common obseruation for the vanquished to be victor.

The Idols of the Gentiles wer Demons, without anie vertue.

red worse matters of men, then did the most detestable Tyrants that euer were. As, that a man should geld himself, lame himselfe, kill himselfe, yea, and that men should Sacrifice Women, Virgins, and Children to them.

The Transmigration of the Iews, was for the honor and glorie of God.

But when the people heard speech of one only true God, the Creator of heauen and earth; and that he would be serued in heart and spirit: these wordes, although they came forth of a poor slaues mouth, made Captiues of the men themselues that heard them, and subdued their Gods. What then shall we say of the Iewes transmigrations, and flitting from place to place: but that they were as so many Colonies and Preachers, to proclaime the true GOD, and euen as so many armies, to extirpate Idolles?

Daniel discouereth the Idoll *Bel* to the King of *Persia*

That it could be no otherwise, *Daniell* and his associats, being as the rest) transported into *Assyria*, he shewed vnto the King, that the Idoll Bell (which hee caused to be worshipped, and had daily deliuered him such quantities of bread made of the finest Flower, a great number of Sheepe and fatted Cattle, and six * *Amphores* of Wine) was no true God, thogh he himselfe worshipped him, and went euery day to adore him, as beliefing that he deuoured all that meate and wine. He made it apparant to him, that it was but a meere manifest deceite, performed by his Priests & Sacrificers, who with their Wiues and Children, came in the night time, and eate vp al the Viands set before the Idoll, for which they were deseruedly punished.

* An ancient measure, containing 36. quarters.

The King shewed *Daniel* the great dragon.

After he had thus shewne to the *Assyrian* King, the vanitie of the Idoll *Bel*, the King tooke him, and shewd him a mighty great Dragon, which the *Babylonians*, and himselfe, as well as the rest, worshipped beside the saide Idoll *Bell*. The King saide to *Daniel*, *Thou wilt not say that this is of Brasse, like the other, this cannot be denied to be a God.* *Daniel* hauing obtayned leaue to kill the Draggon, without the help either of sword or staffe, with pitch, fat, and haire (which he boyled altogether) made rounde balles thereof, and threw them into the Draggons throate, which made him burst in sunder. And then said *Daniel*, *Behold what ye haue worshipped.* But for these thinges, the people threw *Daniell* into a denne of hungry Lions, of which Beasts hee was not deuoured, although he had nothing giuen him to eate, in the space of seauen dayes before. At the end of which time, the King finding *Daniel* yet liuing amongest the Lyons caused him to be taken forth, and forsaking all Idolatrie, worshipped the true GOD, the God of the Iewes. Were not these worthy slaues, that conuerted this great King, and thus triumphed?

Daniel deliuered, and the K. conuerted.

Who gaue intelligence to *Cyrus*, K. of *Persia*, concerning the true God, the God of the *Israelites* and *Iewes*, and to cause him send home the captiued Iewish people, giuing them meanes to repayre the Temple, ruined by the *Assyrians*, commanding them also, to pray to God for his prosperity; but euen the same Slaues of the Iewes? May we not likewise say as much, of *Alexander* the Great? He was brought to worship the true God, throwing and prostrating himself before *Iadus* the High-priest, who came before him with all the people of *Ierusalem*, hauing their heads and feete bare, to implore his mercie, and not to bee put to death by him, because they gaue him no aide with men and victualles, when hee besiedged *Tyre*. Notwithstanding, these conquered and halfe-dead *Iewes*, by their humble maner of behauiour, but Gods grace more especially woorking, caused that great and inuincible Monarch, to fall on his Knees before their chiefe Priest; and not onely so, but to embrace them with amitie, and graunt them manie gratious priuiledges. And to their Neighbors the *Samaritans*, who obserued not the same Religion, he gaue inhibition and countermand, of enioying the same immunities. And himselfe would confesse, that the Iewish Law was good, but the *Gracians* Law was of no worth.

Cyrus, King of *Persia*, beleeued in God.

Quintus Curtius in the life of Great *Alexander*.

Alexander inspired by God to his humility.

Did they not impose the selfsame Law on the Egyptians, who likewise led them into Captiuity? Wee may read in the Greeke Histories, that after the death of *Alexander*, many of his Kindred, & some of his aduanced fauourites, possessed themselues (as best they could) on diuers portions of his Monarchy. And among the rest, *Ptolomy* seazed on Egypt, and on many other adiacent Prouinces. And purposing to do as muchon *Iudea*, he was impeached by the Iewish people, who would acknowledge no other superiour, but their High-priest and Sacrificer.

Ptolomie got the possession of Egypt, and spoyled *Iudea*

Daniel killed the great dragon.

Daniel cast into the den of Lyons.

Where-

The Iews led Captiues into Egypt.

Whereupon, *Ptolomy* entred into *Palestine*, made there great deuastation and spoile, beating down diuers strong forts, and led away many thousands of them, as captiues into Egypt, where they were ill entreated, and employed in the baseſt & vileſt slaueries. All which notwithstanding, poore soules, they ceased not to cry and call to the *Egyptians*, that their Religion was false, and that they had manie monstrous Gods: As Onions, a Cow, a Crocodile, and others.

The captiue Iewes did shew the error of the Egyptians.

In the end, their declarations were so manifest, and their cries so violent on their Idolatries, that the verie wisest men of the Countrey, with their King *Philadelphus* (one of the successors to the former King, who led the poore *Iews* awaie as Captiues) lent eare vnto them, and found all true, which the miserable and distressed Iewes had preached to them. In regard whereof, the King wold needs make more ample enquiry, concerning their Law and Religion. He caused al the Books of the Old Testament to be translated out of Hebrewe into the Greeke tongue, by seauenty Interpreters of the Iewes (most learned in the said tongues) seperately, so that they could not confer one with another, to know whether they agreed in their traduction of the Booke of the Old Testament, or no. When he had found a meruailous concordance in the seuerall translations, and had read, and read againe the saide Booke; hee acknowledged, that his Captiues the *Iewes* had saide nothing but the truth; and that there was but one God, the GOD of the *Israelites*, and the *Iewes*. Wherefore, he afterward embraced the feare of God in his heart, reformed his life, and set at liberty all the Captiue Iewes, throughout his Land. Thus you may see, how the vanquished gaue Law and Religion to the victor.

The Bible translated out of Hebrue into Greeke.

The vanquished gaue law to the Victor.

The Syrians warred on the Iewes.

When that the Egyptians had suffered the Iewes to liue in peace, the *Syrians* within a while after, conceiued hatred against the Iewes, and perceiuing Ciuill dissentions to be among them, they also warred on them. *Antiochus* their King (by the meanes of Traitors) was brought into *Ierusalem*, where hee placed Idols in the Temple, rauaged all *Iudea*, and ledde away a great number of Captiues, according as *Zonarus* declareth. Yet the poore captiued Iewes shewed vnto the *Syrians*, that they had done verie euill, in polluting the Temple of the true GOD, for which they should be seuerely punished. As afterwardes it came to passe, for the saide King *Antiochus* was conquered by the *Romaines*, and paide tribute to them. Then could the *Syrians* and their King, remember the predictions of their poore captiues, whom they did gladly set at libertie, and entreated, that they woulde pray to God for them, being afterwards in the *Romains* safegard.

The Syrians instructed by the Iewes.

It were a matter impossible for me, to set downe all the Kingdomes, where the Iewes haue beene kept Captiues, & persecuted: and yet neuertheleſſe, still acknowledged, that they worshipped the only true God, and brought diuers kings and people to discerne their Lawe. And some verie speculatiue Diuines, haue bin perswaded, that these Captiuities of the Iewes, had not beene permitted by God, but onely to the end, that they shoulde beare testimonie in all the quarters of the earth: that the Historiesof the Olde-Testament were true, and that the God of the Iewes, was the only true God. Therfore, it was no such matter of wonder, as *Seneca* made it, that euermore the Iewes gaue Law to the Conquerours, and such as kept them in captiuitie. For the law of the Gentiles, was nothing elſe but vanitie and lies: but that of the Iewes, was grounded on the knowledge of the true God.

The captiuity of the Iewes vnexpreſſable.

The cause of the Transmigrations of the Iewes.

The Lawe of the Gentiles.

CHAP. XI.

Of Sorrow or Mourning for the dead. How it hath beene obserued, and yet is to this day, in manie Prouinces and Countries of the world.

TO mourne and sorrowe for Parents, Kindred, & Friends deceased, is not any matter of Nouelty, but most ancient. For it is found, that seauen score and ten yeares after the floode, and threescore yeares after the death of *Noah*, and in the year of the world, two thousand sixtie, according to the calculation

The antiquity of mourning for the dead.

lation of *Carion*, and of other Chroniclers, that *Abraham* mourned and sorrowed for his wife *Sara*, the space of thirtie dayes. I thinke, that the Iewes afterward continued (and yet do to this day) the custome of mourning, for no more then 30 dayes. But Christians, belonging to the Church of God, vsed mourning a whole yeare, to wit; cloathed in blacke for the most part: but Women, were cloathed partly in white, and partly in blacke; especially in some Countreyes, which was done according to the diuersity of Nations. But the ancient *Romaines*, before they were Christians, mourned 9. moneths onely. Heere we are to know, that if a Christian man or woman, in those parts, wearing mourning, came to agree againe in a second marriage, during the yeare appointed for mourning, the Matrimony was stayed; but thence-forward, hee nor shee were bound to weare any more mourning.

Mourning vsed amongest the christians

Mourning of the Latine Christians.

The people of the Greeke Church, mourned a whole yeare, like to them of the *Latine* and *Romaine*, and neuer made any motion of a second marriage, during the limited yeares space: but did much more, for euerie day of that yeare, at a certaine appointed houre, all the people of the house, vsed lamentations, and very greeuous cries, for the party deceased. But at the renewing of the year, they left off their mourning habits, and Funerall sorrowings. In the times of *Terence* and *Plautus*, Commicall Poets, the like was practised.

The mourning of the *Greek* church.

Terence and *Plautus*.

They that inhabit the great Isle of *Iapparia*, and (wel-neere) thorow al the Prouinces, which are called *Malabria*, after that the dead mans bodie is publickelie throwne into a fire, and one of his liuing wiues therewith, the neareſt in Kindred to the deceased party, weareth a garment of Violet colour, and neuer putteth it off for a whole yeares space, eating also but one meale a day during that yeare.

The Mourning of the *Malabrians* & *Iapparians*.

They that are of the Mahometan Religion dwelling in the lesser *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrica*, do mourne no longer for any man or woman deceased, but onelie eight dayes; & that it is the limited time for mourning. Their Garments are of coorse wollen cloath, gray of colour (called among them, Chenine or Felte) and whereof couerings are made for horses. But such as will not weare them of this fashion, do carry a white Linnen Cloath, hanging down from the Turbant so low as the Girdle, and so go on with Teares and cries to the graue.

Postel. in lib. 2. De Repub. F.

The mourning of the Turkes.

If the deceased Turk be a man of qualitie, and had Dogges and Horses, before he bee brought foorth of his dwelling to buriall, they rub their noses with some sharpe graine or hearbe, to vrge teares out of their eyes, that they may appeare to mourne for their deceased Maister, & they are made to follow the bodye to the Graue, which commonly is without the Cittie, and so they continue on the mourning for eight dayes. Al which notwithstanding once euery day (during this short time of sorrow, at a certaine limited hour in the day time, all the Kindred and friends do meet at the graue, to pray to God for the dead mans soule. The eight dayes being ouer-passed, all mourning is laide aside, and then they make a Feast: which beeing likewise ended, the suruiuer may then seeke after a seconde match.

Beasts made apt to mourn for the dead.

The Turkes vse praier for the dead, and Feasting.

Some do Write, that the Parents or Kindred of the dead, during the space of a whole yeare, do giue order to certaine men, called *Saintons*, to read euery daie in the *Alcheran* ouer the Graue, for the saluation of the deceased parties soule. In like maner, that some women very much deuoted to the Mahometan Religion, do leaue diuers Legacies, to such as vse the wars, during the space of a year after their husbands death, to bring them home the heades of Christians, to offer vpon their graues. And commonly, they allow a * *Sultain* of Gold, to bee giuen for euerie head: but he must produce good witnes and testimony, and it must bee soundly verified, that it is a Christians head. Most vsualy they do but bring the skin or form of the face, but sildome the whole head. And this is the mourning of the Turkes.

Of certaine Turkish Women, cruelly superstitious.

*A Turkish Coin of gold, valewing 7.s. 6.d. Sterling.

It was my chance to find another mourning, of much longer continuance, then those formerly recited; which is vsed in a great Prouince named *Cormos*, subiect to the *Persian*, and professing the Mahometan Religion. This Prouince lyeth in so hot a country, that the inhabitants are wholy black. Neuertheless, the Lande is rich, abounding in Horses, gold, Siluer, and Precious stones, of inestimable value for many rare and beautifull embellishings. Notwithstanding, the aire is meruailous

Mar. Paulus in lib. 1. cap. 23.

lous vnhealthfull for Straungers, and therefore (very often) it causeth their death. The *Vice-Roy* of the place, knoweth well enough how to appropriate to himselfe (by way of Eschetage) what goods soeuer doe belong to strangers, being no Natiues of the Counery. And therfore when any one there dyeth, the wife of the dead man doth weare mourning the space of foure yeares, and neuer marrieth againe during that time. But all that long and irksom limitation, she hath certaine sequestred houres daily, to kneel in her Chamber, accompanied with some of her neerest kinred & friends; to make moanes, lamentations and funerall complaints, for the losse of her deceased Husband. As concerning the Men of this Country, and so of *Turky*; I cannot giue ye any assurance, of their mourning for the death of their Wiues: because their King dispenseth with them, for the marrying of manie wiues. But the women of this Prouince of *Cormos*, are much to be commended for their chastity, beyond many of them remaining among vs, who rarely will tarry a yeares space of mourning.

The women of *Cormos* doe mourne for their husbads death, the space of foure yeares.

CHAP. XII.

¶ *Of diuers Paganes, that tooke the matter very offensiuely, and a great dishonour to themselues; that any one should misprise, or contemne their Religion.*

Pausanias reporteth, that neere the Citty of * *Mantinea* in *Arcadia*, there was a Temple consecrated to *Neptune*, the enterance whereof was interdicted to men: and yet notwithstanding, it had no other guard or defence, but certaine little woollen cords, placed before the Gate, which caused such dreadfull fears, as the place thereby was accounted very reuerent. It chanced, that *Æpythes*, Son to *Hippotes*, King of *Arcadia*, a man slenderly affected to Religion, without any reuerence or respect, did cut the saide cords, and as he would haue entred into the Temple: the Waters of the Sea gushed foorth aboundantly vpon him, and wholy blinded him, so that hauing lost his eyes in this manner, he presently died. The auncient fame and report was, that the Waters were noted and obserued to rest in that Temple: And it was reputed to bee the greater Miracle; because the Sea was three miles, or thereabout, distant from that place.

Pausa. in lib. to * A Citty of *Arcadia*, some times also called *Antigonia*.

Aepythes, Son to *Hippotes*, King of *Arcadia*.

In the Citty of *Cabiria* in *Beotia*, within a mile of *Thebes*, there stood a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, and entrance thereinto was granted to none; but only the *Cabirians*. It so fell out, that *Mardonius*, one of the Captaines to *Xerxes*, entring thereinto with his Souldiours, to rob and bereaue it of the Treasures: both he & all the rest of his Army, were (in an instant) surprized with such a sudden fury, that casting themselues down headlong into very deep ditches, and from the tops of Rocks and Mountains, they all dyed most miserably. The like happened to the Souldiers of great *Alexander*, who hauing taken *Thebes* by power, they would likewise enter into the said temple: but being smitten with lightning from heauen, they ended their liues cruelly, which prooued a mightie terror to the Nation of that age. *Phlegyas*, King of the *Orchomenians*, or (according to *Virgil*) of the * *Lapithes*, hauing done infinite dammages in *Greece*, surprizing many Townes and Cities: became (in the end) so ouer-weening & foolish-bold, that he sacked the Temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, and slew *Philamon*, who brought a power of people to rescue the Temple. But it came to passe, that within no long while after, all the Countrey of the *Phlegyans* was vtterlie ruinated, by a violent earthquake, and flaming Arrowes shot from Heauen, which killed most of the people, & they few that remained, died of the plague. Vpon which sacriledge, and contempt of the Gods, *Virgil* saith, that their king *Phlegyas* is grieuously punished in Hell.

Pausa. in Lib. 9. A Temple in *Beotia* dedicated to *Ceres*.

Another accident concerning the same Temple.

* A people dwelling in a part of *Thessalie*.

Philamon a cunning *Harper*, Sonne to *Apollo*.

——*Phlegyas miserimus omnes*
Admonet, & magna testatur voce per umbras,
Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere Diuos.

Virg. in Lib. 6. de Aenid.

Which Verses were thus translated by *Masures:*

——*Phlegyas* in that place,
Forewarneth all, of his great misery,
And as sad witnesse of such wretched case,
In those dim shades he cryes out wofully:
Learne to do Iustice: And by my contempt
Of the high Gods, do you like fate preuent.

* Betweene the two Riuers, *Sybaris* and *Crathis*.

The *Sybarites*, people of a * citty in great *Greece*, (so called, by reason of a Riuer which passeth there along, named *Sybaris*) being desirous to vnderstand the future felicity of themselues and their Citty: sent to consult with the Oracle of *Delphos*, to be resolued in the matter. Whereto *Apollo* in his * *Pytheum*, gaue them this answer. *Your Land shall run to perdition, & your felicity shal haue end; when you begin to make more account of men, then of the Goddes.* The Ambassadors hauing heard this answere, made report thereof to the *Sybarites*: who tooke good courage to them, perswading themselues assuredlie, that such disaster should neuer happen to them, and therefore their felicity would be eternall. But within some pretty while after, it happened, that a Maister beating his Slaue neere to the Temple: the Slaue fled from him, & knowing that the temple affoorded refuge, ran thereinto, and mounting vp to the Altar, embraced the Image. His Lord pursued him, & hauing forcibly recouered him from the Statue, without any reuerence of the place, began againe to giue him many Bastonadoes. The seruant fled frō him once more, ran to saue himselfe at the Tombe of his Lords deceased Father: but then, in meer paternall duty, hee left punnishing any more, and pardoned the fault which hee had committed. All this being noted by *Amiris*, one of them that had bin Ambassador to *Delphos*: he cald to remembrance the former words of the Oracle, and declared to some other of his Friends, that the time for accomplishment of *Apolloes* answere; was euen now come. But they giuing no credit to his words; imagined that hee was become fooliish. Which when he perceiued, he took hold of their suppositiion, and (soone after) counterfeited as if he were growne somwhat distracted in his sences. So that, making publike sale of all his goods, and getting a large summe of Mony together: he departed suddenly thence, & went to dwell in *Morea*, expecting continually the fate of his Country. It fortuned, that within no long time after, the Cittie of the *Sybarites* (by what accident I know not) was raced, rent, and torne, and vtterly made a heap of stones.

* The place where *Apollo* made answer.

The Historie of a slaue beaten by his Lord and Maister.

That which could not be gained in reuerence of the Gods, was for a Fathers sake won.

Amyris makes open sale of all his goods, fearing what was to follow.

Cambyses, the Son of *Cyrus*, sent fiftie thousand men to destroy the Temple of *Iupiter Hammon*: but by a sudden furious tempest, they were al quite ouerwhelmed with heaps of sand, before they could get thither, and so perished most wretchedly, without executing their pernitious desseigne. All they which were with *Quintus Cepio*, at the robbery of the Gold out of the Temples of *Tholouse* in France, to the quantity of one hundred & ten thousand markes of Gold, and 500. Millions of markes in Siluer: dyed euery Man of them (with all their kinred and Families) within that yeares compasse, and not aboue one of them, did carry so much as one piece therof home to his own house. *Strabo* hath left it written, that this Treasure of *Tholouse*, was a part of the *Delphian* riches. For *Brennus*, Captaine of the *Gauls*, being assisted by the * *Tectosages*, had ransacked *Delphos*: according as we find it recorded by *Iustine* the Historian. As then these *Tectosages* made their retreat to *Tholouse*, which was their auncient Country: the plague began to assaile them, and neuer ceased, vntill such time, (as answere came from the Diuines) that they had drowned al the Gold and Siluer (gotten by sacriledge) in the bottome of the *Thoulouzan* Lake. Out of which place it was (long time after) won and gotten, by *Q. Cepio* & his followers, who carried it thence to their owne deare detriment. The *Romains* hauing surprized *Carthage*, certaine of them despoyled the Statue of *Apollo*, of a costly robe of Gold worne about him: but the hands of him that cōmitted this sacriledge, wer souud cut off, and fastned to the same garment. And *Brennus*, captain of the forenamed *Gauls*, entred forcibly into the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*: and hauing committed it to publike spoile, was so furiously possessed, that he slue himselfe with his own hands.

Temple of *Iupiter Hammon*.

Aul. Gel. in lib. 3. Cap. 9.

Strabo in lib. 4.

People of the west part of *Narbon*, towards the *Pyrene* Mountaines. *Iust. in Lib. 32.*

The *Romaines* at their surprizal of *Carthage*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Seiane Horse. And of the admirable Statue of a Horse, erected in Altina, a Citty in the Country of Olympia.

King *Cambyses* his vnhallowed intent against the

Caius Bassius in his Comentaries, and *Iulius Modestinus*, in his second Booke of confused Questions (agreeing with that which *Aulus Gellius* reporteth in his *Attick* nights) do relate a memorable History, concerning the *Seiane* horse, & in this maner. In the *Prouince* of *Argos*, there

Caius Bassius in Comment. lib. 3 Cap. 10. Iul. Modest. in Quest. lib. 2. Cap. 1. Aul. Gellius. in Noct. Attic.

there was a horſe bred, reported to be of the race of thoſe Horſes, belonging vnto *Diomedes* the *Thracian*, which horſe *Hercules* brought with him into *Greece*, after he had ſlain the ſaid *Diomedes*. This horſe was of a Bay colour, and of vnuſual greatneſſe; his Maine yellowiſh and long; his Noſthrils very wide and open; his eyes great; his legges well formed; his breaſt goodly, and his taile long: in briefe, hee was perfectly faire, well limbd, ſtout, and full of courage for the wars. In the time of his beeing but a Colte, great rumour ran abroad of him, in *Aſia*, *Indea*, *Thebes*, *Pentapolis*, and all ouer *Greece*, procuring very many (from all theſe parts, and many more beſide) to trauaile to ſee him; others to buy him; and diuers to draw his figure or proportion. But this goodly Beaſt had ſuch an vnfortunate deſtinie, that whoſoeuer was his Maiſter; muſt needes periſh, with his Familier, Houſe, and Goods whatſoeuer. For proofe wherof, ſuch as bought him, and mounted on his backe (which were fiue worthy Knights) dyed all both miſerably and infamouſly. The firſt that bought and backt him, beeing then little aboue two yeares old: was *Cneus Seianus*, a Romaine Conſull, and of great birth, as alſo verie verie wiſe in gouerning the Commonwealth, who being to returne out of *Perſia* to *Rome*, followed the faction of *Octauius Auguſtus*; in regard whereof, ſixe moneths after hee had bought the ſaide Horſe, *Marke Anthonie* cauſed his head to be ſmitten off in *Greece*, and commanded that his body ſhould remaine without any buriall. Now, becauſe that *Cneus Seianus* was the firſt Buier and Maiſter of this Horſe, and alſo had (by his death) firſt experimented his fatall fortune: hee was therefore called the *Seiane* Horſſe.

Afterward, a Romaine, named *Cornelius Dolabella*, Conſull alſo: bought this horſe at an hundred thouſand *Seſtertiaes*, which amounted to the value of two thouſand Duckets. But if hee had knowne, that hee bought misfortune at ſo deare a rate: he neuer would haue accepted him in giſt: For within leſſe then a yeares ſpace after hee had him, the vnfortunate *Dolabella* was maſſacred in *Syria*, in a mutiny of people that roſe againſt him, and being thus ſlaine, his body (in meere deſpight) was dragd along the ſtreets. *Dolabella* being thus dead, *Caius Caſſius*, who had great commaund in Rome, performrd many warlike exploits in *Aſia*, and had beſiedged and ouercom *Dolabella* in that ſedition: took the horſe for his owne imployment; but hee had not kept him any long while, till his troups being vanquiſhed, and his Armie quite broken, himſelfe dyed very miſerablie.

Thus writeth *Aulus Gellius*, howbeit, I haue elſe-where read, that at a Dinner, both Hee, his Wife and Children, were poyſoned, and all them dyed within an houre after. Vpon the death of *Caſſius*, this vnhappy and diſaſtrous Horſe hapned into the power of great *Marke Anthony*, who found him ſo faire, and well fitting his owne minde, that hee gaue in recompence to the bringer of the horſe, as much as hee would haue giuen him if he had bought him. *Marke Anthonie* was vanquiſhed by *Auguſtus Cæſar*, in a battaile on the Sea neere to *Actium*, and ſauing himſelfe by flight into *Alexandria*, (where likewiſe he was engirt, with ſharp beſiedging;) hee ſtabd his owne Sword into his belly, and ſo periſhed by a violent and contemptible death. When *Marke Anthony* was thus dead, a Knight of *Aſia*, named *Nigidius*, bought the Horſe, at a reaſonable price, becauſe now hee grew to waxe olde: but his ſucceſſe proued as deare and fatall, as any of the former owners, and much more notorious. For within the years time of buying this Horſe, as he rode with him ouer the Riuer **Marathon*: the Horſe ſtumbling in the Water, could by meanes recouer himſelfe, but there, both Maiſter and Horſe were drowned, and neuer after any tydings heard of them. This Hiſtorie made way to the ancient and well known Prouerb, to wit; *He had the Seiane Horſe*, which continuallie was ſpoken of him, that came to any miſerable and vnfortunate end. As the like was otherwiſe vttered, *He met with the Gold of Tholouſe*, for the reaſons remembred in the precedent Chapter.

A very admirable matter is likewiſe remembred, of the Statue of the Horſe of *Phormius*, erected in *Altina*, a Citty of *Olympia* in *Elis*. There ſtood a horſe of Braſſe, without any taile; yet appearing very goodly, and forged by the hands of *Dioniſius* the *Argiue*, in honor of *Phormius* the *Arcadian*, as was plainely giuen to

Great affection to a Horſe that had ſo fatall a deſteny.

Cneus Seianus, firſt bought the Horſe.

Cornelius Dolabella the Conſull, ſecond Maiſter of the Horſe.

Caius Caſſius, third Maiſter of the Horſe.

Mark Anthony the fourth Maiſter of the Horſe.

* A Towne & Promontory of Epire, where *Auguſtus*, after he had foiled *M. Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, built the Citty of *Nicopolis*.

Belonging to a Towne ſo named, tenne miles diſtant from *Athens*.

Eraſmus Chilia. 1. Cent. Lib. 10.

The Statue of *Phormius* his Horſe.

be vnderstood, by certaine Carracters or Letters engrauen on his side. And the *Elians* were verily perswaded, and held it for infallible, that Stallions and Mares should both beget and bring foorth the goodlier Beastes, if the act were performed before this Statue. And whether it consisted in some matter of enchantmēt, or any other vnknowne mystery, I know not; but if a man rode on any Stallion by this Statue: his rider could not be able to sit him, but he would breake al his Furniture, Bridle, Raines, Girts, &c. of what strength soeuer, and neuer cease till hee were at liberty, offering then to couer the Statue, as if it had bin a liuing Mare. And this was not don in the Spring time only, whē these beasts are said to be most thereto inclinable; but euen at other times likewise, contrary to the naturall custome of Horses. And he could not be had thence, but by violent strokes, and great compulsion.

A strange perswasion of the *Elians*.

This is recorded by diuers good Authors for a truth.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of Lais, the famous Courtezane of Greece; And the Epitaph engrauen vpon hir Tomb.

Lais in her tender youth, taken & sold among slaues

LAis was borne in a Towne of *Sicily*, named *Hiccara*, and being a young Girle, when *Nicias*, Duke and Captaine of the *Athenians*, surprized both *Catania* & *Hiccara*: she was also taken by some of the Souldiers, and brought to *Corinthe*, where she was sold among diuers other Slaues, in the open Market. Being afterward enfranchised and set at liberty: ouer-much licence, want of respect and correction (being absent from her Parents and Friendes, whose care should haue extended, for her good education in honest and ciuill manners) was the onely cause of making a booty of her honor, to him that wold giue the most for it. So that, through wanton carriage in men, as forward as shee to all loosenesse: she won the fame and reputation, of the most queint and witty Courtezane (of her time) in all *Greece*. Wherupon, the *Corinthians* did esteem her as a great glory to them, and held themselues to be not a little honoured by her; insomucht, that they stiled her to be a natiue of their Country, and left it recorded in their Bookes and writings. Some say, that shee remained a great while in the Camp of King *Pyrrhus*, and went along with him into *Italy*: from whence returning againe to *Corinthe*, there she made her retirement altogether. This amourous woman, was endued with such exquisite beauty, that the chiefest Painters (according as *Athenæus* reporteth) came expressly to *Corinth* to see her, to draw her Picture, & beare thence the true figure of her face, breasts, & whole body. She was of such entising nature, that men of the greatest wealth, would giue a knocke at her doore; yea, many Kings, Princes, and great Lords cam, not only from *Europe*, but from *Affrica* likewise, to serue, court and require her fauour. In briefe, shee was generally affected, highly esteemed, and enflamed all *Greece*, to woe & win her. For either in speaking, singing, dauncing, or what else, she could performe it with so absolute a grace: that she meerly rauished the harts of all men to behold her, and hardly could they refraine to be out of her company, such a commanding power had her beautie ouer them. Notwithstanding, she would neuer yeild her selfe to one Man; albeit *Aristippus*, *Demosthenes*, and *Diogenes*, were extraordinarily enamoured of hir. True it is, that *Aristippus* made his vant, that he had *Lais* alone in his owne priuate possession; whereas others did desire that they could haue the like fauor. *Demosthenes* came once from *Athens* to *Corinthe*, in a disguised habit, to see *Lais*, and enioy her if he could. But before she would open the doore to him, shee bad him first send her 10000. *Drachmaes* (which valued 1000. Crownes, but elsewher I haue read 8000.) for one nights lodging with her: he was so amazed at the demaund, that preuailing ouer the heat of his affections, hee went away, saying out aloud; *I will neuer buy repentance at so deare a price.* *Aulus Gellius* recordeth it in this manner. οὐκ ἀνοῦμαι, μυρίων δραχμῶν μετὰ μέλειαν. That is to say: *I will not buy repentance with a thousand Drachmaes.* This hee spake (as I thinke) according to the saying of *Diogenes*, to wit: *That euery Creature is sad after the Veneriall Act.*

Athenæus a worthy Philosopher of *Cilicia* in *Augustus* time.

From far and neere they came to *Corinth* to see *Lais*.

Lactan. in Lib. 3. Cap. 14.

Aul. Gel. in lib. 1. Cap. 14. Macrob. in Sat. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

I haue read that the *Drachmae* was a piece of Mony valuing three shilings sixe pence.

Lais the onely famous Courtezane in all Greece, and reputed as an honour to the *Corinthians*.

One

The Answere of *Lais* concerning the Phylosophers of Athens.

One day, in the presence of *Lais*, there was one that verie highly commended the Phylosophers of *Athens* to be excellent Wisemen, lerned & honest. Wherto *Lais* answered thus: *I knowe not what great Learning is in your Phylosophers, much lesse what they studie, or what Bookes they read: considering, that I who am a woman, and neuer was in* Athens, *do beholde them to come hither: & being Phylosophers I can make them to bee Louers. And yet notwithstanding, they cannot make anie of my other fauourites, Phylosophers.*

Aristippus the Phylosopher, borne in **Syrenaica*, of whom, I haue formerlie made mention, did yearely continue for the space of two moneths, in the time of the *Neptuanales* (Feasts Dedicated vnto *Neptune*) with *Lais* in Egypt. And beeing reproued by a familiar frend of his, because he spent so much money vppon that woman, who would neuertheless entertaine *Diogenes* without anie salarie, returned this answere. *I giue bountifullie to* Lais, *because I would haue my fill of content with her; and yet not to hinder anie other from enioying her. Diogenes* on a time said vnto him: *Aristippus, thou thinkest that thou hast thy pleasure alone with Lais, and yet she is a common Whore: Either lead thy life like a Cynick, as I do, or else leaue hir I would aduise thee.* Aristippus presentlie replied. *Diogenes, Doost thou deeme it inconuenient, to liue in an house vvhere one hath dwelt before thee? Or to venter in the same ship, where many others haue formerly succcessefully sailed? Compare my case then on the contrarie, that feare not to affect the Woman, where many fauourites haue beene accepted before me.*

*A Countrie in Affrica, called also *Pentapolitana*, of the fiue Cities *Beronice, Arsinoe, Ptolomais, Apollonia*, and *Cyrena*. *Athen. in li.* 13 *Cap.* 20.

Discourse betweene *Aristippus* & *Diogenes*, concerning *Lais*.

If *Lais* knew in hir youthful time, how to make sale of her kind entertainment to her Louers, and at so deare a rate, as beuty was sildom bought at the like cost: we must needs conceit, that when more mature and riper yeares came vpon her, she could much better skill of making hir Market, being so well plied with bountifull Pay-maisters. Moreouer, when her gallant flouring daies were passed ouer, that her faire complexion began to faile, and furrowed wrinckles appeared in her face: she flew not then so loftie a pitch, but was content to welcome both young and olde, rich and poore, faire and deformed, lusty bloods, and cooler spirits; and to be briefe, all goers and commers indifferently, without exception, and at how meane a price soeuer. As *Iphicrates* painted her forth, in liuely colours, by those Verses which *Atheneus* wrote of her, the substance whereof, are to this effect. *Lais is a very slothful drunken Woman, doing nothing but eate and drink all the day long. I thinke she hath experimented the behauiour and custome of Eagles, vvho when they are young, do seize on Sheepe & Hares on the highest Mountaines, lifting them aloft by the gripes of their Talents, but when olde age stealeth on them, then they leaue that bigger prey, and flye at none but young and smallest Birds.* Euen so, *Lais* beeing yong and gallant, had great sums of Money giuen for enioying her fauours; but when many yeares came on her, and blemished the beauty of her former cariage, she wold go then whither any man pleased, the**Carolus* or the *Sous*, serued insted of a Crowne of former offers, and old or yong was not to be reiected.

Athen in li. 13. *Cap.* 20.

*Woorth an English penny, but valewing ten pence Tour.

Authors do not agree, concerning the place where *Lais* died; some say, it was at *Corinth*, she being aged 72. yeares, and that the *Corinthians* made her a magnificent Tomb without the Citie where she dwelled (for they did not allowe anie Whores or Harlots to abide within the City, neither vsed they to bury their dead within their wals) and that on the top of hir Sepulcher stood a carued Lionnesse in Brasse, holding a male Goat betweene her former feete. Some others, do holde it assuredly, that hir death happened in *Thessaly*, whether she had followed one, named *Hippostrates*, whom *Atheneus* calleth *Pausanius*, and *Plutarch Hippolochus* the *Thessalian*. She doating in affection towards him, forsooke the Mount of **Acro-Corinthus* (continually bedewed with fresh springs & waters) & escaped secretly without the knowledge of anie of her louers, into the field of *Alexander*, where other women, being both ielious and enuious of her fame, forcibly drew her into the Temple of *Venus*, and there stoned hir to death with stones. *Athenus* saith, with seats and stooles: for which cause, it was after called the Temple of *Venus* the Murdresse: otherwise tearmed ἀσεβείας φονεύτριας. *Of Impious Venus*. Her Tombe was found in *Thessaly*, neere to the Riuer *Peneus*, whereon was made an Vrne of stone, and thereon was engrauen certain Greeke Verses, which were translated thus in Latine.

Variance amongauthors about the death of *Lais*.

Atheneus vbi sup. Pausanias in Lib. 2.
*A high Hill in *Morea*.

Lais was skilful in making vse of hir vain time, yet stooped to al prices in her elder dayes.

Lais beaten to death with stones.

A Riuer running between *Ossa* and *Olympus*.

Roboris inuicti animi sit Græcia quamuis,
Victa tamen formæ paruit illa suæ.
Laidis ipse parens amor est, aluitq; corinthus
Ac nunc ipsa tenet inclita Thessalia.

By the Author thus turned into *French*.

Bien que la Grece soit d'inuincible courage,
Vaincue toutesfois a cede au visage
De sa chere Lais, belle comme la iour,
Braue et Pimpante en tout, fille du Dieu Amour:
Aux meilleurs de ses ans Corinthe la nourrie,
Et ores ses os sont gardez en Thessalie.

And thus by the Translater into *English*.

Though Greece was of vnconquerable might,
Yet nertheleſſe it yeelded, and gaue way
To the faire lookes of *Lais*, bright as the day:
Feate in all forme, the Loue-Gods deare delight.
Corinth gaue breeding to her better daies,
But *Thessaly* keepes both her Bones and praise.

CHAP. XV.

Of Androchia *and* Alcida, *who were Sisters. Also of* Macharia, *Daughter to* Hercules: *Which Ladies, for the safety of their Countries, slew themselues.*

Soph. in Antig. Pomp.

SOphocles maketh mention, in one of his Tragedies, that at *Thebes*, in the temple of *Diana Euclia*, were buried two Virgines; daughters to *Antipenus* the *Thebane* Cittizen; the one, beeing named *Androchia*, and the other *Alcida*.

*A Tyraunt whome *Hercules* draue out of the City *Orchomenũ*.

It happened that * *Erginus*, King of the *Orchomenians*, hauing besiedged the Cittie of *Thebes*, with full determination to ruinate it, in reuenge of the death of his Father *Climon*: the *Thebanes* consulted with the Oracle, concerning theyr fortune in this extreamity. Afterward, when the two fore-named young virgins had vnderstood from the Oracle, that if two such Virgines were to bee found (of Noble Family) and would bee so courageous as to kill themselues: they shoulde thereby be the cause of their Citties freedome, and ouerthrowe of the Enemie. These two young Ladies, desiring to be that happie paire of Virgins, and preferring their Countryes deliuerance before their owne liues: killed themselues presently, and the enemy returned ashamed and foiled; whereby both honor and victorie remained to the *Thebanes*, to the eternall praise & memories of those two worthy Virgins.

Hercules escaping the power of * *Euristheus*, went into *Thrace*, where hee remained til the time of his deth. He being dead, *Euristheus* demanded his Children of *Seix*, Lord and commander of *Thrace*, who fearing their liues losse, sent them to *Theseus* at *Athens*, to whose especiall care and trust hee re.commended them. When *Euristheus* had intelligence ther-of, he proclaimed war against the *Athenians*: who as well for their owne safetie, as the Children of *Hercules*, determined constant resistance against *Ceix*. But consulting with the Oracle, which side shold be the Conquerour in this doubtfull triall, the Oracle gaue answere, that they should haue the dayes victory, prouided, that one of *Hercules* his Children, must first die. This was no sooner heard by *Macharia*, Daughter to *Hercules*: but instantly she slew her selfe, and the *Athenians* were the Conquerors. Thus you may see, how the Deuill could get himself sacrifices, and make humain creatures prodigall of their liues to him, in those darke dayes of ignoraunce, when almost the whole world beleeued those deluding Oracles: wherein, for any one truth, infinite Lies, Riddles, and Ambages, were deliuered vnto the poore ouer-credulous people.

*The King of Greece, the Theame of *Iunoes* reuẽge on Hercules.

Macharia daughter to *Hercules* slew her selfe, for the Athenians deliuerance.

CHAP. XVI.

From whence came at first, our Orange and Cædar Trees. And how the Cædar is verie good and souerayne, against the poyson of Serpents.

The rare resolution of two famous Virgins.

ORanges, Citrons, and Cædars, were neuer in ancient times known to be good to eat: but onely they were giuen as Offeringes vnto the Gods, and esteemed most especiallie for their beauty and sight; & being shut vp in chests

Oranges, Citrons, & Cædars offered to the Gods.

chests or coffers, to yeild a pleasing sauor to Cloathes and Garments, as also to preserue them from Mothes & worms. Then, in regard that they first came out of *Persia* and *Media*: men vsed to call them *Persian* Apples, and *Median* Apples; Howbeit, *Iuba*, in his Histories, tearmes them Apples of Gold, or Apples of the *Hesperides*. In no long while after, men began to eate of the Cædar, and thereupon appeared, that a meruailous vertue was found therein, against the venome and poyson of Serpents & Aspicks. To approue the truth therof, we finde it credibly recorded, that two men, being condemned to death in Ægypt, their sentence was; that they should be exposed to Serpents, to bee deuoured by them, which kind of death had beene vsed among them from olde Antiquitie. The day being come whereon they should dye, one of them was (accidentally) visited by a friend of his in the Prison, who was champing and chewing a piece of Cedar in his mouth, and bestowed some little part thereof on the condemned Prisoner, which hee accepted very thankfully, and byting thereon, gaue some also to his deathes companion, in meere simplicity, and without knowledge of any secret vertue therein.

Iuba, in his Histories.

The Historie of two men condemned to death in Egypt.

They being brought to the place of death, and thrust out to the greedy Serpents; they would by no meanes come neere them, or touch them, but auoyded so farre as possibly they could from them. The Officers of Iustice beeing there present, began to examine, what might be the reason of this sildome seene wonder: whereupon they found, that the Cedar (eaten by both the Prisoners) was the onely cause. But in regard they intended a more ample proof thereof, on the next day following, they caused one of the condemned Men to eate of the Cedar againe, but gaue to the other his accustomed food, and bringing them both to the place of execution: all the people beheld, that the Serpent ran fiercely on him that was fasting from Cedar, tearing and renting him in infinite morsels; but left the other againe without any touch, who died also the day following by the same Serpents, according as his fellow had done before him.

Deuouring Serpents refused to touch poor condemned men, only because they had eaten Cedar.

CHAP. XVII.

How hurtfull a thing it is to endure fasting or hunger: And what the reason is, that aged people are more capable thereof, thē youthfull bodies, yet without any preiudice. Also, whence it proceedeth, and vpon what occasion, that fasting is hurtfull to chollericke persons, and profitable to the Phlegmaticke.

PHisitions doe hold opinion, that two principall inconueniences doe ensue by Hunger and Fasting: the one is, ꝑ the naturall heate is therby consumed; and the other, that the humiditie of the stomack is thereby weakened. The body that is most offended by these two harms, endureth hunger with exceeding great difficulty: but whereas these annoyances do cause no oppression, it is suffered with the greater ease. The Infant then that encreaseth, hath his naturall heat insufficient strength, and radicall moysture verie subtile: which resolueth it selfe much more by equall proportion, in not enduring hunger then, then it can doe in any other degree of age.

Two inconueniences caused by hunger

Of naturall heat in Infants, and radicall moysture.

Moreouer the sensitiue vertue is then forcibly mooued, whereby it suffereth hunger with much passion and damage, which causeth both heat & the naturall Spirit to diminish mightily, & keeping nourishment then from him: is the maine hinderance to his growth and encreasing. By which occasion we may perceiue, that an Infant or young child is more iniured by hunger, then all persons else in any other age.

The hinderance of an Infants growing.

The young man, that hath attained to his intire and perfect encreasing, although his naturall heate bee as strong as that of the Infant: yet notwithstanding, he hath his naturall humiditie more grosse, and therefore it cannot so soone dissolue, as that in the Childe. In which respect, hunger doth no way so much offend a Man of middle age, as a young

Of the young man in his full state of encreasing.

younger Child or Infant. For it is vniuerſally obſerued, that in Adoleſcency, Youth-hood, or when a man is neereſt to his original: with ſo much the more paine and difficultie hee endureth hunger, becauſe his naturall moyſture is more ſubtile and reſolueable.

Of the Aged or old man, in his declining eſtate.

The old, or aged man, hath his naturall heat much abaſed or deiected, and his humidity greatly thickned or cloſed together, which cannot ſo eaſily reſolue it ſelfe. The ſenſitiue vertue alſo is highly decayed in him, and ſenteth nothing ſo perfectly, as when hee was an Infant, a Youth, or in his ſtrength and beſt of yeares. And therefore, hee endureth not ſo much paine and dammage then, as in the precedent conditions. But he who is the decrepite, or very old man, although he haue his naturall moiſture much more groſſe, his heate very feeble, and his ſenſible vertue farre more imperfect, then is in all the other Ages, as being Neighbour and neere to his extinction: yet for all that, how little ſoeuer he ſuffereth the accident or diſcommoditie of hunger; it endangereth the quite quenching of his naturall heat, whereon immediatlie he dyeth. And therefore it is very needfull, that food ſhould be as often giuen to the decrepite man, as to the young Infant, but yet diuerſly. For the Infant muſt haue enough at euery time giuen him, and but litle to the decrepite man: becauſe, if he ſhould receiue ouer much, it would ſuffocate the ſmall quantity of heate remaining in him; as we ſee by a ſlender flame, when too much Oyle is put into the Lamp.

Of Decripite or the loweſt age of all.

The decripite old muſt be as often fed as a child, but in another kind.

Hunger is cauſed in vs, and all other Creatures elſe, by reaſon that naturall heate continually conſumeth, and dryeth the humiditie of our members, which being conſumed, conſumeth likewiſe the moyſture of the veines, and their conſumption cauſeth attraction from the Liuer, and the Liuer from the ſtomacke. Theſe humours thus conſumed, the Soueraigne Creator hath ordained in vs, that the Spleene or Milt ſhould conuay the Melancholly humor to the ſtomack, which being eager and corroſiue, conſumeth likewiſe the ſubſtantiall humiditie in the ſtomacke it ſelfe, and ſo inciteth a deſire of foode, from whence enſueth the occaſion of

How hunger is cauſed in man, and in al creatures els.

The Melancholly humor

Hunger. Which is very hurtfull to Chollericke bodies, becauſe whenſoeuer they ſuffer hunger, their choller deſcendeth into the ſtomacke, and wil not let them eate; but are poſſeſſed with fumes and vapours while choller ſo mounteth, which afterward (when they doe eate) corrupteth and putrifieth the meates receiued. But in Phlegmatique complexions, there is humidity enough in the ſtomacke, and in al the members. And therefore it is profitable for them to endure hunger; for by their ſufferance thereof, their bad and ill-affected humours are conſumed away by choller.

The Chollerick humour.

The Phlegmaticke complexion.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *That there is not any thing in the World, which is more hurtfull to man, or procureth him more loſſe and danger, then the Tongue: with many notable Examples to that effect.*

Anacharſis the Philoſopher, being one daie conuerſing with his Schollers, concerning the tongue, ſpake thus vnto them. *Not without great Art and Myſtery (ô my Schollers) did Nature beſtow on vs two Feete, two Legges, two Armes, two Hands, two Eyes, two Eares, and no more but one tongue. As ſignifying thereby, that eyther to goe, ſee, or heare, are offices which we can doe as often as we pleaſe: but to ſpeake well, wiſelie, and modeſtly, is more then we can eaſily attaine vnto.* He ſaid moreouer. *For no other occaſion hath Nature left our face vncouered, our eyes, eares, hands, feete, and al the reſt of our body, except the tongue: which ſhe impaled with Iawes, and walled about with teeth, and afterward defenced it with lippes: but onely to let vs vnderſtand, that (in this preſent life) there is nothing that deſerueth a ſtronger guard, then the vnbrideled tongue.* We haue no part belonging to our body, which Nature hath ſo ſurely Rampiard vp, as the tongue. Before it is placed a Bulwarke of teeth, to the end, that it ſhould be obedient

The ſpeech vſed by *Anacharſis* the Philoſopher to his Schollers concerning the tongue.

Nature left al our parts elſe vncouered, but the toong

The teeth ordained to punish the tong.

bedient to reason, which restraines it; (as with a strong bridle) within: but if it will not be kept backe, her intemperance may be iustly punnished, with a bloody gripe betweene the teeth.

Anacharsis at a Banket with *Solon*.

The same Philosopher banqueting one day with *Solon*, was esteemed to be wise, because being a-sleepe afterward, hee was noted by one or two: to hold his right hand on his mouth, and the left vpon his naturall partes of secrecie, as thereby declaring, that the tongue had neede of a much stronger Bridle, then the other partes of Nature. For the tongue containeth in it both good and euill; And *Salomon* saith: *Both life and death is in the power of the Tongue.* *If we vse the tongue well* (saith *Erasmus*) *it is as a Horne of plentie or aboundance: but if it want a Gouernour, there is nothing more offensiue.* The Philosopher *Pittacus* saide. *The Tongue resembleth to the world, the forme of a Lances point, but is much more dangerous: for the Launce woundeth the Flesh onelie, but the Tongue striketh quite thorough the Heart.*

Prou. 18.21.

Eras. in Enchir. Cap. 9.

Pittacus his comparison of the tongue

Affranius, another Philosopher, was one day demaunded, wherefore he spent the most part of his time, in walking among the Mountaines, hazzarding his life euerie houre, where so many wilde Beastes might suddenlie deuour him? Hee presentlie replyed. *Beastes haue no other weapons but their teeth, where-with to teare me: but Men cease not daily to commit outrage with their members, and to defame with their mallicious Tongues.*

The answere of *Affranius* the Philosopher.

Plutarch, in his Booke of Banishment, declareth, that the *Lydians* had a Law among them, that such Men as had bad and wicked tongues: should be banished and confined for halfe a yeare, into some distant seperate place, without power of speaking to any one whatsoeuer. And many times it happened, that some of them chose rather three yeares slauery in the Gallies, then to be so bard of speaking for halfe a yeare.

Plutar. in Lib. Exil. cap. 4.

Demosthenes, a Man of great authoritie, and preuailance in speaking; was much feared throughout all *Greece*, and therefore talked at his owne pleasure. In regard whereof, all the chiefe of the *Athenians* met together on a day, and at a meet appointed place, concluding to bestow a large recompence, and liberall Wages also on him beside. And calling him in among them, to let him vnderstand their bounty and beneuolence; one (in name of the rest) spake thus vnto him. *Demosthenes; we doe not bestow this great guift, either because thou hast spoken, or that thou shouldst speak: but onely to the end, that thou shouldst hold thy peace.*

The manner how the *Athenians* recompenced *Demosthenes*.

Marke Anthony caused the Father of Eloquence to be slaine, vpon no other occasion: but because hee had spoken too aduantagiously on his behalfe. Which was manifestly declared by *Fuluia*, Wife to *Marke Anthonie*, when shee procured *Ciceroes* Tongue to bee puld out, for his false speaking, and pierced it thorough (in many places) with Needles. *Salust*, the Romaine Oratour; was verie odious vnto Strangers, and seuerely pursued by his owne Companions: because he neuer tooke Penne in his hand to Write, but it was against some especiall persons; neither would he open his mouth, but it was to deprane some others. The *Lydians* had an inuiolable Law, to punnish Detractors with death, but Homicides and Men-killers, they condemned them to labour in their Gallies. So that among those barbarous people, for one Man to deprane or defame another: it was reputed a far greater offence, then if he had slaine him.

Mark Anthony caused the death of *Cicero*.

Of *Salust* the Romain Orator.

The *Lydians* law against Detractours.

As King *Darius* sat one day at Dinner in his Tent, such as hee pleased to accept in companie at his owne Table, beganne to moone some Millitary Argument, concerning the warlike affaires of *Alexander* the Great. In which discourse, a Captaine, named *Mygdonius*, (one very highly fauoured of *Darius*) deliuered some reproachfull speeches of *Alexander*, whereupon *Darius* suddenlie saide. *Hold thy Tongue* Mygdonius, *and know, that I brought thee not with mee to this Warre, to defame* Alexander *with thy Tongue; but onelie to conquer him in Armes, if thou canst.* By which example, we may perceiue, how detestable and odious the Vice of Detraction is: because it is apparant, that euen Enemies themselues

An honorable mind in King *Darius* towards his enemy.

This *Mygdonius* tearmed by some *Mignus*.

Ouer-much talke is a great blemish to Honor.

selues cannot endure, to heare disgracefull wordes of one another. *Pytheus*, Duke of *Athens*, was a very honorable Prince, full of courage and resolution: but yet so ouer-abounding in talke, that it greatly diminished the glorie of all his other atchieuements. A Philosopher beeing bidden to a sollemne Banquet, spake not one word while the feasting continued, which made euery one maruaile at his so long silence, and demanded, for what reason he was so sparing of speech? Whereto he returned this answere. *It is much better to know the time when a Man should speake, then barely how to speak: For nature hath taught vs the one, but wisedome is the enstructer in the other.*

No Man (at any time) repented himselfe for beeing silent, but many haue done it for too much talking, because one word hath sometimes beene the price of a mans life. Let him be a Witnesse, who interpreted the signification of the emptie Bottle, found in the Temple of *Iuno Chalcoecos* in *Lacedemonia*, after it was stolne thence: by ouer-lauish pratling, when no man demaunded any question of him, hee lost his life, with his owne consent. He could then haue wisht his wordes in his belly againe, but it was too late, and time past: for a word cannot be recouered againe, when it is out of the mouth, no more then a Bird, when she is let go at libertie: whereupon it was saide: *That Words haue wingges*. Sildome hath an vttered word returned any such seruice, as profit hath ensued by diuers neuer spoken: For wee may alwaies deliuer that wel, which is yet within vs, but neuer call that backe to mending, which is gone from vs.

Read *Plutarc.* in his little Tracte of too much talking. Of him that found the empty Bottle in the Temple of *Iuno Chalcoecos.*

Of *Dpimenides* the Painter of *Rhodes*, that trauailed into *Asia.*

Epimenides, a Painter, parting from *Rhodes*, trauailing into *Asia*, where hee continued many yeares together: but at length returned to *Rhodes* againe, yet no one in the Cittie could heare one word of him, concerning what he had done and seene in *Asia*. Whereat the *Rhodians* making no little maruaile, they entreated him, to acquaint them with some discourse of his long trauailes; whereupon, he gaue this answere. *I was ten yeares on the Seas, to make me apt for parting from place to place: Other tenne yeares I tarryed in Asia, to better my skill in painting: And sixe yeares afterward I studied in Greece, onely to learne how to hold my peace. Your comming to me now, is, that I should vse wordes to ye, and tell ye newes. Come to me no more (kinde Countrey-men) to any such intent: For you mey see Pictures in my House, if you please to buy them, but I haue no newes to feede your eares withall.* In my poor opinion, he answered them like a verie wise man, for, by reporting matters of farre Countries, which are rare and diuers: people (of weake capacity) giue no credit to them; others, make a mockery, and most are doubtful of them.

Epimenides his answere to the men of *Rhodes.*

Reporters of tales & newes are sildome well credited.

Pythagoras being seriously questioned, what was the reason that hee kept so strict silence in his *Academie* (because in the space of two yeares, all Schollers that came to be enstructed there, might not speake one word, being thereto enioyned by his seuere commaund) returned this answere. *In the Schooles of other Philosophers, they teach their Schollers to speake; but mine learne onely how to bee silent.* And vndoubtedly, concerning the life of man, there is no higher or fairer Philosophy, that this World can affoord; then how to restraine the tongue, when it is most needfull.

CHAP. XIX.

What Feasts and Banquets were vsed in ancient times; And how Augustus prohibited in Rome, that any Man should inuite another to eate in his house.

AMong the *Spartanes*, there were certaine Banquets vsed, which they commonly tearmed **Phiditia*, and therein they fed on Bread and Swines Flesh sodden in Water, without any thing else for their first seruice. For their last course, which those Auncients called, the second Table: they were serued with Oliues, Cheese, and Figges. And to close vp the feast, they had certaine baked cakes, made of fine Flower and Oyle, cut vpon Bay-leaues: without any Perfumes at their Tables, curious backt meates, or

**Common Suppers among the Lacedemonians kept in the open streetes.*

Athenæus in Lib. 4. Cap. 5. Feasts in *Creet* free for all commers.

or choise sauces of sundry tastes, thinges in those dayes neuer heard or thought on, their Feasts & Banquets being much more modest then ours now are. In those elder dayes, thorough al the citties in *Creete*, on certaine dayes of the yeare; they were wont to make Banquets, common for who-soeur pleased to come to them. For maintenance whereof; euery Citizen gaue the tenth part of all his fruites, which were gathered duely at the Cities entrance, by some of the society thereto deputed. The care and charge of the whole Banquet: was referred to a worthy Lady, who had (vnder her) three or foure weomen of more inferiour degree, beside two seruants, that fed the Fire with wood. In the house appointed for the Feast, first of all were prepared two Tables for the Cittizens, and two other, onely for strangers. The assistants were all serued with equall allowance: but younger people had lesse flesh meates affoorded them, then the elder. At each Table there was appointed a Vessell full of Wine, well qualified with water, whereof they dranke in common, and after they had indifferently eaten, they had other wine brought them, of better qualitie then the first: whereof the grauer sort dranke so much as they pleased, but the younger: in more moderate manner.

The manner and preparation of the Feasts.

The chiefe Lady and disposer of the Banquet.

The Noble Lady, who helde the supreame authority of the Feast, accompanied with some other Ladyes; brought the most delicious meates to them, that in times of warre or peace, had done any famous and remarkeable deede, as being those that best deserued honour. When this Dinner, or Supper (as it fell out to be) was ended, they would sit still, consulting first together on publique affaires and afterward on matters appertaining to the warres, with repetition of their names and seruices, that had best deserued of the Common-wealth; profited their Country; beene beneficiall to the Temples, and houshold Gods of euery Familie; and were dread-lesse of death in all good actions. These wanted not their due praise and commendation, to the end, that yong men hearing the memory of such vertuous persons, might adict them-selues to the like endeauours, and (finally) be pertakers of their glory. This beeing done, they arose from the Tables, and departed thence about their occasions.

Their Table talke, after Dinner or Supper.

A notable encouragement for youth-full spirits.

Marriage Feasts among the *Lacedæmonians.*

The *Lacedemonians*, at their marriage Feasts, would permit no more but nine persons to dine together, which they did as in reuerence to the nine Muses. And this was conditioned also, that if any man talked at the Table, no wine should bee giuen him to drinke; so that if a man desired to drinke, hee must be sure to holde his peace. This law would serue to good purpose in these dayes, because both in our marriage Feasts and other Banquets, nothing is more vsually heard then noise, rumour and babling, and they are best esteemed, that can maintaine the longest pratling. The * *Nancratites* in the hallowed Feasts, which they celebrated in honour of their Father *Dionysius*, or *Bacchus*, in the *Pritaneum*, were all clothed in white Albes, then called *Pritanean* Gownes, and when they had heard the voice of the publique Cryer; they would al fal down on their knees to the ground, and hauing saide certaine priuate prayers, seate themselues at the Table, euery one receiuing two measures of wine; the Priests of *Apollo Pitheus*, and of *Bacchus* only excepted, who were allowed a double portion, as well of wine, as of all other thinges beside. Afterward the vse was, that euery one should haue a fayre large slice of very pure bread giuen him, and thereon a piece of courser Bread, with a morsell of Swines Flesh on it, beside a Cake of Barly Bread fryed, or else so much Meale fryed, or a messe of Pottage made of Hearbes, according to the season of the yeare, two Egges, a cantle of Cheese, dryed Figs, and a Cake crowned with a Garland. If any one (in these sacrifices) prouided any other meats then those aboue rehearsed, he was to be ammerced with a pecuniarie fine.

* *Nancratis*, a Citty in Egypt.

The allowance of the Priestes.

The Dole giuen at the Feast, and no preparation else, was to be allowed.

Arist in Lib. 9. Cap. 16. The first inuenter of Feasts and Banquets.

The vse of making Feastes and Banquets (as *Aristotle* writeth) was inuented by *Italus*, a very auncient King of *Italy*, who kept company with grosse and boorish people, feeding among them, obliging them (by that meanes) to yeeld him the more obeysance, and he drawing thē also thereby to a more humaine, ciuill and pleasing kinde of life. *Suetonius Tranquillus* declareth, that the Emperor *Octauius Augustus* prohibited in Rome, that any of his subiects should inuite one another, to dine or suppe with him: but

Sueton. Tranq. in vit. Imp. Octa. August.

yet

yet they might so much honor one another, as to send part of his Viands to the others Table, but not to pertake in eating thereof. But being demaunded, what was his reason for making this Law, he answered. *The occasion that moued me to forbid Playes and Feastings, was for nothing else: but because in those pleies, Men cannot abstaine from blaspheming the Gods, and (at Feastes) one Neighbour defameth or backbiteth another.* *Cicero* writeth, that *Cato* the *Censor*, being at the point of death, deliuered these wordes. *Among other thinges done by me, not as became a good Romaine Cittizen, but rather like a presumptuous and barbarous Man; was this: I being once entreated by a friend of mine, that I would come and dine with him: suffered my selfe to be ouer-ruled, and went vnto him, which I ought not to haue done. For to speake vprightly, no generous and vertuous man, should goe to eate in the House of any Friend, or other: because, hee thereby looseth his owne liberty, and hazzardeth his reputation and grauity in extraordinary perill.* A certaine man demaunded of *Æschines* the Oratour, what hee should doe, to be esteemed a good and honest man? To whom he thus answered. *If thou wouldst bee a perfect honest Grecian, thou must go to the Temples willingly, and to warre vpon necessity: but to Feasts or Banquets, neither on thine owne free will, or any importunitie*; An answer well deseruing eternall memory.

The Emperors answere for prohibiting bankets and Playes.

Cicero in lib. 4. de Offic.

The words of *Cato Censorius*, concerning one Friend inuiting another.

The answere of *Eschines* the Oratour.

Pericles, a man of great account among the *Athenians*, did so highly detest the custome of Feasts and Bankets, and the prouision appointed for them: as hee did neuer dine or sup with any Friend of his, but onely *Eurytolemus*, on the day of his Nuptials. And yet he was a man of great honor, very liberall, and maintained many people with his goods. Nor doe I (for all this) wholelie condemne Feasts and Banquets: prouided, that mediocrity bee obserued in them. For I hold it very vicious and vnseemely, to shun honest conuersation, and ciuill resort to feede together: as is obserued in Societies and Companies, as well Religious, as others, in their Refectories or dining Haules, as we vse to tearme them. For, not onely Nature, but amity also necessarily requireth; that we should support this Custome of Banquets, which the *Latines* (our betters) vsed to tearme *Conuictum*, of *Conuuendo*, as a familiar kinde of life, when men louingly feede together at one Table. Neuertheless, I much mislike, and iudge it worthy of great reprehension; to super-exceede both in pompe and superfluitie in our Feastes, with such diuersity of meates, as (many times) prooues to a mans vndoing. For nothing makes vs so much like vnto brute beasts; as gluttonous gurmandise, and study wholy applyed for the belly.

Of *Pericles* the honourable *Athenian.*

The Authors generall conclusion on this Argument.

Conuictum à Conuiuendo.

CHAP. XX.

¶ *Of many Men, that by their Prodigalitie and lauish kinde of life, made expence of all their faculties in very short time.*

THe most Prodigall Man of Auncient times, was *Epicharides* the *Athenian*, sirnamed the Little Man; who in sixe daies, consumed all his wealthy Patrimony. *Paschisyrus* king of *Creete*, after he had spent all that hee had, and could make beside: at length sold his Kingdome, and liued afterward priuately, in the Citty of * *Amathunta*, where he dyed miserably. *Æthiops*, the *Corinthian*, sold to *Archias*, all his lands and inheritance, both what hee had in present possession, and was to enioy by his Birth-right: onely to maintaine his excessiue drinking. *Cleops*, King of Ægypt, hauing laide out vnspeakable expences, for the building of a mightie huge *Pyramides*, was brought to such extreame necessity; that for his owne meere maintenance, he was enforced to expose his Daughters virginity to publike sale, to make Money of her lasciuious and dishoneſt pleasures. *Marcus Tigellus* was so prodigall in expences, that all his Flatterers, Picke-thankes, Players, Pypers, and loose Companions, who derriued exceeding benefit daily from him: bemoand his death, & wept bitterly for him. Of him, *Horace* maketh mention, saying.

Epicharides the *Athenian.*

* A Citty of *Cyprus* dedicated to *Venus.*

Cleops, King of Egypt, that made sale of his daughters virginity.

Societies

Horace in Satir 2. Lib.2.et in Satyr.3.Lib.2.

Societies of Flatterers infinite,
That follow furniſht Tables day and night:
Sellers of Vnguents, ſweets: And Mountebancks,
Laſciuious Women, vſing wanton Pranks.
All theſe Horſe-leaches rufully complaine
Tigellius death, whoſe life was all their gaine.

Elianus in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.

The prodigality and voluptuous life of *Pericles*; of *Callias*, the Sonne of *Hipponicus*; and of *Nicias*, brought them to extreame pouerty, and when Money failed them: they all three, (each after other) receiued Hemlock for their drink at their laſt banquet, and ſo ended their daies. Of *Callias*, *Atheneus* maketh mention, and *Ariſtophanes*, in his Comedie of Preachers, and *Lyſias* writeth, that his Father *Hipponicus* was the very richeſt man in all *Greece*. *Demades* the Oratour, had gathered ſuch a maſſe of Riches, as himſelfe confeſſed, that hee felt not the want of any thing: neuertheleſſe, in the end (thorow his intemperance and diſſolution) he ſo waſted and conſumed al his wealth, that he was baniſhed from the Citty, becauſe he had beene ſeauen times accuſed, for not payment of ſuch fines, wherein the men of *Athens* had condemned him. And *Antipater* the Poet of *Sidon* mocking him, ſaid: *He had nothing but his toong and belly left him, for he had waſted and offered vp all to his owne ſenſuality, &c.* * *Cteſippus*, Son to *Chabrias*, was ſo Prodigal, that after he had lauiſhly conſumed all his goods: he ſold the very ſtones of his Fathers Tomb, in the building whereof, the *Athenians* diſburſſed a thouſand *Drachmaes*, *Cornelius Lentulus*, ſir-named *Sura*, a man of Noble race, but of very bad gouernment, ſpent ouer-vainely, and fooliſhly (beſide his owne poſſeſſions) a great ſum of Mony belonging to the Common-wealth, when he was *Quæſtor*.

Atheneus. in Lib.4.Cap 12. Ariſtophanes in Com.Predic. Lyſias.

Volat.Anthrop. Lib. 15.

* Who after his Fathers death was brought vp by *Phocion*.

G. Cæſar * *Caligula* ſurpaſſed all Prodigals, in inuentions of profuſe expence and diſſolutions. He inuented a new kind of Bath, and diuers ſortes (neuer before ſeene) of Viands and Banquetings: for hee would bathe himſelfe in curious ſweet waters, and cauſe Pearles of ineſtimable value to be diſſolued with Vineger, and ſet before them that hee feaſted, hauing his Breads and Meates all guilded ouer. Moreouer, he commaunded light Gallies or Foiſts to bee made (which were called *Liburnian* Foiſts) of Cedar wood, hauing all their poopes couered ouer with precious ſtones. He had large and goodly ſtoues or Hot-houſes, with rare perfumed chambers in them, where he would ſit and banquet in the night ſeaſon: but in the day time, hee had variety of coſtlie Arbors, Bowers, and Vines, abounding in the plenty of their fruits, wherein he would ſit with his Conſorts of Muſitions, ſweetly ſinging among them. And when he pleaſed to take the open ayre, it was on the Sea-ſhoare of *Campania*, which was reputed (though beeing in *Italy*) to be the moſt pleaſant and fertile ground in the whole World. As for his buildings and Houſes of pleaſure, abroad in the ſpacious fields, in groues, Woods, and other delightfull places: they exceeded all compaſſe of reaſon, for hee coueted nothing more, then to effect ſuch things as appeared to be impoſſible. In briefe, in leſſe ſpace then a yeare, he conſumed immenſe riches, with the twenty ſeauen thouſand times * *H. S.* being an hundred thouſand ſmal *Seſtertiaes*, which *Tiberius* had left him, amounting to threeſcore and ſeauen Millions; and fifty thouſand Crownes, allowing fortie ſixe *Sols* to the crowne. But when Money began to fayle him, and he waxed needy: he then gaue his mind to leuying of toules, and exceſſiue tributes; yea, hee exerciſed rapines by diuers meanes, beſide calumnies and confiſcations of his ſubiects goods.

Caligula ob. ſerued no meaſure in his expences and prodigality.

* A Coine among the Romaines, whereof *Denarius* containen foure, and was marked with H.S. which ſignified 2.*lib.et dim.&c.*

* So called of harneſſe bootes, called *Caligæ*, which he was wont to weare being a Child. *Dion in vit.G. Cæſar.Calig.*

The Emperour *Nero*, his Nephew, was not a iot inferiour to him in Prodigality, for hee obſerued no order or meaſure in ſpending and giuing: accounting them to be wretches and anaritious villaines, that kept any written Regiſter of their expences. But contrariwiſe, he eſteemed them to be honorable and magnanimious, that could ſooneſt runne thorough their whole eſtate in ſpending. He gaue to *Tyridates* (as a daily allowance) eight hundred thouſand *Nummaes*, valuing twenty thouſand Crownes of our Coyne, a matter almoſt incredible. He made a preſent of two goodly Pallaces; the one to *Menecrates*, a Player on the Harpe; and the other to *Spectillus*, the *Mirmyllon* Fencer or Sword-Player. He would neuer ride abroad, or on any iourney, without a thouſand Chariots at the leaſt. His Mules were ſhodde with

Sucton.in Lib. 6. Cap. 50. The prodigality of the Emperour *Nero*, 4

Exceſſiue pompe and prodigalitie, not to any purpoſe.

Siluer, and all his Mulets Saddles and furnitures, were of Cloth of * *Canusium*, a Towne in *Apulia*. Moreouer, he neuer would weare any Garment twice.

* Famous for fine wool of crimson coulor.

Iosephus, in his Hiſtory of the Iewes warres, maketh mention of the prodigalitie of the Emperor *Vitellius*; who helde the Empire no longer then eight months and fiue dayes. *If his life had beene of any longer continuance* (ſaith *Iosephus*) *I beleeue, that the whole Empire could not haue ſuffiſed his exceſſe and prodigallity*. This *Vitellius* was ſo diſſolute and prodigall, that he would haue foure ſeueral meales each day allowed him; which he thus deuided, into Breake-faſt, Dinner, Supper, and Collation. At ſuch time as hee came to *Rome*, his Brother made him a Supper, whereat hee was ſerued with two thouſand daintie and rare Fiſhes, and ſeauen thouſand as delicate Fowles and Birdes. Which pompe he exceeded in another Feaſt, of more exceſſiue and ſumptuous coſt; which he made at the dedication of the ground plot, that (for the admirable greatneſſe thereof) hee called the *Shield of Minerua*.

Iosephus in Lib. de bel. Iudaic. 5. Cap. 13.

The Emperour *Vitellius* and his foure meales daily.

A Prodigall (ſaith *Vpian*, in the firſt law *ff. de cura. furio*) *is he that hath no time or end of his ſpending: but ſcattereth and conſumeth his goods beyond ſence or reaſon, and is tearmed in Greeke* ἀσώτος, *becauſe that hee looſeth himſelfe, and waſteth his patrimony*. Our graue and worthy fore-fathers, did eſtabliſh Lawes againſt ſpend-thriftes and prodigalles. *Solon*, the famous Grecian, ordayned, that they ſhould be made infamous. The *Areopagites* and criminall Iudges of *Athens*, appealed prodigal perſons in iudgment, and being proued and conuinced for ſuch offendours, were puniſhed accordingly.

A Prodigall defined by *Vlpian* the Lawyer.

Lawes in ancient times ordayned againſt prodigall perſons.

The Auncients, called the ten men, prohibited by their lawes, that prodigals ſhould haue the gouernment of their owne goods, but all ſuch authoritie was taken from them: and a Guardian or Ouer-ſeer was appointed thē by the Iudge, as is to be ſeene in the law *Iulianus. ff. de cura. furio*. Therefore they could not ſell or alienate (by any valuable meanes) their Lands or goods, neither make any tranſport of them: moreouer, they were diſabled by the Law, of making any wils or Teſtaments, as appeareth plainly in the Law. *Is cui bonis. F. de verb. obliga.*

Such a law would now doe well, to curbe the Prodigals of theſe times.

Whereupon, they were compared by the Iuriſconſultes, to madde men; *Scilicet, quod furioſum exitum pariat prodigalitas*.

And as for the paine and puniſhment due to waſt-full ſpend-thrifts, the Grecians had a law, whereby it was eſpecially ordained, that whoſoeuer conſumed his patrimony lauiſhly; he might not be permitted Buriall in the Graue of his Father, but abroade, among ſuch as were ſtrangers and vnknowne. The Law of the twelue Tables, interdicted all prodigall perſons, from any adminiſtration of their owne goods; and in the end, all the Lenders (by commaund of the Iudges) might let them haue no more monies, on pawnes or otherwiſe: but Suruayers or Comptroullers were ſet ouer them, according to the example and order for mad men or Lunaticks, and all mannaging of their owne affayres, was alſo prohibited them in this forme or manner. *Quando bonatua paterna auitaque nequitia diſperdis, liberoſque tuos ad egeſtatem perducis; ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico*. In this very manner, *Q. Pompeius, Pretor*, perceiuing that *Q. Fabius*, (Sonne to *Q. Fabius* the Great, ſirnamed *Allobrogicus*, becauſe he conquered the * *Allobroges*, and *Bituitus*, Captaine and Duke, or King (as ſome write) of the * *Aluernes*) was extraordinarily diſſolute and prodigall in his expences: depriued him of his Fathers Lands and goods. For euery one pittied, and much lamented, to ſee ſo much Gold and Siluer waſted in lewdneſſe and luxurie; which rather ſhould haue ſupported the ſplendour and Nobilitie, of ſo glorious a race and Family, as were the *Fabij*.

Alexan. de Alexandrin. in Die. Genial. Lib. 6. Cap. 14.

The law of the twelue Tables againſt all prodigall ſpenders.

Valerius Maximus in Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

* People of Sauoy and Daulphiny.
* People of France.

Dion writeth, that the Emperor *Tiberius* did ſet a Tutour, ouer a certaine Senatour, who was void of all good gouernement; to order him, as if he had beene his pupill. *Iouianus Pontanus*, in his Booke of Bounty or Liberallity, maketh a queſtion, to wit: which of the two, either the prodigall perſon, or the auaritious, is worſt and moſt pernitious? Whereunto, himſelfe maketh anſwere thus. *This doubt* (ſaith he) *is very eaſily diſcided. For firſt of all, the Prodigall perſon is benificiall and profitable to many, on whom he beſtoweth his goodes bountifully: whereas the couetous Miſer is not commodious to him-ſelfe, but maketh*

Dion in Lib. 57

Iouian Pōtanus in Lib. de Liberalit.

vſe

The Niggard is not good to himselfe, or any other.

vse of his goodes, as if he had them not, at least-wise very sparingly. He will not eate halfe so much, as is needfull for the meere maintenance of his owne life: which makes him looke with a wanne, pale, and meager complection. In the second place, the Prodigall giueth liberally, and guiftes passe from him with a free, generous, and good heart: especially, when he exceedeth not the bounds of reason, and his gifts are giuen to some honest and commendable purpose. But the couetous mans gifts are quite contrary, with a griple and pinching heart, and a villaines disposition. Moreouer, as the greedy wretch encreaseth his store day by day; euen so doth the Prodigall change his naturall inclination and manner of life, as well by course of time, as age drawing on him: which at length letteth him know, that he must needs become poore, and fall into want. Whereby many times it comes to passe, that his manners grow to better reformation then before, and yeares diminishing his lauishnesse; by little and little he recouereth health and strength againe. Whereas (on the contrary) Auarice is an euerlasting and incurable disease. By which reasons it appeareth, that couetous and auaritious Misers, are of a more vile, base, and abiect condition; then those that be prodigall.

The nature of the couetous mans giftes.

Couetous wretches of more base quality then Prodigals.

CHAP. XXI.

The Magnificent Triumphe of Antigonus Epiphanes, made in despight of the Consull Paulus Æmylius his Triumphe, for his victory obtained against the Macedonians.

Polybius in the 26. Booke of his Histories, calleth him *Epimanes*, that is to say, mad, or vnreasonable.

ANtigonus, King of *Syria*, sir-named *Epiphanes*, that is to say, Famous or illustrious, hauing heard recitall deliuered of the magnificent Triumphe, made by the Consull *Paulus Æmylius*, for the victory which he won against the *Macedonians*, when *Perseus* their King was taken Prisoner: he conceiued such enuy and disdaine thereat, that in meere vanity and arrogancy, hee resolued to make another Triumphe, that should farre excell and goe beyond the Consuls. Vpon this occasion, hee made it publique he knowne throughout his Kingdome, that on such a day, as he purposely appointed; he would be in person at *Daphneia*, a Citty of *Asia*, where wonderfull sports and delights were to be performed. Which caused, that not onely the people of Greece, but infinite numbers also (from other Regions) repayred thither; and the order of the royall intended spectacle began in this manner.

The order & proceeding in this purposed royal triumph

First of all, as the formost leaders to the famous troups following, marched fiue thousand young men, supposed to bee the very Gallantest Spirits in all Greece, they being armed according to the Romaine manner. After them followed as many of *Mysia*, armed as the Custome of their owne Countrey required: beeing pursued by three thousand *Thracians*, and fiue thousand *Galatians*, and they were seconded with many other, who, because they carried certaine Bucklers or Targets of Siluer, were sir-named * *Argyraspides*. Next vnto these, marched twenty fiue rankes of *Gladiatores*, Sworders, or Fencers, and subsequently a thousand knights, whose Horses were all barbed and caparasoned with Gold and Siluer, and each of them a Garland of Gold on his head. After them followed another thousand Knights, who were tearmed Fellowes, or Companions, and with them another company, that were called Friends to the King: who likewise had a thousand Noblemen following them, and a thousand other braue Knights, called the Kings Band. In the next place, marched fifteene hundred Knights, armed all guilt with Armor, ouer which Armor, each man did weare a military Roab or Mantle, embroydered all with Gold & Siluer, and enriched with many costlie Figures of Beastes. Then followed an hundred Chariots, each one drawne by sixe Horses, and forty other Chariots, each drawne by foure Horses.

* Some doe hold these Warriours to be of the Isle *Taprobane*.

Fellows, companions, and Friends to the King.

One wonderfull sumptuous Chariot, drawn by ten Elephants, followed next, being pursued by sixe and thirty other Elephants; beside eight hundred gallant Youths, wearing Garlands or Crowns of Golde on their heads, embellished with many precious stones, and then followed a thousand fat Oxen, and 800.

The spare Chariot that was to serue the King whē he pleased.

teeth of *Indian* Elephants, carryed by Men, purposely thereto appointed. After these, were borne aloft, an infinite number of Statues and Images, not onely of Gods, but of Dæmons likewise, and of many men, that had beene most excellent in any profession whatsoeuer, which Images were attired in rich Garments of Gold and Siluer, beside other costly deckings of vnualuable Stones and Iewels. And at each Statues feete, hung a little Tablet of Gold, wherein was engrauen the Name, Titles, and honourable actions, that had beene performed by the party whom the figure expressed, and for whose sake it was thus dignified. Other Images were carried also; as of Day, Night, Heauen, Morning and Noone, beside an infinite number of Vessels of Gold and Siluer, reputed to be of inestimable worth, al which were carried by Slaues and Bond-men.

Memory continued of worthy deeds, to example others in the like.

Then followed sixe hundred Pages, attending on the King, all cloathed in Gold; next to whom, came two hundred Ladies, each bearing a golden Bottle in her hand, casting perfumes and sweet waters euery way about her: On them attended fifty Litters of Siluer, and as many more of Gold, wherein sate fourescore other Ladies, attyred in most sumptuous manner, exceeding al possibility of expression. This Triumph continued thirty daies, during which time, *Antigonus* caused diuers kindes of Playes and sports to be exercised, and al this while, it was lawfull for any, that were so minded or pleased, to enter into the publique * *Gymnasium*, and there to annoint himselfe with fifteene sortes of vnguents; as of Saffron, Spicknard, Cinamon, *Telin*, *Amazacin*, Lillies, &c. Beside, in sundry places, were prepared aboue a thousand and fiue hundred Tables, couered most royally, with all possible diuersity of precious dainties and delicates, where euery man might freely feede, without any exception.

The Kings Pages & chief Ladies to beautifie the show.

* A place for all kindes of exercises, either of minde or bodie.

CHAP. XXII.

That Gold and Siluer were not in any frequent vse, among our reuerent Aunce-stours: And at what time they began to be imployed more largely. Also, what deuises were found out by Timotheus *the* Athenian, *and* Condalus, *Captaine to* Mausolus, *for the gaining of Mony.*

THE vse of those Mettals, called Golde and Siluer, which wer found in *Thrace*, neere to the Riuer * *Pangæus*; was very rare and strange among our fore-fathers. For the *Lacedemonians*, beeing desirous to guilde the Image or Statue of *Apollo* * *Amycleus*: made diligent search thorow all *Greece*, and yet could not finde any Gold: And therefore they were constrained, to send and buy some of *Croesus*, King of *Lydia*. *Hiero*, the Tyrant of *Syracusa*, hauing likewise vowed to dedicate a Table of Gold, to *Apollo Delphicus*, caused search to be made throughout *Greece* and *Italie*, without finding any: nor euer had done, but of * *Architeles* the *Corinthian*, who (by little and little) in a long space had got it together. The people of * *Phocus*, hauing afterward sacked the Temple of *Delphos*, and *Alexander* carrying thence the prey or booty into *Asia*: the vse of Gold began so fast to encrease, that diuers Vessells were made thereof, euen from such as they washed their handes in, to them that they vsed in the Kitchin. The first stamp that euer was beaten vppon Gold Coine, was at Rome, in the Temple of *Scipio* the *Affricane*.

* A Promontory of *Thrace*, whereof the Riuer receiued name.

* A Citty of *Laconia*, wher *Castor* and *Pollux* were borne.

* He is called (by some) *Archimedes*.

* A little cõutry of *Greece*, by the Gulfe, *Crissæus*.

The first stamping.

The *Athenians* making long warres against the people of * *Olynthus*; Mony beganne to faile very greatly in the Armie; which the Souldiours perceiuing, and with what difficultie it was to bee expected from *Athens*: they entered into a mutinie or tumult, for appeasing whereof, *Timotheus*, there Captaine, bethought himselfe of a new and sudden deuised meanes. Hauing first couenanted and agreed with such Merchants,

* A Citty of *Thrace*, neere to the Country of *Athens*.

The deuise of *Timotheus* to pay his Souldiours.

chants, as were (in this case) to fit and furnish him, vppon this faithfull promise, of exchange and repaiment when time better serued: he caused Mony of Copper to be made, wherewith he paied his Souldiours. And within no long while after, when Mony of Siluer was sent from *Athens*; he not onely satisfied the Marchants & Victualers liberally: but also receiued in all the Copper Coyne againe, and gaue due restitution for it in Siluer.

Aristotle writeth in his Pollitiques, that *Condalus*, Captaine to *Mausolus*, King of *Caria*, being in *Lycia* (a Prouince of the Lesser *Asia*, scituate betweene *Pamphylia* and *Caria*) with an Armie, and want of Mony growing greatlie among them: hee inuented a meanes, though some-what ridiculous, yet well aunswering to his owne expectation. He knew very perfectly, that the people of *Lycia* tooke delight (aboue all thinges else) to weare their lockes of Haire very long: Whereupon, he called diuers of the chiefest persons of that Prouince to him, and saide vnto them, after this manner. That much against his mind, and to his no little greefe, he was constrained to acquaint them with a Commission, which hee had (that instant) receiued from his King, and which hee likewise knew, could not chuse but be greatly offensiue to them. For King *Mausolus* (qouth hee) commaundeth, that all the *Lycians* must be presently shauen, and all their goodlie long Lockes be powled from their Heades, to be sent vnto him into *Caria*: because hee will haue a new and strange kinde of Apparrell made of them, in honour of the King of *Persia*.

Aristot. in Polit. Lib.7. Cap.9.

Condalus his conceite for present supply of mony, by a politique Oratiō made to the *Lycians*.

Pretended pitty is oftentimes the greatest preuayler, in matters of no meane moment.

Condalus continuing on his speech, pretending much compassion towardes them in this case; further added. That if they would follow his councell, he would finde out a meanes, whereby, not onely their faire Haire should bee saued; but the Kinges intent should also be answered, without cutting them off in any such manner. Whereunto the *Lycians* aunswered, that they would gladly follow his direction in all things; prouided, that their Lockes of Haire might be kept from defacing. *Condalus* then aduised them, to prepare Money among them (appointing a round and indifferent summe, which they might gather by the poule, eyther more or lesse, according as their Lockes were in fashion) and then to send that Money into *Greece*, where plenty of such haire he would easily help them to, and afterward send it to King *Mausolus*, and cause it to bee receiued, as if it were their owne. The *Lycians*, with all possible hast that might be vsed, leuyed such a Masse of Mony together; as (without any great dicultie) would haue bought them goodly Perriwigs; yea, if they had beene all of Gold. Which summe of Money they deliuered to *Condalus*, who, feigning as if he sent it into *Greece*; discharged all his Souldiours wants there-with, and yet no way displeased the people.

Folly accounteth nothing deare, so it selfe be satisfied.

CHAP. XXIII.

What a commendable thing it is, euermore to speake the truth; And what a detestable vice lying is, with many examples concerning each Argument.

Epimenides the Philopher was asked by the *Rhodians*, what thing that Vertue was, which Men cald Truth? whereto he aunswered. *Truth is that thing, whereof (more then al other) the Gods doe make profession; and the vertue thereof heateth the Heauens; illuminateth the Earth; maintaineth Iustice; gouerneth the Common-wealth, and cannot endure any wicked thing neer it, but maketh all doubtfull matters to bee cleare and apparant.*

Epimenides his answere, concerning truth

The *Corinthians* also demaunded of *Chilo* the Philosopher, what this Truth was? And he replyed. *It is an assured Gage, which neuer diminisheth it selfe: A Buckler or Shielde, that neuer can bee pierced thorough: A time, vvhich neuer is troubled in it selfe: An Armie, neuer daunted or dismaied: A Flowre, that neuer fadeth*

Chilo his answere of truth to the *Corinthians*.

fadeth or withereth: A Sea, that neuer feareth Fortune: And a Hauen, wherein no Man shall euer suffer perill. The *Lacedemonians* likewise entreated *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher, to resolue them what Truth was, and he made answere. *It is a perpetuall health and welfare; A life without ending; A Sirope that healeth all infirmities; A Sunne alwaies shining; A Moon that neuer suffereth Eclipse; An Hearbe euer growing; A Gate neuer shut against any; And a iourney, wherein no Man can waxe weary.* *Æschines* also said of Truth. *It is a vertue, without which, all strength is feeble and infirme; Iustice bloody; Humility a Traytresse; Patience counterfeit; Chastity vaine; Liberty a Prisoner; and Piety superfluous.* And another Philosopher, beeing demaunded by the Romaines, what he thought Truth to be; gaue them this answere. *Truth is the Center, whercin all thinges doe rest; The Sea-mans Card, whereby all the Marriuers doe gouerne themselues; That Wisedome, which is the guide and directer to all Men; A height, on the top whereof is all fulnesse of repose; And a light, whereby the whole world is illumined.*

Anaxarchus his answer to the *Lacedemonians*

Æschines concerning truth

The opinion of a Romaine Philosopher.

The Emperor *Octauius Augustus* triumphing ouer *Mark Anthonie* and *Cleopatra*.

Spartianus his report of *Pamphilus* the famous Lyer of Rome.

The Emperour *Augustus*, in the Triumphe which he made of *Marke Anthony* and *Cleopatra*; brought with him to Rome a Priest of Ægypt, aged threescore yeares, who in all the daies of his life, had neuer told any lye. In regard whereof, the Senate presently ordained, that he should be made free, and created Great Priest: Also, that a Statue should be erected for him, and placed among those of the most renowmed mē of all the Ancients. *Spartianus* relateth an example much dissemblable from this last, and saith. In the time of the Emperor *Claudius*, there died a Man in *Rome*, named *Pamphylus*, who (as it was most euidently iustified) neuer told any matter of truth in all his life time; but euermore had his chiefe delight in lying, which caused the Emperour to giue commaund, that no Graue should be graunted to his body: but his goods were confiscated, his House ruined, and his Wife and Children banished out of *Rome*, to the end, that no memorie might remain in the Commonwealth, of such a venomous Beast. At the time when these two notable effects hapned, the *Romaines* were Mortall enemies to the *Ægyptians*, whereby may worthilie be obserued, how wonderful the power of truth is: in regard that the *Romaines* would aduance a Statue, in the honour of their enemy, onely because he was a Man of truth, and depriue their Cittie-born son of a Sepulcher, because he was such a notorious Lyer. It is no way to be doubted, but that a true man may freely walke, and practise in all places, without feare of being accused by any person. He may also (in safetie & dreadlesse) reprehend any Lyer, and speake boldly in face of all the world, going alwaies with an erected and dauntlesse countenance. But the Lyer is fled of all Men, like to a noysome pestilence, and so long as hee liueth; yea, after death likewise, he is infamous to all Posterity. His reward and wages, is, that if hee chance to speake truth, no man wil beleeue him: For, by being so knowne a Lyer, truth (in his mouth) standeth alwaies suspected.

An excellent obseruation of the power of Truth.

Difference betweene the true man and Lyer.

CHAP. XXIIII.

What a benefit the Inuention of Letters was vnto man: Who first found out and deuised them. Of the Hebrue Charracters, & what signification they haue of themselues, differing from all other Letters else in any Nation.

IF those men may iustly be said to merit praise & commendation, that were the first deuisers of liberall and mechanical Arts, and they likewise, that found out diuers Doctrines and enstructions, not onely appertaining to the rule and direction of the Soule, but likewise for bodily vse and behauiour: how much more great and especiall honor then is due to him, that was the first Inuenter and deuiser of Letters? Those incomparable Instruments, which haue bin the certaine guards and conseruers, of all other inuentions whatsoeuer: for without them, not any deuise could haue beene preserued, whereto we may adde moreouer, that Letters haue made Men halfe immortall.

Diuersity of merit, according to the nature and qualitie of things.

Such

The power and prerogatiue of Letters, and what hath ensued (by their meanes) from times of Antiquity.

Such hath bin their power and prerogatiue, that matters of a thousand yeares past, are (by them) so familiarly presented vnto vs; as if there had beene no distance or deuision of time. By them are apprehended all kindes of Disciplines. They make knowne to men of this instant age, whatsoeuer our graue fore-goers learned and made vse off, or any famous actions by them performed: And those thinges which these dayes affoord (as deseruing future knowledge) by them, are left as Legacies to vtmost posteritie. They shew and represent vnto the eye, matters once done, euen as if they were in continuall action, and as full of life in the instant, as in the precedent: which neuer could haue beene done, if Letters hadde neuer beene deuised. For neither *Plato*, *Aristotle*, nor a great number of other wise Philosophers, had carried such reputation with vs, as now they doe; but onely by their sacred meanes. For conclusion then, we may very well say; that the onely best and greatest thing (among all humaine inuentions) was that of Letters. Whosoeuer is doubtfull, or maketh any question in this case; let him but reade and consider what is left written to vs, whereby he shall well perceiue: that all those famous memories and antiquities, had beene vtterly lost, and no record remained of them, but onely by Letters.

No memory had remained but by Letters, for else, all precedent accidents had bin vtterly lost.

Seeing then, that they are the cause of so great a happinesse; reason (in meere Iustice) requireth, that we should know, to whom wee are beholding for them. And yet I finde it to bee a matter of no meane difficultie, because opinions are so various and doubtfull in this case. The *Gentiles* doe much disagree heerein with our Christians, and Christians also haue not well concorded together. *Pliny* setteth downe many opinions, and then addeth his owne, which (in my iudgement) commeth much neerer to truth, then the other. First of all he saith, that Letters were found out by the *Assyrians* in *Assyria*: but others doe affirme, that *Mercury* founde them first in Egypt. Some (beside) are of the minde, that the *Pelagians* brought them into *Italy*; or else that they were carried into *Greece* by the *Phœnitians*, with *Cadmus*, who was their Captaine, who had no more of them then, but sixteene in number: but in the warre of *Troy*, *Palamedes* added foure more vnto them. After *Plinies* report of all these, and some opinions beside, he concludeth according to his owne iudgement: *That Letters were eternall*, which is as much to say, that they had beene from the beginning of the world.

Diuersity of opinions about the inuention of Letters.

Pliny. in Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

Cadmus Captaine of the *Phœnitians*, brought Letters into Greece, being then but sixteene in number.

Now, concerning the bringing of Letters into *Greece* by the *Phœnitians*, *Herodotus* and diuers others doe affirme it. The Egiptians also doe make their vaunt, that the inuention of Artes and Letters came first from them. *Diodorus Siculus* is of the minde, that *Mercury* founde them out in Egipt. Howbeit, the same *Diodorus* saith in his 4. Booke, that some are of opinion, that the *Ethiopians* had Letters first of all, and that the Egiptians receiued their first vse of Letters from them. Vpon this Argument, there are diuers other, as well Iewes as Christians, who doe plainly auouch, that *Moyses* was the first finder out of Letters in the world: for he was much more ancient, then any letters or writings among the Gentiles, because the same *Cadmus* (of whom we haue formerly spoken, and that he should bring Letters into *Greece*) liued in the time of *Othoniell*, Duke and Captaine of Israell, and raigned forty seauen years, after that the written lawes were giuen to *Moyses*, as is euidently prooued.

Herodotus, for the *Phœnitians*, bringing Letters into Greece.

Diod. Sic. in li. 4

Moyses said to be the first inuenter of Letters.

Othoniell, Duke and Captaine of Israell.

They that are of this opinion (among whom were *Eupolemus* and *Artabanus*, *Ethnique* Historians) doe maintaine, that the Egiptians learned Letters of *Moyses*, and that they gaue them first to the people of *Phœnitia*, from whence (afterward) *Cadmus* transported them into *Greece*. The fore-named *Artabanus* iustifieth, that the man, named *Mercurius* or *Mercury* (whom al do affirme to haue taught Letters in Egipt:) was *Moyses*, but called *Mercurius* by the Egiptians. *Philo* the Iew, a man of great authority, maketh Letters to be more auncient: for he saith, that they were found out by *Abraham*. But the truth is, that they were inuented by *Adam*, or (at least) by his Sonnes, or Sonnes Sonnes, in the first age of the world, and before the Floud. Then were they conserued to *Noah* and his Successors, euen to the comming of *Abraham*, and so afterward to *Moyses*: And this is the iudgement and opinion of S. *Augustine*. More-ouer, this is yet further verified, by the authoritie of *Iosephus*,

The Egiptians learned Letters of *Moyses*.

Moyses called *Mercurius* by the Egiptians

Adam or his Children the first inuenters of Letters.

August. in Lib. 18. de Ciuit. Dei.

Ioseph. in Lib. 1. de Antiquit.

sephus, in saying; *That the Nephewes of Adam, the Sonnes of* Seth, *made two Collombes, the one of Stone, and the other of Earth, whereon they wrote and insculpted all the Artes.* He also affirmeth, that himselfe had seene one of those Pillers in *Syria*.

We finde also, that Saint *Iude* the Apostle, alleadged in one of his Epistles, the Booke of *Enoch*, which was before the Flood. So then, it is not to be doubted, but that *Adam* and his Sonnes (who were all so wise, and had intelligence in so many thinges) were the onely first Inuenter of Letters. And that *Noah* also, who was both lettered and learned, preserued them with him in the Arke. Howbeit, that afterward, in the confusion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babell*: it might come to passe, that the greater part of the World lost the knowledge of those Letters, which remained onely in the Family of *Heber*, of whom (afterward) the Hebrues descended, who, as we haue alreadie said, lost not their first Language. Saint *Augustine* auoucheth as much, in his book before alleadged; the like doth *Eusebius* also, in his first Booke of the Euangelicall preparation, and the greater part of the learnedst men of our times.

Preseruation of Letters frō *Adam* and his Sonnes to *Noah*.

The stock of *Heber* lost not their first language.

Eusebius in lib. 1. de Præparat. Euan.

Wherefore *Philo*, and such beside him, as supposed, that *Moyses* was the Inuenter of Letters; were greatly deceiued in their owne imaginations: because it is a matter most notorious, that the Bookes and Histories written by *Moyses*, were not the first before all other, nor before the Philosophy and Wisedome of the Greekes, as Saint *Augustine* prooueth sufficiently in the saide Booke; and *Iosephus* also, against *Appion* the famous *Grammarian* of Ægypt: and likewise *Eusebius* and *Iustine Martire*. He and they should haue concluded then, that Letters were before the time of *Moyses*; because we finde it written, that *Moyses* learned in Ægypt, all the Arts and Sciences of the Ægyptians, which he could not haue doone, except there had beene Letters before. And yet we know moreouer, that there were Hierogliphicall Figures, whereby (as we formerly prooued in the first Booke) they had vnderstanding of one anothers mind.

Philo the Iew and diuers others deceiued in their opinion.

Ioseph. cont. Appion. Gram.

Moyses learnd the Arts of the Egiptians

We will therefore set downe our resolue, that Letters were from the dayes of *Adam*, and afterward, that *Abraham* had knowledge of them in *Syria*: and thence it ensued, that *Plinie* varried in so many opinions before related. It shall be needlesse therefore, to make any further curious search, as touching the Originall and causes of Charracters and Letters: because they may be made according to any mans mind or will; euen as now-adaies wee see, that Ciphers, Figures, or what else, are formed, after the fancy of the Wrtter or Deuiser, and sometimes signes or shapes in stead of Letters.

The Authors conclusion concerning Letters.

Originall and causes of charracters and Letters.

So saith Saint *Hierome*, in his Prologue before the Booke of the Lawes, and that when *Esdras*, the great Scribe and Doctour of the Law, re-writ and restored them againe: hee found new Charracters or formes of Letters, whereof the Iewes did make, vse to the time of Saint *Hierome*, euen as yet they doe to these dayes of ours. And those *Hebrue* Letters or Charracters, haue a secret propriety, not incident to the Letters of any other Nation: for the voyce, sound, or name of each one of them, yeildeth a signification of some thing else beside.

Hierom. in Præfat. Lib. de Leg.

Hebrew Letters haue a priuate propriety to themselues in signification.

The first Letter, which is tearmed *Aleph*, doth signify Discipline. The second, named *Beth*, signifyeth a House. *Gymell*, which is another Letter, relateth replenishing, or aboundance. And *Daleth*, Tables or Bookes. All the rest of the Letters, doe interpret some one thing or other, which I forbeare to speake of, to auoyd prolixitie. Such as are more curious Inquisitours into these occasions: let them read *Eusebius*, in his first Booke, *De Preparatione Euangelica.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

How our Auncients wrote, and whereon, before the inuention of Paper, and with what Instrument. How Paper and Parchment were first found out, and by whom.

WE haue spoken briefely in the precedent Chapter, concerning the inuention of Letters: it now remaineth, that we should say somewhat, of the matter whereon our fore-fathers vsed to write. Now, albeit wee cannot exactly set downe, what it was that our first Fathers (in the first Age, and before the Flood) did write vpon, as being a case very doubtfull; to wit, whether then they had the vse of Letters, although we haue made proofe thereof by the authority of *Iosephus*, assisted by some other reasons beside: yet it euidently appears (according to the generall iudgement of Writers) that such as wrote in those elder times, had not, neither knew what Paper was; but onely did write on Leaues of the Palme or Date Tree, from whence followed the common word (yet vsed) the Leaues or Leafes of Bookes. Afterward they wrote vpon other Leaues of Trees, but principally such as came easiest from each Tree: as the Birche, the Platane; the Ash, and the Elme. From these Trees they tooke the inner-most Rinde, which groweth betweene the Wood and the thicke blacke Barke, and these soft skinnes being subtillie smoothed and plained: of them they formed the Leaues of their Bookes, ioyning them arteficially one within another, that they might the more firmely hold together. And because (in those reuerend daies) the Latines tearmed those inner-most Rindes of Trees, by the Name of *Libri*: it thence ensued, that they gaue the Title of *Liber* to one of their Bookes, though afterward they refused all further vse of those meanes.

Within some while after, they found out another helpe for Writing, which was vpon Plates of Lead, ingeniouslie made thin and plyant: whereof, some Men (that were more curious and speculatiue) made likewise Collombes or Pillers, as well as Bookes, whereon they registred all publique actions. Those Ancient Fathers, found out yet another manner of Writing, which was on Linnen Cloath, smoothed and pollished with a certain kind of colour. But heere we are to obserue, that they vsed not then to write with Pennes; but with a little Cane or Reede, which yet is called by vs (as then) in Latine *Calamus*, and wherewith some doe still vse to write.

Afterward, another kinde of Paper was deuised to write vpon, which they made of diuers little Shrubs of Trees, cald by them *Papers*: by reason of another addition thereto, to wit; of a certaine kind of Rushes, growing ordinarily in the Moores and Marishes of *Nylus*, and the name of this Rush in *Latine*, is called* *Papyrus*. *Pliny* saith, that there is yet growing in *Syria*, neere to the Riuer *Euphrates*, certaine Papers or Rushes, that haue sundry little Leaues, Rindes, or Skinnes, growing naturally betweene the Pith and Barke: which beeing cunningly drawne out with the point of a needle, and intermedled with a kinde of Glue, made of Meale (verie finely searced or boulted) and tempered with boyling Water and Vineger; Paper is made thereof, apt and very good to write vpon. But that skinne which is neereſt to the Pith, maketh the best and smoothest Paper: whereby we may gather, that according to the sorts and differences; so are the Papers diuersly named. And in regard that this Reede, Rush, or little Shrub, was named *Papyrus*; the Name of Paper hath so continued, and was likewise imposed on those kinds of Paper, which were (since then) made of Shreds, rags, and smallest peeces of Linnen Cloath, past all kind of seruice, and fit for no other vse.

Marcus Varro saith, that the first Inuention of making Leaues of Paper, either of Shrubs, Rushes, or otherwise: was found out in the time of *Alexander* the Great, and at such time also, as the Cittie of *Alexandria* was first founded. Notwithstanding, *Pliny* prooueth it much

Doubt of that whereon our first Fathers wrote before the flood.

First writing was on Palme Tree Leaues.

The first manner of writing Bookes.

Liber, the inward peele or rinde of a Tree.

Plates of lead made apt to write vpon.

Linnen cloth pollished with a colour, to write on.

No Pens written with; but Reeds.

**Papyrus* is a great Rush in Egypt, growing in Fennes or Moorish groundes: whereof (in elder times) they made leaues to write on, & whereof the first paper was made and now it is vsed for printing Paper. *Plin. in lib. 13. Cap. 11. 12.*

Mar. Varro. in Lib. 7.

much more auncient, by thoſe Bookes which *Cneus Terentius* found, by digging in one of his Inheritances, which Books had formerly belonged to *Numa Pompilius*, King of Rome, and had beene hidden in a Temple, where himſelfe was buried, and the leaues of thoſe Bookes were made of the ſaid Ruſhes or ſhrubbes. It is held for a certainty, that *Numa* liued long time before *Alexander*. And yet *Titus Liuius* reporteth otherwiſe of this Tombe, affirming, that two ſuch Tombs were found by *L. Patilius*. *Lactantius* and *Plutarch* doe heerein agree with *Titus Liuius*: and yet notwithſtanding, the intention of *Pliny* is moſt approued.

Plin. in Lib. 13. Cap. 11.

Numa Pompilius his Tomb and Bookes.

Tit. Liuius. dec. 4. Cap. 9.

Plin. in Lib. 13. Cap. 9.

Now concerning the word *Carta*, or *Charta*, ſome doe holde, that this name came of a Citty, ſcituated neere to *Tyre*, which was called *Charta*, or *Cartha*; whence *Dido* (altring the name) called it afterward * *Carthage*. I read alſo, that thoſe reuerend men of former times, did write on waxed Tablet-leaues, made thin ſmooth and ſlippery: they likewiſe formed their letters, with ſharpe pointed Bodkins or Punchions, which they tearmed Table-Pinnes, but others called thē Stiles, whereon, he that (by expertneſſe) wrote moſt perfect, was ſaid to haue a good ſtile in writing, deriuing the worde from the inſtrument, and not by the integritie in Art or method.

* A famous citty in *Affrica* enuironed almoſt with the Sea, and rebuilded by Queene *Dido*.

Writing Tables vſed in elder dayes.

Moreouer, it is to be noated, that before ſuch Paper (as we vſe to write on) was inuented: an auncient cuſtome was obſerued, (without ſeeing any other help or meanes) to write onely vpon Parchment, which they made of Sheeps Skins, whereof *Herodotus* maketh relation. The inuention thereof is attributed (by *Marcus Varro*) to the people that inhabited the Country of *Pergamus*, or *Pergama*, who had (at that time) * *Eumenes* to be their King; where-vpon (in Latine) it bare the name of *Pergamenum*, which we do commonly call Parchment. And whereas in Latine alſo, it was called *Membrana*: yet it appeareth to take name of the Inuenter. Notwithſtanding, in my iudgment, ſuch skinnes were written on long before the time aſſigned by *Varro*; mentioned (after him) in like manner by *Pliny*: becauſe *Ioſephus* writeth, that the Bookes of the *Hebrewes* (which were long before the dayes of *Eumenes*) and many other Bookes beſide, were written on ſuch Skinnes.

Parchment written on, before our kindes of Paper.

* That ouercame *Antiochus* by *Sardes*.

Plin. in Lib. 12. Cap. 9.

Ioſephus in Lib. 12. de Antiquit

In like manner, when he declareth, that *Eleazer*, Prince of the Prieſtes, ſent the Bookes of the ſacred Scriptures to *Ptolemeus Philadelphus*, with the ſeauenty two Interpreters, that they might bee tranſlated out of the Hebrew tongue into Greeke, he ſaith; King Ptolomy *was amazed, and wondred very much, at the ingenious coniunction of thoſe Skinnes of Parchment*. Whereby may be obſerued, that the lines written on Parchment, were much more eaſily perfourmed, and of longer continuance; then on any other Skinnes or Leaues whatſoeuer, althogh they were of greater antiquity. In regard whereof, vſe of Parchment neuer failed, neither euer will, eſpecially for ſerious ſeruices: albeit, the Paper which is now in vſe among vs, perhaps is eaſier and cheaper to be had, and may better fit the paſſage of infinite Letters, which ordinarily are entercourſed vpon all occaſions, and neceſſitie of haſt.

Ptolomie Philadelphus, and the 72. Interpreters.

Parchment of longer continuance then Paper.

Hauing thus farre proceeded in diſcourſe, concerning the firſt inuention of Letters, Paper, Parchment and writing: me thinkes, I ſhould very much forget my ſelfe, if the famous Art of Printing ſhould paſſe vnſpoken of, whereby ſo many Bookes are Imprinted, with no meane expedition, and which I doe ingeniouſly confeſſe, to be the beſt inuention in the world. By one Authour, the deuiſer therof is ſaid to be an *Allemaigne* or *Germaine*, of the Citty of *Mentz*, named *Iohn Fauſtus*, (although *Polidore Virgill* doe call him *Peter*) yet others tearme him *Iohn Cuthemberg*, confeſſing him alſo to be a *Germaine*, and a Knight, and that the firſt impreſſion of any Booke, was in the yeare of our Lord, 1453.

Concerning the incomparable Art of Printing.

At what time the inuention of Printing was found out, and by whom.

About which time alſo, or ſoone after (as *Volateranus* affirmeth) this worthy Science was brought into *Italy* by two Brethren, named *Conrades*, printing firſt in *Rome*, and in the houſe of the *Maximes*: where, the firſt Booke that euer was printed, was S. *Auguſtine de Ciuitate Dei*, & next, the diuine Inſtitutions of *Lactantius Firmianus*. Exemplaries of them were not long ſince (and I thinke yet are) in the Library of the moſt reuerend Biſhop of *Sarno*, the Lord *Luodouico Gomes*, a *Spaniard*, a man of ſinguler learning, being Auditour of *Roua*, Regent of the Penetentiarie, and Referendarie of both the Signa-

The firſt Bookes printed in *Rome*, in the yeate 1465.

Printing began in *Venice* in the yeare 1483.

Signatures. After that, *Nicholas Gerſon*, being a Frenchman, honoured *Venice* therewith, in the time of Duke *Auguſtine Barbarigo*. And, as an inuention of ſuch merit could not be concealed; ſo ſucceeded it to many Countries, and by diuers worthy men, who beſide their Art of Printing; were learned and iudicious Correcters of errours and falſifications, eaſily ouer-ſlipped by vnskilful worke-men. Among theſe men of noat, are eſpecially commended, *Aldus Manutius* at *Venice*, who made a freſh reſtoring of the Latine tongue: *Francis Priſcianez*, at *Rome*: *Baldus*, *Colinetus*, *Frobenius* and *Oporinus*, at *Baſile*: *Sebaſtian Gryphius* at *Lyons*: *Robert Stephanus* at *Paris* and *Antwerpe*; and *William Caxton* at London in England, beſides many more, whoſe names I omit, for breuity.

Eſpecial men excellent in Printing, in diuers Countries.

By theſe famous helpes, and furtherers of Learning, a number of Bookes hidden, obſcured and vtterly loſt (as it were) receiued freſh life and light again; to the no meane enſtruction and benefit of many men, whoſe learning hath made it ſelfe manifeſt (onely by the meanes of Printing) througout all Chriſtendome, yea, and elſe-where: whereas, before ſo ſacred an aſſiſtant was inuented, much greater paine and labour was imployed; whereof the fruit could neuer be ſo generall, or any ſuch perfection appeare in Learning. And, if we doe graunt, that this deuiſe was not the chiefe and principall cauſe: yet aſſuredly (I am of the mind) it was the very greateſt and moſt abſolute; becauſe, with much leſſe paine and labour, Bookes (full of imperfections) haue beene found to be corrected, and purged from thoſe macculations, blots, and blemiſhes, which ordinarilie doe attend on writing. Againe, if written corrected Copies had paſt from ſom one or two: yet they were ſo rare to come by, and not to be peruſed by many earneſt and deſirous mindes; that it hindered much forward endeuour, which this vniuerſality hath liberally friended. But, to ſpeake truely, ſince immeaſurable Licence tooke hold of Imprinting Bookes, eſpecially of Fables and fruitleſſe labours; it hath beene iudged by ſome (yet none of meaneſt wiſedome) that Printing might well haue beene ſpared from ſo general knowledge, or neuer beene vſed at all; rather then ſuch idle toyes ſhould paſſe the Preſſe, to the preuarication and impoyſoning of diuers good minds, eſpecially the younger ſort, who rather affect ſuch vaine deuiſes, then ſtudies much more commendable, and fitting for them.

Printing was the onely meanes to make learned men euery wher famous.

Very great errors formerly committed in the writing of Bookes, which (by Printing) haue beene iudiciouſly corrected.

An obiection againſt the ouer-general vſe of Printing, whereby much hurt hath enſued

But leauing further ſpeech of Printing; Hand-writing muſt not bee condemned, hauing (in theſe dayes) attayned to more intire perfection, then euer was knowne in former times. Whereof *Quintillian* hath giuen good rules, well deſeruing obſeruation; likewiſe the learned *Eraſmus*, in his Booke of good and true pronounciation. And heerein *Eraſmus* muſt be my directour, becauſe he ſaith: *Blinde men haue beene inſtructed in good writing*. For they had Tables made of Porphirie, Bone, or of ſome Mettall, wherein were inſculpted the letters of A. B. C. D. E. &c. Then the blinde partie tooke ſome ſharpe pointed Inſtrument in his hand (made apt and able to vſe impreſſion, yet with eaſe and facilitie) and his hand being guided by the enſtructers: vſe and practiſe framed a ſhape of each Letter in the blinde mans minde, according to the remembrance of true forme and faſhion, wherof cuſtomarie acquaintaince (by heed and attention) gaue an Image, and of euery Letter really in his memory, which afterward he could (with eaſe) forme vpon the Table, or any thing elſe of reſpect, whereto his minde ſtood moſt affected. Wherin might appeare ſome defect or impediment, but yet it would be well made, and indifferently leageable. After which often experimented proof, he may write vpon Paper, in true order and Method: or any elſe, that (blind-folded) ſhal make vſe thereof, concerning any matter that beſt fitteth his fantaſie.

Of writing, and the perfection thereof in theſe dayes.

Eraſmus Rotterd. in Libr. de ver. pro.

Blinde men that could write very perfectly, and by what manner of practiſe.

Vſe is the Mother of perfection.

CHAP

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the first Libraries in the world: As also, what Pictures and Portraitures of memorable men, were obsequiously preserued in them.

IT is not to be doubted, but that the first Bookes and Libraries that euer were in the world, must needes bee among the Hebrue people. For, as it is certaine, that Letters were by them first knowne, and vse made of them: so is it likewise to be presumed, that they were not neglect or careless in keeping them, or whatsoeuer they committed to writing. This is iustified by the authority of *Iosephus*, before alleadged, as also, by that which we reade in the holy Scriptures. *Isidorus* relateth, that after the *Chadæans* had burned the Library of the *Hebrewes*, with all the Bookes of the Lawes: the *Hebrewes* being gon backe againe to *Ierusalem*, the Prophet *Esdras* (being thereto lightened by the blessed Spirit) repaired that losse, by writing those Bookes ouer againe, reducing them into the number of two and twenty Bookes, according to the number of the Alphabet letters. Whereby may be gathered, that after *Moyses* had written: the *Hebrewes* had a Library, wherein they preserued the Books of the Law, as well those which we haue of the old Testament, as the rest, whereof wee haue already made mention. Among which, was the Booke of *Enoch*, alleadged by Saint *Iude* the Apostle in his Epistle, spoken of also before: And the Book of the warres of the Lord, whereof memory is made in the twenty one Chapter of *Numbers*: And the Booke of the iust seruants of the Lord, alleadged in the first Booke of the Kings: and the Booke of *Samuell*, recorded in the last Chapter of the first Booke of *Paralipomenon*: And the Booke of *Nathan* the Prophet, with many other beside, which appeared to haue bin burned and lost. Therefore we may plainly perceiue, that the *Iewes* had Libraries, and that those which appertained to the *Gentiles*, were both after the other, and of later time.

The first Libraries among the *Hebrue* people.

The *Chaldæans* burned all the Bookes of the *Hebrues* Librarie.

The Prophet *Esdras* re-writ the Bookes, according to the number of the *Hebrue* Alphabet.

Iude. Cap. 1. v. 4.

Numb. 21. 24.

2. Kings. 1. 18.

1. Chron. 29. 29

The Iewes had Libraries long before the Gentiles.

All the *Grecians* doe declare, that hee who first made any publique Library, was named *Pisistratus*, a Tyrant ouer the *Athenians*: but afterward, it was greatly increased by those people. In following time, when *Xerxes* came to *Athens*, he carried thence all those Bookes, and transported them into *Persia*: but a long while after, the King *Selucus* (called *Nicanor*) bought them, and caused them to be carried backe to *Athens* againe. This affirmation proceedeth from *Aulus Gellius* and *Isidorus*; adding moreouer, that this Library was afterward very largely increased. Notwithstanding, that Library of *Alexandria* in *Egipt*, which the King *Ptolomy Philadelphus* made; was (in very truth) the most excellent of all other in the world beside: because therein was the old Testament, and all the sacred writings of the seauentie two Interpreters, and a great multitude of all other bookes whatsoeuer. Yet *Pliny* auoucheth, that King *Eumenes* made another Library in the Citty of *Pergama*, in enuy of that which *Ptolomie* had founded. *Aulus Gellius* and *Amianus Marcellinus* doe say, that in the Library of *Alexandria* in *Egipt*, there were seauen hundred thousand Bookes. *Seneca* doth (in a manner) agree concerning the number, which although it seeme to be excessiue, yet notwithstanding, whosoeuer hath read of the expences and great cost, which the Kings of *Egipt* haue wasted, in the making of Obeliskes, Pyramides, Temples, Houses, Shippes, and other thinges of inestimable charge (some part of which matters are spoken of by *Budeus*, in his Annotations on the *Pandectes*, and *Lazarus de Baif*, in his Art of Nauigation) this Library will not appeare impossible to their iudgement.

Pisistratus of *Athens*, made the first publique Librarie.

Aulus Gellius. in L. b. 6. Isidor. in lib. 6.

The Library of *Alexandria* in Egipt.

Aulus Gellius. in Lib. 6. Amian. Marcel. in Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

Budeus. in Annot. de Pand. Lazar. de Baif. in Ars Naualis

Bookes were brought to this Library from al the Nations of the whole world, and also in all Languages: and they that had the charge thereof, were all of them very learned men. One part was appointed for Bookes of Poetry, others also for Histories, and elsewhere for all the Sciences and faculties: but all this learning

learning thus brought together, was burned by the Soldiers of *Iulius Cæsar*, when he pursued *Pompey* thither, and fought against the people of *Ptolomie*, who was brought vnto *Cleopatra*. As for that other Librarie, which was made by *Eumenes* in *Pergama*: *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Marke Anthonie*, that it consisted of two hundered thousand Bookes.

Cæsar Souldiours burned this goodly Library.

Plutarc. in vit. Marc. Anton.

The Lybrarie which we read of in *Greece*, *Strabo* saith, that *Aristotle* was the first that made a Collection of Bookes together, and framed a Library of Bookes in the Citty of *Athens*. But therein he contradicteth the other Historians, who doe all maintaine, that it was *Pisistratus*, who liued long time before *Aristotle*. Therefore it is to be vnderstood, that *Straboes* meaning aymed at some one particular Man, who was neither King or Prince, as *Pisistratus* was: howbeit, it may be pregnantly coniectured, that *Aristotle* was therein much succoured and assisted by *Alexander*.

Strabo in lib. 7. Cap. 18.

Strabo contradicteth other Authors.

Later Libraries and Letters, wherein the Cittie of *Rome*, and the first that erected a publique Lybrarie there, was *Asinius Pollio*, of whom *Pliny* saith: *That of the Spirits of Men he made a publique matter.* The first man that brought thither any great quantitie of Bookes, was *Paulus Æmilius*, when he had vanquished *Perseus*: And next to him, *L. Lucullus*, from the bootie of *Pontus*. *Iulius Cæsar* also augmented and enriched the Lybraries, which he committed to the charge and keeping of *Marcus Varro*: but all the Lybraries in *Rome*, were afterward burnt and brought to nothing, by the frequent Warres, and often spoyles made of the Cittie. And yet this great losse was repaired againe, by the Emperour *Domitian*, for he caused search to bee made thorough all Countries, for Bookes of any Nature whatsoeuer; yea, he sent into Ægypt, to haue the Lybrarie that remained there, to bee transported to *Rome*. Whereby it verie plainely appeareth, that all King *Ptolomies* Bookes were not destroyed (as formerly hath beene said) because a great part of them were afterward recouered. And *Paulus Orosius* doth heere perswade me, when he saith; *Foure hundred thousand of the Bookes were burned*: And by the confirmation of other Historians; we finde, that there were seauen hundred thousand in all, and three hundred thousand doe then appeare to be saued; howbeit, some would faine enforce, that they were all burned.

The first publike Library in *Rome* made by *Asinius Pollio*.

Al the Libraries in Rome burned and spoyled.

Domitian the Emperor restored the Libraries losse.

Paulus Orosius in lib. 9.

But returning to the Lybrarie of *Rome* againe, the same *Paulus Orosius* saith, that in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*, it was once more burned: neuertheless, *Gordianus* the Emperour regained a great number of Bookes, to the estimate of seauentie and two thousand Volumes. And that (which is much more notable) hee enioyed them by the last Will and Testament of * *Seranus Samonicus*, to whom they first appertained, according as *Iulius Capitolinus* recordeth; There were many other great and goodlie Lybraries among those of elder times, as well priuate and meane persons, as Princes and great Lords. But the first Librarie among the Christians, was that (as *Isidorus* testifieth) of *Pamphilius* the Martire, whose life is registred by *Eusebius*, and that he had thirty thousand volums in his Library.

Romes Library burned again in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*.

* This man was fetched from the Plough, and made Senator of Rome.

The first Lybrary among the Christians.

We read of a common Custome obserued among those graue Men, chiefely in their Lybraries: where they preserued the Pictures, Portraites, and Statues, of such men as had been most excellent in Learning. *Pliny* also saith, that *Marcus Varro* (euen in his life time) so merited by his learning: that his Statue was kept in the Library of *Asinius Pollio*. *Cicero* wrote to *Fabianus* the *Gaule*, that he should buy him some Statues and Portraites, wherewith to grace and beautifie his Lybrarie. The younger *Pliny*, writing to *Iulius Seuerus*, saith; that *Herennius Seuerus* (a very excellent learned man) placed in his Librarie (among other Pictures) those of *Cornelius* and *Titus Arius*; sufficient testimony haue we of all those things.

Pictures of famous learned men preserued in Libraries.

Plin. in lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Plin. secundus in lib. 4.

Now, concerning these recited Lybraries, and those of many other learned men, and of Princes also, in imitation of their example: they were all destroyed and rauaged by the *Gothes*, *Alaines*, and *Vandales*, vntill such time as

(by the goodneſſe of God) both in our daies, and thoſe of our fore-fathers, many learned and ſtudious men liued, whoſe paines and endeuours created infinite others, from whom haue proceeded heapes of huge Volumes; albeit I thinke them not the tenth part, compared with thoſe which their graue Auncients left in Writing. Beſide, ſuch as haue beene found, were ſo vncorrected, corrupted and badlie written: that had it not beene for the indulgent trauaile, of diuers great and worthy perſonages, they could hardly haue beene reduced to any order and perfection.

Who were the notorious deſtroyers of Libraries and Learning.

Our Bookes not equalling the tenth part of our Ancients.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Interpretation of the Imperiall Titles, heeretofore giuen by the Romaine *Emperours, as they haue beene found registred in the Bookes* De Iuriſprudentia, *abbreuiated and re-collected by commandement of the Emperour* Iuſtinian, *to wit: Of the* Gothes, Allemaignes, Germaines, Alanes, Vandals, Affricanes, Gætes, Girpides, &c. *and of many other Nations, appertaining to the ſame kinde of Argument.*

THE Romaine Emperors, in their Imperiall Titles of honour and renowne, did not onely obſerue and giue vnto themſelues, the Names or Appellations of thoſe Prouinces wonne by them, and reduced vnder the yoake of their Empire: but likewiſe of ſuch Nations and people, as left their own Countries (in abounding multitudes) and entred on the Landes and poſſeſſion of others, thence to chaſe and expell the naturall Inhabitants, to plant there their owne abiding, by giuing them ſundry battailes, and ſome way ſurmounting, though not wholly exterminating them. Vpon which reaſon, *Iuſtinian* would entitle himſelfe, of the *Goths*, *Allemaignes*, *Vandales*, and of others. Of which Nations, I purpoſe to ſpeake in ſome meaſure, what people they were, and whence they came: becauſe (at length) they ruined the great Romain Empire. Whereto I am the rather induced, to enſtruct ſuch as are little skilled in Hiſtories (not onely Coſmographicall, but likewiſe Geographicall) how thoſe people did not onely weaken and ruinate the ſaide Empire: but alſo did caſt out the true and naturall Dwellers, of the verie greateſt part of our Hemiſpheare.

Vaine Titles affected by the Romaine Emperours.

Strange people and Nations that weakened and ruined the *Romain* Empire.

Moreouer, they compelled the Emperours to graunt them places, wherein to liue (afterward) in peace and quietneſſe: for theſe Nations were the cauſe, whereby many Countries changed both their manners, Language, and Religion, which matters are neceſſarie to be ſpoken off, as nerely appertaining to our argument.

We will begin then firſt with the *Gothes*, becauſe they were the firſt, that forſooke their owne Natiue Country: which was called *Gothia*, or *Gothland*, as ſignifying a good Land, it beeing a Northerne Prouince of *Germanie*. This Land abounded in Graine, Fruites, Cattle, Woodes, Riuers, Mettalles: but eſpeciallie in Copper, and Skinnes ſeruing to make Furres. At all times, and as yet (to this inſtant daie) is to bee diſcerned, the Kingdome of *Sweſsia*, or *Sweuia*, hath beene comprized vnder the Dominion of the *Gothes*. As the Countrey was fertile in Fruites of the Earth; euen ſo were the Weomen thereof likewiſe in Children: for, as they were ſtrong, and of great ſtature, ſo had they vſually two Children at a birth, which was the cauſe then, and ſo it yet continueth, that they had more people, then could well liue together, the Countrey not beeing ſufficient to yeilde ſuſtenance for ſo many. In like manner, they were very great feeders, eating much more then they that liue in the Eaſterne or Meridionall parts.

Of the *Goths*, their original, Country, and nature.

More plenty of people, the the Country was able to feed and noriſh.

Theſe people of the *Gothes*, perceiuing, and aduiſedly pondering on the fore-ſpecified reaſons: leuyed the more part of the youngeſt and ſtrongeſt men of their Countrey, to the number of three

A leuy of three hundred thouſand able men among the *Gothes*.

three hundred thousand; and marryed such as were not, to ridde themselues of the charge of Daughters, as well as of Sonnes, for the Countrey ordinarily abounded in the Feminine, more then in the Masculine Sexe. So, being well prouided of all necessaries for Warre, and leauing a chiefe Commander at home, of the Royall linage: they wandered abroad thorow the Fieldes, to winne by power, or compasse by Loue, some new habitation wherein to liue.

The Gothes wander to seeke a new dwelling.

Trebellius.

Many Authours, and, among the rest, *Trebellius* saith, that the first rumour of this their straying, was vnder the raigne of the Emperour *Flauius Claudius*, about the yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ, two hundred seuenty two. And that they passed thorow *Germany*, *Hungaria*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Gaule*, and so farre as *Italie*. They lost many battailes, and wonne likewise as many, against the Romaines and other people, maintaining themselues so well: that they raigned in *Italie* (euen in despight of the *Italians* and Emperours) the space of seauentie and one yeares; as *Procopius* auoucheth. At length they went into *Spaine*, whence (afterward) they would not remooue: for the Catholique Kinges of Spaine that then raigned by succession, and raigne yet to this present, descended from the race and line of their Kinges, who were (indeed) very generous people.

Procopius, concerning the Gothes in Italy and Spain.

Now, it is to be imagined, that in regard of such a mighty muster of men, the Countrey of *Gothia*, or *Goth-land*, or the Neighboring Borders, remained not without Inhabitants, or the rule of Kinges: For there were euen then left behind, so many as the Land was able to nourish, who had their Kinges in authority ouer them, and strength sufficient to with-stand any inuasion of the Country. As for the conquering Armies abroad, they continued in honour for a verie long time; albeit, they lost great store of men in battailes, encounters, surprizals, and passages of Riuers: for these disaduantages were still supplyed, by the daily birth of Children among them, because they had their Wiues in all places among them. And perhaps some Straungers mingled among them, who wearing their habites, and learning their Language; helpt still to encrease the frie of this people.

The reason of the Gothes maintenance and continuance.

The conquering Armies abroad in trauaile.

Such as haue beene named *Ostrogothes*, were a people of the same Countrey of *Gothia* or *Gotteland*, from a place which is called *Ostrogothia*, the principall Cities whereof, are *Scheing* and *Lincept*. This people made their warre apart by themselues, beeing separated from the Gothes, yet ranuging abroad in the wide World, according as they did.

Of the *Ostrogothes*, & their Countrey.

The *Westrogothes* (in like manner) came out of a Countrey called *Westrogothia*, among whom, the chiefest Cities, yet to this present daie, are tearmed *Scaris* and *Veruen*. *Wisigots*, or *Bisigothes*, came forth of a Countrey named *Visbi*, the very principall whereof, is yet stiled *Visbi*. I was the more willing to make this description, because I haue heard of diuers (who are but slenderly experienced in Cosmography) that they do term those *Ostrogothes*, to be *Gothes* Orientall, or of the East; and the *Westrogothes*, Occidentall *Gothes*, or dwelling in the West, and so contrariwise of the other. Albeit, they are all descended, and came out of the Kingdome of *Gothia*, or *Gotteland*, according as *Munster* hath very well obserued.

Of the *Westrogothes*.

Wisigots or *Bisigothes*.

The error of some young Cosmographers.

Munster.

The *Vandals*, in the erronious iudgement of *Procopius*, a learned Greeke Authour, are saide for to be of the verie same Nation, and that all the seuerall people of the *Gothes*, *Vandalles*, *Alaines*, *Hunnes*, and diuers others, (whom I am heereafter to describe vnto you) were derined out of one and the selfe-same Land, and are all comprehended vnder the name of *Sauromates*, or *Sarmates*, and haue no other difference, but onelie by the names of their Captaines or Kinges. But I must maintaine against him, that the Land of the *Vandales* is distant from *Gothland*, aboue the space of two hundered leagues, and therefore they cannot bee one people with the *Gothes*. True it is, that this Nation is Septentrionall, or in the North, as the others are, and in a Maritime Countrey also, named yet to this day *Vandalia*, as I haue al-

The errour of *Procopius* concerning the *Vandals*.

Gothes and Vandals two seuerall people.

ready ſaid, yet very far off the one from the other.

The trauailes of the *Vandals* into diuers Countries.

This people did (almoſt) as much hurt to the Romaine Empire, as the *Gothes* did, for, ioyning diuers other people with them (as the *Alaines*, *Suabes* and *Franconians*:) they trauerſed the *Rheine*, *Gauderichus* beeing then their King, and paſſing among the *Gaules*, waſted and ſpoyled them very greatlie. Then went they into *Spaine*, and (in deſpight of the *Gothes*) tooke poſſeſſion of that part of the Countrey, which ioyneth to the Kingdome of *Granada*, and is (to this day) called *Vandalia*, or (by corrupting the Word) *Vandaluſia*, albeit the *Spaniards* mince it more nicely, and nick-name it to be *Andaluſia*. To be briefe, they were (after much waſt and ſpoyle) expulſed foorth of *Spaine* wholy, in the yeare foure hundred thirtie one, vnder another of their Kinges, named *Genſericus*, and paſſed thence into *Affrica*, where they raigned ſeauenty ſixe yeares. From thence they were compelled to auoyde, in the ſeauenth yeare of the Emperour *Iuſtinian*, in *Anno. Domino.* 528. by the valour of one of his Captaines, named *Beliſarius*.

They poſſeſſed Spaine & Affrica, which in the end wer deiected by them.

The *Vandals* expulſed out of *Affrica* by *Beliſarius*.

The *Hunnes* alſo departed out of their Countrey, for the ſelfe-ſame cauſe as the Goths did, about the yeare one hundred ſixtie eight, onely to ſeek ſome other Land, where they might liue after the *Scythians* Religion: firſt getting poſſeſſion of *Pannonia*, where they alwaies ſo ſtrongly kept and guarded it, that (according to their owne name) it became to be called *Hungaria*. This people came from that part of *Scythia*, which was tearmed * *Hunos*, no long diſtance from the Riuer *Tanais*: but it is in a miſerable eſtate at this day, and vnder ſubiection of the *Moſcouite*. Hauing vſurped *Pannonia*, they kept it manfully againſt the *Romaines*, and two hundred yeares after, *Attila* their King, accompanied with ſome people of the *Allemaignes* or *Germaines*; as *Bohemians*, *Gepydes* or *Gyrpides*, *Schleſites*, *Werlies*, *Thuringians*, *Gothes*, *Oſtrogothes*, and others, making (in all) about the number of ſixe hundred thouſand Men: paſſed thorough *Allemaigne*, which they very much endammaged.

The *Hunnes* of *Scythia*, and their trauails.

* *Hunos* a part of *Scythia*, inhabited by the *Hunnes*.

Attila King of the *Hunnes*.

Then went he into *France*, where hee loſt a battaile, in which periſhed a great number of his men. This battaile was giuen him by the *Romaines*, *Gaules*, and certaine *Gothes* allyed together, and he loſt (as ſome Authours doe affirme) aboue two hundred thouſand men. At length he iournyed into *Italie*, which he (wel-neere) vtterlie ruined, and retiring afterward home into his owne Countrey of *Hungaria*: he dyed within ſome few following moneths, and on the day of his Nuptials, which was in the yeare of Ieſus Chriſt, foure hundred forty three.

The great loſſe that *Attila* ſuſtained in *France*.

The *Lombardes* were a Northerne people, iſſuing out of *Denmarke*, as *Euſebius* maintaineth, and no other reaſon had they to leaue their Natiue Countrey; but onely a deſire to winne ſome other. There happened in the time of one *Seno*, or *Sweno* (yet ſome tearme him *Snio*) a very great dearth or ſcarſitie of victuals in the Land, and becauſe the people endured it verie impacientlie: it was concluded by the King and his Councell (to eaſe the Country of ſo many men as were ready to famiſh) that all ſuch perſons as were vnable, eyther for Warre, or labour of the Ground; ſhould be ſlaine, whether they were old or young. But this ſeuere Edict being reuoked, they then reſolued to make a leuy of all ſortes of people, that (by the helpe of Armes) might trauaile to finde out ſome other dwelling, ſo to diſcharge the Countries heauy burthen.

Of the *Lombardes*, and whence they deſcended.

A very ſeuere and cruell Edict, but ſpeedily recalled, and better meanes deuiſed.

This being put in Execution, they trauailed ſo farre, and carryed themſelues ſo couragiouſlie in trauerſing diuers Landes: that they came at laſt into *Italie*, and there conquered the Countrey, which was called *Iſtria*, making themſelues abſolute Maiſters thereof. Now, becauſe theſe people were long and taule of ſtature: the *Italians* and *Iſtrians* tearmed them long *Barbarians*, which by corruption of the Word, and ſucceſſion of times, made them to be called *Longbardes*, or *Lombardes*. Some are of opinion, that vnder the raigne of *Valentinian* the Emperour, they beganne to make themſelues firſt knowne; which was about the yeare of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt,

Iſtria in *Italy* conquered & new-named *Lombardie*.

Christ 385. and that they became Commaunders in *Istria*, in the yeare 570. Likewise, according to *Petrus Diaconus*, the Emperours made peace with them, in the yeare, seuen hundred and thirtie, and euer since they haue held that Countrey, which at this day is named *Lombardy*.

Petrus Diaconus concerning the *Lombardes*.

Let it heere be further noted, that where (in any Historie) mention is made of people tearmed *Daces*, or *Danians*; the Nation of *Danemarke*, is thereby vnderstood. Out of which Countrey, many great Armies haue trauailed at sundry times, and haue mightily troubled diuers Kingdomes: among which, they continued a long time in *England*, but were thence expelled, about the yeare eight hundred sixtie, as is generally granted.

Daces or *Danians*, people of *Danemarke*.

The *Normanes* were people of *Nordnegia*, or otherwise called *Normania*, a Northerne Countrey, being much addicted to crueltie and inhumanitie, because they vsed many great Piracies on the Seas. An hundred and fifty thousand Men (of this Nation) bestowed themselues in Vessels on the Sea, and tooke possession of that part of *Gaule*, or *France*, which was then named *Neustria*, now *Normandie*, and this was done in the yeare of Iesus Christ, sixe hundred; and others say, eight hundred eightie foure, and in the time of *Charles Le Gros*. But be it howsoeuer, they haue (since then) kept it against all encounters of the Emperours, Kings of *France* and *England*, preseruing it still by the name of *Normandy*, and themselues reckoned to be people of vndaunted courage. There are diuers others, that doe sauour of this their first Originall, and doe yet proule vppon the Seas, committing many Thefts and Robberies.

The *Normans* issued from *Nordnegia*, or *Normania*.

Neustria now named *Normandy*, & hath so continued long time.

The Nation which we call *Suisses*, *Suesses*, or *Sweues*; but more vulgarlie *Zuitzers*, and are (at this day) auxiliarie vnto the *Freneh*: came out of *Suetia*, *Sweuia*, or *Sweueland*, a Northerly Region like to the other. They likewise, by reason of the dearth of foode among them: departed foorth of their owne Countrey, about the yeare of Grace, eight hundred, and went so farre as the *Rheine*, which they would haue passed; but were hindred by the *Franconians*. Thence went they to the Land of the *Heluetians*, who despising the *Suesses*, (because they were poorely and wretchedly apparrelled, rude in their feeding, and not looking like Souldiours) suffered them to wander about their Countrey.

Suesses or *Zuitzers* came out of *Sweuia*.

The *Suesses* despised by the *Heluetians*

At length, perceiuing the kinde sufferance of the *Heluetians*: they sought to abide in a certaine Canton of their Land. Which when the *Heluetians* noted, they demaunded of them; to what end they thus wandered about the World? They answered, That they were poore people, and sought but to weare out their liues in trauaile, by deluing or labouring in the Earth. And seeing that there was wast ground in those partes, vnlaboured, or any vse made of (it being Hilles and Vallyes, enuironed with diuers Lakes) they desired the *Heluetians*, to permit them to labour in those rough Fieldes, as yet not cultiue: and they should receiue the gaine and benefit thereof, onely allowing them but nourishment for their paines. This was all that they seemed to pretend, iustifying their requests with many sollemne Oaths and protestations. Their desire was granted, and not long after, the Countrey wherein they liued, was not onely called *Suessia*, in regard of the *Suessians* there dwelling: but likewise the Auncient Inhabitants had the same Name giuen them, and (in truth) the Country is very mountainie, and vnapt for riding.

Their pouerty among the *Heluetians*, & their request to them.

The *Heluetians* did grant the *Suesses* requests.

Iustinian, and other Emperours, (both before and after him) entitled themselues Lordes of the *Allemaignes*, by hauing receiued some victories against the *Allemaignes*. But this may not be saide (as some haue done heeretofore) that those victories were obtained against the *Germaines*: for euen at this present daie, when that wee speake or Write of *Allemaigne*; therein is comprehended all the Nations, which are contained throughout *Germanie*, and that doe speake the language of the *Teutones*. But as concerning *Allemaigne* it selfe, and *Allemaignes*; the Romaines neuer vnderstood, or meant any other people, then those

Of the *Allemaignes* and whence they were deriued.

The true *Allemaignes* were of *Suaba*.

of *Suaba*. And, to speake vprightly, they euer haue beene (and are) the true and Auncient *Allemaignes*; as *Cornelius Tacitus* plainely confirmeth. *Druſus Nero* was the firſt, that ſtyled himſelfe *Germanicus*: for hauing rather angered the *Germaines*, then foyled them, as diuers other Emperours afterward did. Moreouer by *Germanie* is to be vnderſtood nine and forty great Prouinces, as well of the lower part, as of the higher part of the ſaid *Germanie*, comprizing the Countries of the *Switzers* and *Helluetians*.

Druſus Nero Germanicus.

Germany containeth 49. great Prouinces.

Ouer and beſide the fore-named Titles, they vſed the word *Analicus*, which by tranſlation implyeth *Alaines*. Many haue ſuppoſed, that theſe were a people of *Germanie*, but therein they were and are deceiued: for *Ptolomy* knew them well, and placed them in a part of *Scythia*. *Capitolinus* beſtowes them in *Dacia*; *Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, & *Dioniſius* the Poet, doe graunt them a being in *Sarmatia* of *Europe*.

Of the *Alains*, and what people they were

Ioſephus, in his laſt Booke, affirmeth their abode to be betweene the riuer *Tanais*, and the *Palus Mæotides*: and ſaith moreouer, that (in his time) theſe *Alaines* or *Alanes*, accompanied with the *Hircanians*; both robbed and ſpoyled all the Region of the *Medes*. As for my ſelfe, by that which I haue gathered, from ſuch as haue written on the actions of the *Gothes*: I am perſwaded, that thoſe *Alaines* were their Companions, and that oftentimes (in their Warres) for their owne aduantage, they ſundred themſelues from them, as one while they did with the *Vandales*. But queſtionleſſe, their deſcent was from *Scythia*, according to the affirmation of *Ptolomy*.

The *Alaines* companions with the *Goths* in their wars.

If we ſhall ſpeake of the *Gepydes*, *Gyrpides*, or *Iupedes*, and what people they were: there are opinions enow concerning them. Some ſay, that they were (at the firſt) of *Scythia*, and came thence (as the *Lombards* did) into *Italy*. But hauing made a more curious and diligent ſearch; I find, that they were a people of *Germanie*, being then called *Gepudij*, or *Sepuſij*, and (according to *Ptolomeus Mataueſtus*) now at this day, *Siebemburgs*; who followed the *Gothes*, the *Vandals* and the *Normanes* alſo, they being erring and vagabond people. Till at length they ventred on the Seas, and went to inhabite the Iſles of the *Orchades*, whereof *Thille* is the lateſt inhabited, as *Volateranus* auoucheth, and now is ſubiect to the Kings of *Scotland*.

Of the *Gepides*, *Gyrpides*, or *Iupides*.

Gepudij or *Sepuſij*.

The *Getes* haue beene, and are yet a warlike people, inſtantly much molleſted by the *Turkes*; but they found the *Romaines* work enough to doe, conſiſting of *Tranſiluanians*, *Wallachians*, *Moldauians*, and other Countries about the Riuer *Iſter*, which falleth into the *Ponticke* Sea.

Of the *Getes*, a famous warlike people.

I may not be forgetful of the *Bourguignons*, becauſe I my ſelfe deſcended of that Nation. *Oroſius* holdeth, that they are deriued out of *Germany*; And *Volateranus* ſaith, that *Iouinianus* the Emperour vanquiſhed ſuch a people, which liued by the Riuer of *Rheine*. But there is nothing more certaine (according as I haue gathered by the *Germaine* Hiſtories) then that they iſſued from ſome remaines of the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Hunnes*, who beeing altogether chaſed by the *Romaines*; threw themſelues vpon that part of *Gaule*, which they ſtiled after their owne name, and there (perforce) enthroned themſelues. For afterward, they could ſo well reſiſt the *Romaines*, that they were conſtrained to yeild them tolleration, and let them liue in the ſaide Countrey amongſt the firſt Inhabitants. There they builded Fortes, Villages, and Townes, which they tearmed Bourgs or Bouroughes of *Gothes* and *Hunnes*. And then coueting (corruptly) to ſpeake it in one Word: from *Bourg-Goth Hunnes*, they came to be called *Bourguignons*, as much to ſay, as a warning people.

Of the *Bourguignons*, and whence they are iſſued.

Bourgougne named after the *Bourguignons*.

Of their own firſt names.

Ætius, Lieutenant to the Emperour *Theodoſius*, gaue them a battaile in the yeare of Chriſt, 435. and won the day: but it coſt him ſo deare, that he would neuer after meddle any more with them. About the yeare 430. they receiued and embraced the Chriſtian Faith. Theſe people grew on in great ciuility, and became as much addicted to Learning, as to Armes: For they haue a goodly vniuerſity, foũded by one of the Dukes of *Bourgongne*, wherein many Lectures are read of all the Sciences, to Schollers of all Nations, at *Dola*, the capitall City of that part of *Bourgongne*, which is vnder commaund of the houſe of

Actius foyled the *Bourguignons*.

A faire vniuerſity, builded by a duke of *Bourgougne*.

of *Austria*, and there they hold a Parliament also. As for the other part of *Bourgongne*, in obedience to the crown of *France*: *Digeon* is the Metropolitane Citty thereof, where likewise is held another Parliament. And these two *Bourgongnes* are maintained in very good peace, albeit they are in obedience to diuers Princes.

Digeon the Metropolitane Citty.

The fore-named Emperours did also stile themselues by names of *Franques*; as hauing fought with and repulsed the *Franconians*, who were risen vp in armes, and departed out of their Countrey of *Germany*. But so slender were their impeachings, that they inuaded the *Gauls*, which then were Prouinces of the *Romaines*, notwithstanding, all the best meanes they could make. They were entitled *Affricanes* likewise, for hauing obtained some Conquests in *Affrica*: And *Parthians* also, for hauing wonne some victories ouer the *Parthians*. *Stephanus* ranketh them among the people of *Scythia*: but I neuer knew, or read, that the *Romaines* made the *Parthians* tributary, being their best Friendes, for they had more victories ouer the *Romãs*, then euer the *Romans* had against them. They did not leaue their Countries, and sought after a new habitation, eyther for pouertie or necessitie: but rather to conquer Kingdomes and Prouinces; as *Media*, *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Caramania*, and many other. The Riuer *Euphrates* was the limits betweene them and the *Romaines*: but those *Romaine* Emperours, vpon the declining of their Empire, were Princes full of follie and vain-glory, attributing Titles to themselues, without any matter of right or merit.

Of the *Franks* or *Franconians*

Affricanes and *Parthians*.

Stephanus.

Euphrates the boundes betweene the *Parthians* and *Romaines*.

They gaue themselues also the Title of Happy and Prosperous, albeit they were (oftentimes) the most infortunate men al of other, as wel in their home affaires, as the Negotiations of the Empire. For (day by day) they lost their Prouinces, which precedent Auncient Captaines (endowed with many vertues) and worthy *Romaine* Consuls had won, by no meane expence of paines, and effusion of their blood.

Titles full of vanity and fond selfe-conceit.

Moreouer, the most part of the Emperors, beheld their Wiues, Children, and Friends, murdred and massacred; yea, and themselues subiect to no better fortune in the end: as *Iustinian*, who was cast out of his Empire by *Florianus*. They would likewise be called *Inclytes*, that is to say; Princes of glorious renowne, victorious, triumphing, and euermore *Augustus*, as much to say, as enlargers of the *Romaine* Empire: but, as I formerly said, these were but such Titles as Flatterers gaue them, for the greater number of those Emperours, after that these stiles of honour were imposed on them; could boast of no such happinesse, but rather came farre short of any such felicities.

The misery of most of the Romain Emperors.

The signification of *Augustus*.

Thus haue ye briefely seene the originall of all those people, which those Emperours made vaunt to haue foyled and vanquished: howbeit, though they were tearmed barbarous by them, yet (by little and little) they rent and tore their Empire in pieces. At this day they are all become ciuilized, and (well-neere all) Christians: onely the *Parthians* excepted, who are *Mahametists*, pertaking in the Turkes Religion.

Those Nations are all become Christians.

But hauing spoken of so many Nations, who are al said to be deriued from the *Scythians*: wee may not omit to say some-what of the *Picts*, who (by the opinion of most Writers) do beare the name of a people of *Germanie*, that had their Originall out of *Scythia*, descending of the * *Agathyrsi* in *Sarmatia*, that vsed to paint and couler their faces, and thereupon were named *Picts*. Before they entred into *Brittaine*, they inhabited the Isle of *Orkney* for a long time together, ferrying ouer into *Cathnesse* daily, multiplying so in power and number: that (getting vp further into the Land) they possessed *Rosse*, *Murreyland*, *Merne* and *Angusse*, whence passing into *Fife* and *Louthian*, they droue thence the *Britaine* Inhabitants, who were onelie poore people, that liued by nourishing & breeding Cattle. This their enterance into *Albion* (for so was it then called) was in the yeare of the Worlds Creation 3633.

The originall of the Picts, & their comming into the Isle of *Orkency*

* A rich people bordering on the *Scythians*.

They were named Picts, of painting their faces.

Cruthneus Camelonus is said to be the first King of the *Picts*, and that he builded a famous Citty on the banke of the Riuer cald *Caron*, appointing it to be the chiefe Citty of all the Pictish Kingdom. He builded also the Towne of *Agneda*, afterward called *Edenbrough*, of *Ethus*, King of the *Picts*, and the Castle, named

Cruthneus Camelonus first King of the *Picts*.

The

The Castle of Maydens, becauſe the *Pictiſh* Kinges kept their Daughter there, vnder ſtrict cuſtody, and in all good exerciſes, till their meete yeares for marriage.

Concerning the warres, ſtrifes, and bloody contentions betweene the *Albion Scots* and *Pictes*, thorow all their Kings raigne, till their vtter ouerthrow, and quite diſſolation of *Pictland*, by *Kenneth* the victorious King of *Scots*: I referre it to fitter time and place, onely letting ye know, that this ſubuerſion & and vtter ruine of the *Picts*, happened in the yeare of our redemption, 839. in the ſixt yeare of King *Kenneths* glorious raigne, and 1168. yeares after their firſt Plantation in *Albion*.

Kenneth King of *Scots* quite deſolated *Pictland*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

What benefit Muſique bringeth to a Common-wealth; And how it hath beene naturally giuen to al Nations in the world, and (by the iudgement of ſome Hiſtorians) hath cured diuers infirmities and diſeaſes of the mind.

VEry certain it is, that ſome Law-makers, peeuiſh, troubleſome, and ouer-hard in many matters, whereof *Lycurgus* was one: did expel Muſick out of their Commonwealths, affirming, that it made people effeminate, negligent, and idle. But I am of a quite contrary minde, and dare maintaine, that ſuch as will truely conſider Muſique, and what it is in it ſelfe: ſhall finde, that it can make men bold, hardy, modeſt, and chaſt, eſpecially being wel and vertuouſly vſed. Vnder this kind of Muſique, I comprehend not onely that which is ſung by Art and mellodiouſly, as by the voyces of Men, Weomen, or Children: but alſo I preſuppoſe (within the ſame compaſſe) all Inſtruments; as Flutes, Lutes, Viols, Drums, Trumpets, Organes, Virginals, Harpes, and others. And there is not any thing, that maketh men more ciuilly minded, or preſerueth them in better concord and amitie, then Muſique.

The folly of ſome ouer-curious Law-makers.

The Authors comprehenſion of Muſick.

Polybius declareth, that the great Common-wealth of the * *Cynethenſes* in *Arcadia*, falling from the delight they formerly had in Muſique: grew ſoone after into ſeditious humors, & ciuil wars among themſelues, wherein there wanted not any kind of crueltie. And when all their Neighbors round about them, were meerely confounded with admiration, as wondring how theſe people ſhould become ſo harſh, barbarous, and rude, conſidering that all the other people of *Arabia*, had by them been reduced to curteſie and humane tractability: *Polybius* was the firſt that took notice thereof, and auouched, that it onely proceeded, by leauing the vſe of Muſique, which (from all Antiquity) had euermore beene prized and honoured in *Arcadia*, more then in any other place of the World. For it was eſpecially ordained, by the cuſtomes and decrees of the Countrey, that euery one ſhould make vſe thereof for the ſpace of thirty yeares; yea, vpon very great paines and penalties. *And this was the reaſon* (ſaith *Polybius*) *that the firſt Law-makers among thoſe people, ordained and appointed continuall vſe thereof: onely to cauſe ciuility & humanity, in regard, that (of their owne naturall diſpoſition) they were wilde, fierce, and barbarous, as all people inhabiting the Mountaines, and cold Countries are.*

Polib. in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.
* A Citty in *Arcadia*, nere *Leprcum*.

A Common-wealth quite ouerthrowne by leauing Muſicke.

Lawes and Cuſtomes for the vſe of Muſicke.

Perhaps the like iudgement might paſſe on the *Gaules* of former times, whom *Iulian* the Emperour tearmed the barbarous people of his daies: which Nation (neuertheleſſe) became afterward ſo courteous and tractable, as any other people whatſoeuer in *Europe*, whereat all Straungers wondred not a little. And yet it is generally knowne, that no people did more practiſe Muſique, or ſung more ſweetely, then they: nay, and that which goeth farre beyond this, they could daunce any daunce in *France*, were it *Ionian* or *Lydian*, that is to ſay; conſiſting of fiue or ſeauen notes or ſtrains. Which were expreſly forbidden to Youth, by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, becauſe they had a great power and preuailance, in ſoftning and humbling the hearts of men. They would alſo exerciſe their Children to the * *Dorion* Muſique, which was the firſt or chiefeſt note, to maintaine them in an harmonious ſweetneſſe, accompanied

Of the Gauls

Iul. Imp. in Epiſt. ad Antioc.

The Gaules were generally addicted to Muſick.

Plato in Lib. de Leg et Republ.

* A certaine kind of Muſick repreſenting grauity.

panied with grauitie, which was the *Dorion* proper effect.

Such prohibition might better haue beene vsed in the lesser *Asia*, where they had no other dances, but of fiue or seuen straines, especially in the Countreyes of *Ionia* and *Lydia*. But people inhabiting the Northern parts; cold, Mountainous, and Rocky, who are ordinarily more sauage, or lesse courteous then the Inhabitants of the South, or dwelling on Plaines, neuer can be better qualified or softened, then by vsing the *Ionian* & *Lydian* hermony, which was also forbidden in the Primitiue Church: and nothing was there permitted to bee sung, but of the first note, which is now most of all frequented in Churches. And like as men do disarme sauage Beasts of furie & violence, to make them of a more tractable Nature: euen so, the *Lydian* and *Ionian* Musicke or hermony, disarmeth the verie rudest and most barbarous Nations, of all their former, sauage, and cruell Natures, causing them to become milde, pliant, and affable. According as it fell out with the *Gaules*, who (it may be) could not haue beene tamed & made obedient vnto the ciuill Lawes and Ordinances of a Monarchy, if their former sterne Nature (which the Emperor *Iulian* said, was so high, and vnsufferable of seruitude) had not bin mollified and sweetned by Musicke.

Musick, is one of the members of the Mathematickes, as beeing a Science attracted from numbers: because that by them, the proportion Hermonicall is found out. *Platoes* will was, that Children should learne to sing, for recreation of their owne spirites, and to prayse God by Hymnes. And in truth, there is nothing that more taketh away offensiueneſſe, or easeth matter of great and laborious trauaile (as woorking in the ground, Masonry, Carpentry, and exercising other Arts, painefull to the bodie) then singing doth.

In like manner, all Artezans, following any Trade or profession, doe vse to sing: as Hay-makers, Haruesters, Gardiners, Deluers, Children and Weomen weeding grounds, doe weare awaie the irkesomneſſe of their labour by singing, either in heate or colde, Winds or Rain, it maketh paine the more supportable to them.

Soldiers, euen when they goe (manie times) to be slaine in a battell, will yet sing by the way: the beating of Drums, and sounding of Fifes and Trompets, giueth courage to the Soldier for his cariage in Warre, making him hardie, bold, and valiant. Nor is it to bee doubted, that Nature gaue Musicke and melodie to man, but onely for his good and benefit; as yong Children do apparantly manifest vnto vs: for, when their Nurses would haue them to sleepe, and keepe them in their Cradles: euen when they are most impatient and froward nothing sooner asswageth and preuayleth with them, then mellodie and singing. In so manie Barbarour Nations, as haue bin discouered in former Antiquitie, and in our dayes, in that part of the earth which is called the New-found World, Flutes haue beene found among them, Drums, Hoboyes, and other Instruments, and both priuately and publickely, as also in their Temples, singing of Psalmes hath beene obserued.

Many creatures, as diuers kindes of Birds, when they are in any chearfull disposition, will sing to solace and delight themselues: as the Nightingale, the Tarine, the Thrush, Linnet, Blackbird, and others; among which Birds, many haue beene taught to sing by men, as daylie in most places is discerned. As concerning foure-footed Beasts, diuers of them doe take much pleasure in Musicke, as namely Camels: for if such as guide and Gouerne them, doe not ordinarily sing or whistle to them, they will not trauel with any spirit or chearfulneſſe. All such as haue beene in the East Countreyes, and noted the Carauannes, which are troops of Camelles laden with Merchandizes, haue affirmed as much. Horses that are dressed by their Keepers, and daily sung vnto as they do it, are made verie manageable, gentle, and apt for the Saddle. Aboue all other Beasts, the Hart or Stag how wilde soeuer he bee, if hee heare a man play on a Violl, or on a Lute, he wil (by stealths) draw neerer and neerer, yea and suffer himselfe to bee touched, as I my selfe haue seene by experience.

Musicke hath mighty power and Authority ouer the spirits and affections of men: and amongst many examples, the first may be of *Timotheus*, who by pleasing sounds and chaunges of his Instrument,

Dances vsed in the Lesser Asia.

Songes of the first note or sound, not vsed in the primitiuechurch

The stern nature of the Gaules, softened by Musicke.

Musick a mẽber of the Mathematiks

Musicke maketh all labor seeme light and easie.

Nature gaue Musicke vnto man for his benefit.

Musicke in Countries of the Newe-found world.

Birdes that take delight in Musicke.

Camelles are pleased with singing.

The Hart or Stag, a great affecter of Musicke.

The reason why *Alexander* went from a Banquet.

ment, constrained *Alexander* (as ouerioyed with pleasure) for to depart from a banket. Next, we may speake of *Agamemnon*, who was loath to part from his Countrey, and go to the siedge of *Troy*, becausse he was doubtfull of the modesty of his wife *Clytemnestra*; and therefore, he left a Musition on the Harp with her; the sound whereof, should incite her to bashfulnesse and continence, so that *Ægistus* could not abuse her, without killing the Musition. But in speaking of this Harper, it maketh me to remember the Royall Psalmist *Dauid*, who of himselfe, was a man verie strong and seuere, yet much guided and detained by his Psalterion. Nor are we to thinke, that the hermonie of this Instrument, was common or vulgar, whereof the sacred Scripture maketh mention so many times, and which was iudged only (among al other) meete to celebrate the praises of God. It is composed of seauentie two stringes, in forme trlangulare, and the consonaunce thereof, is incompareable.

Agamemnon & his Wife *Clytemnestra*.

K. *Dauid* delighted highlie in his *Psalterion*.

It was ordained by *Moyses*, that God should be praised in his Temple, with voices and Instruments; and Christians (afterward) made continuance thereof by singing Psalmes, both with voices and Organs, which greatly incited Deuotion in the verie dullest minds. It was an especiall note of ciuilitie among the *Grecians*, euen as it is to this day after any feast or Banquet, to play vppon some Musical Instrument, or to sing anie *Ode* melodiously. Which obseruation, reached into *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, and *France*, where much more account is made of a cunning Musition that can ũng wel, play on Musicall Instruments, Dance, vse loftie trickes, yet keepe both tune and time, that the cadence of his feete may fit with the Instrument, then of any ydle, neglect or ignorant fellow.

Moyses apoin ted Musick in the Temple of God.

Musick obserued amongest the Grecians

Manie haue attributed the inuention of Musicke, and playing on the Lyre or Harpe, to *Orpheus*; others, to *Amphion*; the Grecians to *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*; but others, to the people of *Arcadia*, becausse the men of that Countrey, were naturally addicted thereto. The Hebrewes, as *Moyses* and *Iosephus*, doe say; that *Iuball* the Sonne of *Lamech* (who liued in the yeare of the worlde, 1040. manie Ages before *Amphion*, and al other Musitions, was the Father of all that play vppon the Harpe and Organs; and that he did first finde out the concords of Musicke; nay more, that hee carefully addicted himselfe, and played both on the Psalterion, and on the Harpe. As concerning my selfe, I will not deny, that all the fore-named men were good Musitions, but that any one man of them should bee the sole inuenter, I can verie hardly therein bee perswaded.

Of the first Inuenters of Musicke and Instruments.

Gen. 41, 21.

That no one man could be the onelie Inuenterof Musicke.

Rather I am of the minde, that euerie singuler man, according vnto the Ages wherein they liued, made addition of their skill and knowledge; and so brought it to the perfection wherein we now find it to bee. And in these verie dayes of ours, there haue liued men so excellent and skilfull, as haue added diuers Rules, which neuer were knowne before, and brought the name of Musick to admired perfection, some inuenters whereof are knowne, but other vncertaine.

Musicke brought vnto perfection in our dayes.

Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, I am desirous to set downe two seuerall experiences, concerning the efficacy and might of Musick: which my self saw practised vpon two Gentlewomen; one of them being *de la March*, neer to *Garet*, young, vertuous, and passable for beautie. This Gentlewoman fell into such a furie (by reason of a reporte made vnto her, of her husbandes inclination, to change and nouell affection) that at euery sudden moment of time, shee woulde throw her selfe headlong into the fire, or out at a Window, or into a Fish-ponde neere to her house; out of which, she had beene rescued two seuerall times; and therefore committed to more dilligent keeping.

Two experiments made of the power of Musicke.

A Gentlewoman distracted with iealously cured, and how.

Physitions could returne no good by their paines and endeuours, but a religious *Capucine* passing that way, and craning his *Passade* or Almes, at the doore of this Gentlewomans house; and hearing the strange accident befaln her, gaue them aduise, that some skilfull man, well experienced in playing vppon the Lute, should vse his cunning by her, and not to part from her in some prettie length of time, becausse it would proue verie helpfull to her. Further hee added, that in the night time, some pleasing Ditties might well consort with the Musicke, which accordingly was performed; and within lesse then three months space, the violent passion forsooke her; and she remaineth

The aduise of a *Capucine* frier.

maineth at this time ſound both in mind and bodie.

The Hiſtorie of another Gentlewomã of Honor.

I likewiſe knew another Gentle-woman of honor at *Kohen*, whoſe name may beſt be knowne by *du Parreau*, that al her life time, did neuer vſe the helpe of anie Phyſicke, how great or grieuous ſoeuer her infirmities were. But in all hir diſeaſes, griefes, hurts, Childe-weakeneſſes, and lameneſſe, ſhee neuer deſired anie better Phyſition, then one that could artificially play on the Taber and Pipe, and him ſhee would entitle her true Phyſition.

Griefes and great infirmities cured by Muſicke.

This Gentlewoman being well entred into Age, it happened, that an extreame paine ſeazed on her knee, immagined to proceede from ſome taſte of the Gowte. Whereupon, ſhe would haue her Taborer inſtantly, to play her a pleaſaunt and liuely Carranto. The Taborer being verie willing to pleaſe his Miſtris, made ſuch haſt to touch his Taber, and ſounde his Pipe in the beſt manner: that ſtriuing to exceede himſelfe in Art and dexteritie, both in readineſſe of his winde, and agility of hand, he fell down in a ſwoond vpon the Floore. Hee being diſabled from playing any longer, and all there preſent wondering not a little, to ſee him

A ſtrange accident vnto a Taborer.

lye in ſuch ſtraunge eſtate, without anie recouery of ſtrength or knowledge, for the ſpace almoſt, of three quarters of an houre: the Gentlewoman her ſelfe, euen then complained, that her paine and affliction was neuer ſo extraordinarilie on her, as in the time of the Muſicks ſo ſuddaine ceſſation.

The Taborer hauing recouered ſtrength and iudgement againe, and indifferentlie refreſhed with a ſprightly Cup of Wine, fell afreſh to his former skilfull Muſicall playing, and the Gentlewoman felte her paine immediately to leaue her. I my ſelfe was in the Chamber when theſe accidents happened; and do auouch vppon my credit, that the Gentlewoman thus liued an hundred and ſix yeares.

The Authour auoucheth the trueth of this Hiſtorie.

In briefe, in all well pollicied and ordered Commonweales, men ſhould enſtruct their Sons and Daughters in Muſicke, becauſe it mollifieth angrie hearts, aſſwageth ſadneſſe, preſerueth people in kinde concord and amitie, healeth many melancholy diſeaſes, and is no mean exciter of the minde to deuotion. *Plato* was of the minde, that the Heauens (in

The Authors concluſion.

their motion and ſtirring) doth make ſo great and melodious an hermonie, that if man could be able to vnderſtand it, he would neuer be wearied with abiding in this world.

Muſicke and melody in the heauens motion.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Gold, the properties & excellency thereof: Where it is found: How it is extracted, purified: and what paine is beſtowed in getting it.

ME thinkes, I ſhoulde offer great wrong to Nature, if hauing written on ſo manie ſundry things, I ſhould not ſay ſomewhat concerning Gold, it beeing the moſt excellent of all other mettals, yea (in a maner) ſurpaſsing all things created in this neather world. For, it is ſaide to be immortall, exempted from all ruſt and corruption; inſomuch, that lying hidden in the earth, in the Water, or in the moſt putrifyed heape of filth, for ſo manie yeares as any one pleaſeth, yet it wil neuer receyue or taſt of any imperfection; or let it be continually kept in the fire, yet it neuer diminiſheth, neither receiueth any change or alteration.

Gold reputed to be imortal and free from filth or putrifaction.

His colour carrieth reſemblance with the beames of the Sunne, which reioyceth or cheareth melancholy people. It hath no euil ſauour or taſt neither ſoileth their hands that meddle with it, as all other Mettals elſe do; which likewiſe float aloft aboue Quick-ſiluer, but Gold only goes to the bottome. If it be receiued into the bodie, it neuer offendeth the ſtomacke, be it either in powder, or ſolidly in Morſelles: but contrarywiſe, giueth cheareſulneſſe to the heart, and comforteth the vital ſpirits, whereto other Mettals are often offenſiue.

The colour, properties, & perfections of Gold.

Therefore, let no man enter into anie meruaile, if the World doth make ſuch eſtimation thereof, and prize it aboue all other thinges. For, as concerning the matter whereof it conſiſteth, a Learned Authour ſayeth: *That it is compoſed of*

The matter wherof Gold is compoſed, being two Elementarie ſubſtances.

of two Elementarie ſubſtances, iuſtlie and equally proportioned. Theſe ſubſtaunces then ſo mingled, being equall and vnited in proprietie, can endure nothing elſe, but this amiable and concordiall Commixtion, which perfecteth it ſelfe in the fermentation and knitting togither, making ſuch an interligation, and abſolute vnion of the one with the other; that it appeareth meerly impoſsible to diſſolue or ſeperate them. So that, bee it that this enſueth by the influence of the Celeſtiall bodies, or by the diuturnity and power of time, or by the admirable operation of Nature; or elſe, that all theſe are therein aſsiſting: yet notwithſtanding, theſe Elementarie ſubſtances do conuert themſelues into a Mettally bodie, which is tearmed Golde. The temperature whereof, with the Colligation and Vnion, maketh it ſo firme and ſolide, that not only it begetteth a common and vulgar permanencie: but receiueth likewiſe an incorruptible temperature, as it were, hauing (I know not how) ſome what in him, that enricheth and honoureth him, with al the forenamed excellent properties.

Elementarie, conuerted Metally bodies.

Merchants ſaile by Sea, trauell on the Land, with infinite cares, dangers, and paines, only to get this Gold. The maine intent of Soldiers, that expoſe themſelus euerie moment into the pawes of death, or danger of her perpetuall thraldome, is only to winne Golde. For be it, that they ſurprize a Citty by aſſault, or winne the day by triall of battaile: they wil ſeeke after no other Luggage or Mooueables, but Gold onely: and if priſoners labor to redeeme their liues, the ranſome muſt be Gold only. Schollers, and men experienced in all Arts, their ſtudie & practiſe is to no other end, but to gaine Golde. If a payment be made to anyi great perſon, it muſt be in faire Gold. If guifts to Princes, none fitter then Golde. If but betweene Friend and Friend, the courteſie doth beſt expreſſe it ſelfe in Gold.

All actions & endeuours tend vnto nothing more, then to the getting of Gold.

Kinges, Emperours, and Princes, by the meanes of Golde, haue made themſelues redoubted and dreadfull, and conquered manie potent Prouinces. Let *Phillip* King of *Macedon* remaine as a teſtimonie; who cauſing a re-ſearch to bee made in the Mines of Gold which were in his Countreyes (that formerly had bin throughly digged, and quite giuen ouer) found yet ſo much remaining, as yeilded him the whole Conqueſt of Greece, and *Alexander* his Sonne afterward, of all the Eaſt. And many times, by the meanes of this excelling Mettall, the ſame King *Phillip*, cauſed impregnable places to bee ſurrendred to him, which he neuer could haue ſurprized by power.

Kingdomes & great Prouinces wonne by Gold.

To approue the truth heerof, *Plutark* reporteth of the ſame *Phillip*, that he hauing beſiedged a place, by Nature ſo inexpugnable, that his owne followers aduiſed him to withdraw from thence: he demaunded of him that had beſt experience of the ſaide place, if there were no meanes, to let an Aſſe (laden with Gold) but goe about it. Whereto aunſwere was made, yes doubtleſſe. Then *Phillip* aſſured himſelfe of taking the place, for he that was the Commaunder in it, comming to parlie, and touching the Gold, ſubmitted himſelfe to King *Phillip*, & the place alſo.

Impregnable places made paſſable by Gold.

The *Indiaes*, which be ſo farre off, are ſought for with danger of death, and vnſpeakable trauails of ſo manie thouſands of men, which the Kings of Spaine haue continually ſent thither: onely for the Mines of Golde, and rich ſands ſo frequently found in the Riuers. Which neuer would be ſo fiercely followed, if I were able to recount, how manie men and women grow negligent of their own honor and good fame, onely by the baſe affection of Gold. But let vs nowe ſee, where this Golde is found; and in what manner it is come by: which I will relate in a Chapter by it ſelfe, leaſt this ſhould be offenſiue to the Reader by length.

The reaſon why the Indiaes are ſo much trauayled & ſought after.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

How Mines of Gold are known where they are: And in what manner the Golde is taken forth & washed.

IT would require too long a labour to relate all those Regions where Golde is found; for I am perswaded, that if men did bestow their paines in seeking, Mines wold be found (almost in euerie Country: yet more in some one, then in other; and of greater ease to be obtained. In manie parts of Germany, Gold is found, as in *Bohemia*, *Transyluania*, *Lauris*, *Sibebourg*, and many other Countreyes. In *England* in some few places. In *Macedonia* in a place called *Syderocapsa*. In diuers parts of *Affrica*, as in *Ethyopia*, and beyond the rest, in the New worlde, which we improperly tearme *India*, where Gold is had with much lesse labour, then amongst vs.

All Countries supposed to haue Mines of Golde, but not alike in quantity.

Yet howsoeuer it be, nothing can be obtained without labour; and wee must not thinke, that when men are in the *Indiaes*, they finde Ingots readie made to their hands, and gather vp Golde, as we do stones vppon the High-wayes. Surely it cannot be so, for we finde by the Spanish Histories, that the more part of the Naturall *Indians*, do meerely dye with labouring in the Mines of Golde, as being ouer-enforced and constrained vnto hard toyles, and verie badly vsed by the Spaniards.

Men find not Ingots of gold ready made to their hãds.

Now adayes, no such plentie of Gold is brought thence, as formerly hath bin, for that which was sent hither, and in so great quantities, had long time before beene gathered by the *Indians*. And so much the rather, because the greater part of their Idolles, were made of massy Gold; the verie soles of their Shooes, Vessels, and wearing Garments. Their Temples and Royall Pallaces, were all couered quite ouer with Golde, as ours are with Lead, and manie other mooueables, which were too long and tedious to relate.

No such store of Gold now as in former times.

The Newe World emptied of her Gold.

Next, the great and admirable ransomes of manie of their Kinges, I passe ouer in silence, as being at large discoursed in diuers other Bookes. But nowe at this present, a new kind of search must bee made for Golde, with much difficult labour, and great expence of time, especially, to recouer anie such quantitie. Therefore, let vs examine the places where it is to be had, and what proceeding is vsed therein.

Mettally matters haue their propper seating in Mountaines, in the same maner, as Trees haue their roots, Trunkes Braunches, and Leaues. And those hilles, whose toppes tend towardes the South, and their feete stretch towardes the North, dooth giue a demonstration to haue Mettall in them, beecause Mettalles doe engender themselues of a verie thicke and grosse humour, which may bee knowne by the colour and sauour; for, it yeeldeth a Blacke coloured earth, in regard of the Golde and Siluer, and such is the sauour also.

Matters of Mettals, are in Mountains and discerned by colour and smell of the earth.

If yee breake two stones, of one and the same hill, if any Mettall be beneath in the bowelles thereof, yee shall apparantly perceiue, that the Stones will sauour exceedingly of Sulphure. Whereby is to bee vnderstoode, that the first creation or composure of Golde, is in the verie top and highest part of Mountaines, or other loftie places, becaule the Sunne there purifieth that, which is ouermuch earthy. But when Raynes and Torrents, doe (by little and little) distill vppon the hilles, they beare the Golde along downe with them vnto the lower partes of those hilles: whence likewise ensueth, that the earth rifting by the Raine, Golde therein encloseth it selfe.

Gold is created in Mountains or high Hils, and in what manner

Hauing declared sufficiently (as I think) the true Originall of Golde, and of his Mines, I come now to relate, how it is come by, as wel in *Germany*, as in *Caliçut*, *Peru*, and other Prouinces, be they in the East, West, North, or South, in which places there are diuers diuersities of Mines. Becaule they must either fish for Graines of Golde in the Riuers, or

Howe manie diuersities of Mines of gold there are, & how they are seuerally termed.

delue and digge in the Rockes & Mountaines, according vnto the places where such Mines are discouered. For knowledge whereof, it is to bee vnderstoode, that there be Mines, which are tearmed pendant or hanging Mines; others called lying or setled; others, oblique, or winding diuers waies: and others beside, that are streaming or gliding gently along in the earth or water.

Of Pendant Mines.

The pendant Mines, be those which are found in the sommitie or superficies of hilles or Mountaines, and haue (from thence) earth vnderneath them.

Of lying or setled Mines.

Those that bee called lying or set'ed, are such as are beneath in the bottome, or playne firme ground, being carried downe thether by torrents and outragious Raines.

Of oblique or winding Mines.

And the other which are sayde to be oblique or Circkling, haue their courses thwarting or trauersing, eyther in those which hang, or in the Lying Mines. And all of these, doo disperse and spred themselues (by the meanes of little Pearling Gullets of Warer) into the neerest neyghbouring Riuers: from whence ensueth, that there are Riuers, generallie thoroughout the World, wherein is Sande and Grauell, appearing as if it were Azure and Golden in Colour, and therein are pure and fine graines of good Gold.

Of riuers that haue pure & fine graines of Golde, and how they wer discerned.

But returning to the pendant or hanging Mine, it behooueth heere to know, after what maner the *Indians* (and diuers other Nations, where such matter is in vse and practise) do gouerne and carrie themselues, in getting or deriuing this Mettall out of the earths entrailes.

Before we enter vppon the worke, it is necessarie to knowe, that in the Easterne Countreyes, where the people are Idolaters, such men as intend to goe and digge for Gold, and neuer were before at any Mines opening: doe abstaine from their Wiues, & all other pleasures of the body, vsing verie solemne Fastes and abstinences, adoring the Sun with earnest prayers. And this they doe, not onely because they hold a firme opinion, that Gold must needes be a sacred thing: but also to arme and settle themselues against Diabolicall Visions and illusions, which they are often subiect to in solitarie places, where they raise vp and finde so precious a Mettall, as they that haue beene in *Peru*, and the other Neighbouring Countreyes, confessed to haue seen, during the time of their there present abiding.

Ceremonies obserued by Idolaters in getting Gold out of the earth.

Diuelliſh Visions and Delusions.

Gold there is found in the earth, and in Rockie places, bee they the plaines or hilly grounds, where there is no verdure, but all naked and bare. In such partes as are without Water, as the experimented and skilful in the Veyns of Mines (knowing for a certainty what can be in such an earth) do first wash the place very cleane where they purpose to digge; which being done, they delue about eight or ten foote in depth, and as much in length and largenesse; then, in a certaine vessell made of purpose, they still doe wash the earth, as it is digged vp. If thus by washing, they finde any Golde, they continue on the labour: but if they find none, they will not yet giue ouer, vntill by digging deeper, they finde out the Rocke, which they breake and pierce thorough with their Instruments, vaulting it daylie as they goe on, with Engines and strong defences of Woodde, that the earth or stones may not fall downe vppon them.

The first maner of digging for gold, in groundes haue no Water.

Of digging til they come to the Rocke, and what is done after.

Concerning such Mines as are sought for in plaine grounds, they beginne digging (so neere as possibly they may) vnto some Brooke, Riuer, Current, or Lake: because thereby (in washing the earth) they may the sooner perceiue the Gold; or when any commeth to them, for otherwise, the labour would be too insupportable. And this is the reason, that the richest men in the *Indiaes*, haue store of Slaues, whom they onely employ in digging and deluing, beside other laborers, that bring or draw vppe the earth in Baskets, and others that carrie it to the Water in Panniers or Dossers. In the Water, bee it Riuer, Lake, Brooke, or Spring, there are diuers other slaues, that stand vp aboue the Knees, washing the saide earth (as it is brought vnto them) in Siues or Searces, making vse of no more water then is needfull, and so dexteriously seperating the Golde from the Earth, that as the earth (by little and little) glydeth away, so the Golde remaineth behinde in the Siue or Searce, then afterward, making (as it were) a second kinde of seperation, it is put into a Vessell by it selfe, and more earth broght to washing in like maner, and vsed accordingly. Heer is to be remembred, that they which wash the Mettall in these Siues or Searces, are most commonly Women, who haue

Of Mines in plaingrounds

Rich men in *India*, haue store of slaues and how they are imployed

Of washing the earth in Siues or Searces.

two

two men, ſtanding ready to fil their ſiues; two others, which bring the Earth or Oare to them; two more for lading, and two for fetching, drawing it vp from the Diggers. So much ſhall ſuffice for the firſt manner of bringing Golde from the Mine.

Other means and waies for the finding out of Gold.

There are other meanes, and in another manner; as alſo the place where the Golde is founde, is altogether different. Conſidering, that there are riuers, wherin both ſande and Graines of Golde are found; which for the more eaſe in recouering, if the Riuer bee ſmall and little, the *Indians* labour to emptie and draw it drie. Then taking the ſande and Earth in the bottome, they waſh it in ſuch ſort as hath been declared.

Of Golde found within Brooks or Riuers.

But if the Riuer or Spring bee ſuch, as it cannot bee made drie: they chaunge and turne the courſe ſome other waie, quite from his Naturall Bedde or Current. Which beeing done, they go to ſeeke for Gold in the very middeſt of the Channell, amongeſt the Pebbles and Flintes: and more profite returneth by this kinde of Fiſhing, then by waſhing the digged Earth, as I haue truely found by obſeruation.

Fiſhing for Gold, is better then waſhing the erth

But howſoeuer the Mettall of Golde is thus found out in Riuers, or in the Plaine Fieldes: yet it is helde for moſt certaine and infallible, that it was firſt bredde in the Sommetie and toppes of Hilles or Mountaines; and the vehement ſhowres and falles of Raine (when this Earth was baked and conuerted into Golde, by the radiant and ſplendant beames of the Sunne) by ſofte and ſlow ſlydings, carried it downe into neere adioyning Riuers and Brookes, which lye apt and readie to receyue whatſoeuer is ſent downe by Torrents from the Mountaines; as alſo, into the vnder-ceuen grounds.

The powerfull beames of the Sunne, createth gold

Therefore, there is no further queſtion to be vrged, but that Golde hath his Originall in the ſuperficies of the Earth, and breedeth in the moſt ſecret partes thereof. So that Mines are oftentimes made like vnto Cauernes and Grottes; whereof, and likewiſe of Mines in the Mountaines, wee doe now purpoſe to ſpeake.

Gold hath his Originall in the ſuperficies of the erth.

The *Indians*, doe vſe another kinde of meanes for the finding of Golde, which is much more daungerous; and is alſo obſerued in thoſe Countreyes, falſelie called the Weſt *Indiaes*: yea, it is likewiſe vſed in the Northerne Regions, towards the higher *Sueſsia*, *Gothia*, and partes of the *Varines*, all ioyning to the kingdome of *Norway*.

How Gold is gotten out of pendāt Mines which properly are called Mines of the Mountaines.

This manner of emptying Mines, is obſerued in thoſe that are pendant, to wit; Mines of the Mountaines. In which labour, diuers Engines are employed, and vaulted Tables vſed, to hinder the daunger hourely to bee feared, becauſe great perilles dooth ordinarily happen. For, ſome haue beene noted, in VVorking to vndermine the Rocke, to be on the ſuddaine murdered, with the fall of great Stones, breaking out of the hollowe riftes. Others, that climbe and grapple along the ſharpe ſteepie Rockes, with Doſſers and Baskets faſtened vnto their backes, ſeeking for the Oare of the Mines, to carrie it vnto the VVater, by beeing altogether vnable to holde theyr owne waight any longer, fall downe and are deſtroyed.

Great danger in the pendāt or Mountaine Mines.

But, that this buſineſſe might be put in execution, with much leſſe daunger, ſome haue inuented a verie great wheele, guided and directed (in ſome places) by Horſſes: but for lacke of ſuch help, men do therein employ their ſtrength and induſtrie. By the meanes of this wheele, they let downe and mount vppe againe, the Deluers and Diggers in the Mine; and thoſe alſo that carrie the Oare to waſhing. This VVheele ſerueth likewiſe, to conuey away the VVater which the Diggers happen to light on, verie deepe in the Earth. Another great daunger which I do obſerue in this ſearch, is the noyſome exhalations yſſuing out of the Mines, whereby many people haue been ſtifled, not being able to endure ſo groſſe an Ayre. Many times alſo, rauines and invndations of water happeneth, ſuddenly breaking foorth, by ſome ouerture of the ſourſe or Spring, and ouertaketh or rather ſurmounteth them ſooner, then they can haue reſpite for giuing warning to them aloſte, for drawing of them vppe. And therefore, thoſe as bee employed in this laborious paines & trauaile, commonly are ſuch as haue deſerued the Halter: or elſe, theyr owne Slaues, whoſe Liues are of leſſe eſteeme vnto them, then are ſome of theyr beſt Beaſts.

A commodious Wheele for eaſe of Workmen in the Golden Mines.

The noyſome ſauors & exhalations in Mines.

The qualitie of ſuch as vndergoe the greateſt danger.

Wee are further to knowe, that the Golde which is found in the *Indiaes*, is not so much charged with Mettalles, as that which is hadde in *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Affrica*: because it is farre more pure, and yeeldeth not so much labour to the Purifier. For that Golde of the Indiaes, is fined or purified only by fire: but that elswhere (ouer and beside the fire) is beaten and re-beaten with the strokes of hamours; and then in the end, refined with strong Water. Also, rarely or sildome do they find any pure Gold in the Mine: but it is intermedled with Siluer, or some other Mettals.

Gold in graines beeing founde in Riuers.

As for the Golde in Graines, which is found in Riuers and perling Brookes, they vsed (in some parts) to gather it with the helpe of Sheepes skinnes, that hadde the Wool on them: but because it appeared to bee ouer-laborious, the vse of Quicke-siluer was deuised; whereby it is easily knowne among the sand. From which maner of trying or finding Gold, the Fable of the Golden Fleece was inuented, which *Iason* and his *Argonantes*, sayled for to *Pontus*. And hauing attained so farre as the Riuer *Phasis*, where the Countrey people found out and gathered their Golde, with such Wooll skinnes: they deriued thence, many good Golden Arguments, and could tel store of Tales, at their returning home. But bee it how soeuer *Iason* and his followers Fleeced, and got all the Golde from the *Colchians*, which they had gathered for manie yeares together, with their sheepskinnes: And then gaue it out in a mockery, that they had conquered and woonne the Fleece of Gold.

The Interpretation of the Fable of the Golde-fleece

CHAP. XXXI.

Whence the diuersitie of Golde proceedeth: His Medicinable Vertues. Of visions and illusions that are mette withall in Mines. And of the deceite that is committed in the composition, which is called Aurum potabile.

Opinion conceiued of one kind of Gold only.

SOme do hold, that in the whole vniuersall Worlde, there is but one kinde of Gold only; and that (generally) whereseoeuer it is found, or whence soeuer it commeth: if it be well refined and purified without anie commixtion, it is continuallie good Gold. Also, that that which is drawne out of the verie coldest Regions in the world, is as good as that of the verie hottest parts. And that of the East is no more excellent, then the other of the West. But when Finers, Gold-smiths, and Monnoyers, do attribute diuersitie of Names thereto, esteeming one kinde to bee of much greater price and value then another (as we may note for example; one is tearmed Ducate Golde, another Crown Gold, another Maille Golde, or *Or de Maille*, another Pistolet Gold, valewing xxi. Carrats, another eighteene, and so of others; some more, some lesse:) Questionlesse, these Names and dignities, did receiue their birth and Original in diuers Countries, where Gold had beene adulterated and sophisticated, by the vnfaythfulnesse of Workemen, and multiplyed with other minglings of Metals, of much lesser value, and farre inferiour in puritie to the other. Which multiplication, hath beene inuented, according vnto their will and humour, that laboured to augment our moderne Moneyes. As for Ducates, Crownes, * *Philippus*, * *Angelots*, and * *Portugaloises*, they were diuersly forged of pure and impure Gold, and the inuention hath not beene Moderne.

Original of the diuers kinds of gold, and of their seuerall terms by valewatiō.

Multiplication began in Moderne monies.

* A Golden Coine worth iii.s. Sterling.
* Our English Angell.
* The Portegue, worth iii. li. x.s. Sterling

For wee finde, that from the time of the Romaines Greatnesse, the Commonwealth

mon-wealth being not able to supply the expences of their warres: did sometimes diminish the prices of their moneyes, for an ouer-plus gaine and aduantage. Likewise, they sophisticated their purest Siluer, enter-mingling it with an eyght part of Copper, onely because they wold encrease it.

Opinion contrary to Antiquity & men of skil in Metals.

Some (neuertheless) contrarie to the opinion of Antiquitie, and of many, verie skilfull in matter of Mettals, doe say the conttary, to wit; That the Easterne Golde is much better then the Northerne; and better in one Country, then in another: But as for my selfe, I holde the first Opinion, as beeing perswaded, that Nature neuer tooke delight in making one Elementarie substance of gold, more fine or perfect then another. For, hee is so much the neater and purer in his qualitie, as the Elements are simple, whereof hee is framed or composed.

There is only but one kind of Gold, and the reason to aproue it.

It is no shame then to vs, if we hold Golde in such excellent estimation, farre aboue all other Riches, and valew it in our iudgement, to bee more precious then all other Mettalles whatsoeuer. For, Nature consulting with her selfe, to compose it of an equall quantitie, truely correspondent to the Symmetrie and iust proportion of the Elementes, yeeldeth it readilie purifyed from the verie Originall, according as the selfesame Elements were truely simple. And by Coniunction of those Elements, beeing in Vertue equall together, was engendered such a Delicate and perfect mixtion of indissoluble Vnion, composing the Connexion so intirely and faithfully: that it formed an incorruptible Paste or substaunce, which is permanent vnto all Eternitie both in goodnesse and excellencie.

The purity of Golde from the first Originall therof.

Gold cannot endure an excrefcence of fowle Commixtion.

And this is the cause, why it cannot bee Conquered by the iniuries of Antiquity, and that it will not containe in it selfe, neyther endure anie excrescence and superfluity of fowle commixture. For, although it remaineth as buried in the Water, or in the Fire, for some long space of time: yet notwithstanding, it is neuer blemished, neyther receyueth anie other qualitie or defect, as I haue formerly sayde. This is the priuiledge, which is alone perticuler vnto Golde onely, aboue all other Mettalles whatsoeuer.

The Medicinable properties & vertues of Gold.

Now, albeit the Græcians haue spoken nothing of his properties and Medicinable vertues: yet the *Arabians* were not therein forgetfull, because they appointed it in prepared Medicaments, to euacuate sullen and Melancholie Humors.

Cauterizing with Golde.

Item, to make an actuall Cautere, especiallie in his Soueraigne qualitie, it must onelie be done with Golde: for the Wound which it maketh and Vlcerates, is much more the sooner healed.

Gold maketh sweet breath.

Golde held within the mouth, maketh the breath good and sweete.

Gold restoreth lost haire

The Filedust of Golde, pounded or beaten smallest on a Marble stone, is verie good in such Medicines, as are giuen for the re-growing of Haire againe, after it hath been formerly lost: or for Ring wormes and Tetters, when it is so small beaten, as it may bee scarse discerned vnder the Thumbe Naile: then putting it into the eyes, it is very soueraigne for clearing of the sight.

Gold preserueth the eye-sight, & comforteth the heart.

It is drunke also, for a preseruatiue against the accidents and dauntings of the heart.

Gold quenched in Water, helpeth the Quartain Ague & Dropsy

Water, wherein an Ingot of Golde (made red hotte in the Fire) hath beene some few times quenched: or, wanting an Ingot, a Ducate, Portugue, or some such other thick and great piece of gold: that Water, mingled with wine, helpeth the Quartaine Feauer, purgeth the Melancholy humor, diminisheth the puft vp Spleene or Milte, and is also a singulare remedy against the Dropsie.

Spirits haunting Mines, are verie dangerous to the poor Pioners.

Nor are those reports to be reputed as Fables, concerning euill Spirites or Dæmons, which haue bin seene and hearde in Mines: for this is the most irkesom and dangerous thing, that hurteth and offendeth the poore Mettally Pioners. And manie times, they behold the rowling of great stones from the maine Rocke, their Engines suddenly broken all to peeces; their Ladders ouerthrowne, and the Cords (whereby they holde) broken in sunder; so that the parties fall beyond all recouery.

Spirites seruiceable for a while; and hurtful afterward.

Others haue bin rapt and transported suddenly away, and neuer after eyther seen or heard of. These hurtful spirits, are thought also to do them infinit small seruices, as to them that draw vp the Mine, and cleaue the great stones of the Rock, (which is thought sometimes impossible

to be done, without such strange help) & counterfetting a thousand voices, with as manie Apish and fantasticke trickes, for the pastime and pleasure of such poore people in their labour. But verie soon after, except they be aduised and careful of themselues, a peece of the Rocke fals on their heades, and then this ioy is conuerted into teares and sad complaintes. And this happeneth more in the *Indiaes*, and amongst those Idolaterous people, then where any Christians are, or frequent.

More among the idolatrous Indians, then any wher els.

Belonius reporteth, that when he was in *Greece*, at the Mountaine of *Syderocapsa*, where the Mines are, that appertaine to the Turke: himselfe went to peepe in, at one of the spiracles or breathing holes of a Mine, which had formerlie beene, (but not for a long while) of great reuennew to his Maister, who was a Iew; but as then hee was constrained to forsake it, because it was haunted with a Mettallie Spirit. And because he had very often shewne himselfe, in the forme and likenesse of a Goate, with faire and goodlie Hornes of Golde, they called that hole or Spiracle, *Hyaris Cabron*, which was at the top of a Village, named *Pianits*, in the same Mountaine, and neer to the Brook, tearmed *Rotas*. But this was such a discontented Deuil, as none might be suffered to labour there, neither in company, nor alone.

Belonius his Historie of a metally spirit.

An angry discontented spirit.

He affirmeth also, that in other Mines, there were diuers other mettally Spirits, that would doe no harme to anie of the Workemen, but helpe them many waies in their labours. *Munster*, who had visited sundry Mines in *Germanie*, records the verie same. To yeelde a reason for these matters, I cannot: but referre it to such as are better seene in such thinges, then I am my selfe: yet Saint *Augustine* speaketh verie amply thereof, in his book of the Cittie of God.

Aug. in lib. 9. de Ciuit. Dei.

But before I end this Chapter, I wold aduertise the well minded Reader, to beware of certaine gadding Emperickes or Mountebankes, making profession of Physicke, who giue vnto sickely people a kinde of powder, or a certaine liquor to drinke, which enforceth the bodie for to purge so violently both vpward & downward, that verie many haue died thereby. Concerning mine owne iudgment heerin, I take it to be *Antimonie*, though they

Deceite committed by Quacksaluers & Empericks.

please to tearme it, *Aurum Potabile*. For, if it were Gold, it could not do any harme: for whatsoeuer proceedeth of Gold, cannot but be good, and free from hurt. But vnder the shaddow of his Sacred vertue, such Conseruers haue taken occasion, to commit thereby verie great abuses. As there are some also, that Nursing young Children after their owne manner, doo let them champe double Ducats in their mouths: and then their slauer or spettle is to bee preserued: affirming it to be verie helpeful to diuers diseases.

Aurũ Potabile.

Yong Children driuell or slauer.

But because these are euident and apparant tromperies; I am of the minde, that it wil not passe any long time vnpunished.

Thus you see, what I haue Collected out of manie good Authors, both Ancient and Moderne; as also the iudgement of approoued good Metallers, concerning the true History of this so excellent & much affected Mettal: which althogh it looke sometimes verie pale, it only proceedeth thorough the enuie and desire, that euerie man (Naturally) beareth vnto it.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Interpretation of those three seuerall Titles, Democratia, Aristocratia, & Monarchia, *which are three diuers kindes of Gouernement in a Commonwealth, to vnderstand which of them, is the best and most expedient.*

I Did purposely insert this Chapter, to declare the great errour of manie in these our dayes, who beholding seditious troubles to offend the authoritie of Soueraign Princes (without any cause or subiect) in too manie countries, and parts of Christendome; would haue Common-weales formed, according to their perticuler affections, some being *Democratiques*, others, *Aristocratiques*, and are all vtter Enemies vnto absolute Monarchy. Nowe, beecause these three

The Authors reason for this Chapters inserting.

three wordes are not easily vnderstood, except it be by such men as haue knowledge in the Greeke tongue; the courteous Reader shall finde my honest furtherance therein; albeit *Monsieur du Verdier*, Lord of *Vaupriuaz*, hath written and related somewhat thereof, yet very succinctly. But I will alleadge the reasons both of the one and other, to the end it may be knowne, which of these kindes of Common-wealth is the best, and likest to be of longest continuance.

These three words not easily vnderstood by euery man.

Democratia, or popular estate and preheminence, is a Common-weale, where the free and poorest (beeing the greatest number) do ouer-rule and commaund all the rest. *Aristocratia*, is that which we may interpret in our language, to be the power of the most vertuous, and in Latine, *Optimarum Principatus*: in regard, that they are reputed to be very good and vertuous, as commonly wee hold our best Gentlemen to be. This forme of gouernment taketh place, when as few Noblemen are approoued vertuous, either in learning or good manners; to sway the Soueraignetie of the whole body, and minister Lawes to the rest of the people, as well in generall, as in perticular. *Monarchia*, is that awefull authority, when one alone hath the sole power ouer all the people, both Nobles and others, commaunding absolutely.

The definition of *Democratia*.

Of *Aristocratia*

When this kind of gouernment is allowed.

Of *Monarchia*

This forme of gouernment in any Common-weale, is called Royaltie. And me-thinkes, now that I haue giuen yee the signification of these three Titles: it would not much varry from our purpose, to set downe which of them is the most profitable to the people, tollerable, and of longest continuance. For many reasons and Arguments may bee produced on either side, some whereof will seeme to be receiueable: which neuertheless are not, and therefore I hold it fittest, to let them bee tried by open euidence.

The Soueraigne authority of Royalty.

Many thinges seeme good, that are not so indeed.

First then, such as approue the estate of *Democratia*, or popularitie, will alleage vnto vs: that there haue been *Democraties*, of the very worthiest men in Armes, and that by the Lawes of the very greatest Iurisconsults, Oratours, and Artezans, there should not be any other Common-weales, where the faction of a few Lords among them, or the iealousie of one sole Monarch, should hinder the subiects in any great attempts. And, which is more, it appeareth, that the true note of a Common-wealth, should consist in a popular estate onely: for then, all the people enioy the publike good, each man partaking in common good fortunes, spoyles, wages, and conquests. Whereas a few Lords in *Aristocratia*, and one alone in Monarchy; conuert the publike benefit to perticular interest. In briefe, if there be nothing more to bee desired, then that Magistrates should be obedient to the Lawes, and subiects to Magistrates: it appeareth also, that these may be best obserued in a popular estate, where there is nothing else but Law, who is the Lady and Mistresse of all. These are the principall points that can be alleaged, to vphold popular authority, which carrieth a goodly luster in apparance: but indeed, all these reasons are nothing else in effect, but meer Spiders webs, soft, gentle and cunningly wouen, yet of no validity or strength at all.

Their reasons that defend the sway of Popularity.

Generall benefit of the people.

Lnw the Lady and Mistris of all.

To refute that which hath been said, of a popular estate, or Common-wealth, we will begin with the first Allegation: that therein hath been found more Law-makers, Orators, good captaines, and Handy-crafts men, then in any other. It is very certaine, that the cause of so many Law-makers in this estate, proceeded from the contrarietie of Lawes, one repugnant to another, which Magistrates suffered to liue in suspence, during the time as they exercised their Offices; neuer caring or respecting, whether they were beneficial or hurtfull, but onely that some memory might remaine of them, after the expiration of their authority. This was an ordinary custome in *Rome*, as may be noted, when the Consull *Cassius* proclaimed by the sound of a Trumpet; that all the *Latines* and *Hernians*, which had no Houses in Rome, should auoide and get them gone. *Virginius*, his companion in rule, caused the contrary also to be published, to make the people capable of such a Law as he would promulgate, and to flesh the Inhabitants (in the hart of the Citty) against the Strangers. By reason of these two contrarie Lawes, some were found, that studied

A refutation of the reasons formerly alleaged.

The cause why there were so many Law-makers.

Example of the Consull *Cassius*, and *Virginius* his associate.

The cause of such store of Captaines.

studyed how to glose and accord these differences, and they that medled most busily therein, were termed great Lawmakers. If (in this condition) such great Captains haue bin found; it grew by no other occasion, but that in such popular estates, ciuill Warres were orderlie very frequent. Heereof let *Rome* be a Witnesse, where oftentimes the people were beheld in a heape on the one side, and the Nobility on another side, sometimes in three deuisions. Or, if they had peace among themselues; then they were at Warre with their Neighbours. And indeed, through this continuall exercise of Armes, there were many good Captaines and Souldiours made; but with the dear expence of the Cittizens blood and liues.

War is more beneficial for Souldiours, then Citizens

Of Oratours, and eloquent Speakers.

For Oratours, because any people that commonly are without Letters or learning, or any store of iudgement, doe affect such as praise them; he that can best please by those meanes, tickling the eare with finery wordes: shall be sure to be esteemed among such people, and eloquence is very dangerous, except it be well vsed. For the attaining of which degree, Oratours haue ordinarily no other obiect, but contend in the Art of Rhetoricke, who shall speake smoothest. And it is no matter of meruaile, if excellent Orators bee found in popular estates: for there was a *Demosthenes* in *Athens*, and a *Cicero* in *Rome*. Moreouer, to aske counsell of the people, as anciently it was don in popular Cõmonweales: were nothing else, but to request Wisedome from furious mad men, and it hath long past as a well knowne Prouerbe; *Wise Men propound, and Fooles giue resolution.* Moreouer, we know very well, that in an assembly of people, nothing can be kept secret, which is a most pernitious thing. The difficulties ensuing, by conuentickling a multitude of people in one place, the disorder among croudes and throngs, the variety of voyces, and inconstancy of men of many minds; all these I passe ouer.

Ignorant people affect praises.

Confusion is among multitude of people.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 7. & 8.

The people, of their owne Nature (saith *Titus Liuius*) are insolent and excessiue in all liberty and licence, when matters goe well with them; and as deiected or downe-pressed are they, vpon the least losse: for vicious and impudent men, are aduanced among them, but the honest and vertuous are thrust out by the eares. As for in-Iustice, the people say, let no care be had thereof: prouided, that profit may bee deriued from iudgements, and sold to the faireſt offerer: that good meanes may bee had, to ruinate, Rich, Noble, and honest men, hurrying them without any cause, but meere capitall hatred to such good mindes, contrary to the many-headed humour and Nature. For this cause, the popular estate or Common-weale, is the sourse and refuge of all turbulent spirits, mutiners, seditions, and exiles: who giue councell, comfort and resistance to the sillier sort, to make hauocke and spoile of the greater.

Bad men aduanced, and good men no way regarded

A popular estate is the Nurse of infinite mischiefs

But yet there is a more capitall plague, attending vpon those popular Commonweales, to wit: impunity of wicked persons, prouided, that they bee Cittizens, that is to say, petty Kinges. For in a popular estate of the Romaines, it was prohibited to all the Magistrates, on paine of death: to condemne a Cittizen to naturall or ciuill death, or to depriue him of his libertie or Bourgeship, or to whip him with Rods, were his offence neuer so foule. Yet we read, that *Verres* was accused, attainted, and conuinced, to haue robbed, stolne, and committed an hundred thousand concussions, or publike extortions, and false iudgements: neuertheless, by parting out of *Rome*, & leauing a good moity of those thefts behind him; he was quitted. And yet *Rutillius*, *Metellus*, *Coriolanus*, the two *Scipioes*, and *Cicero*, they could haue no better fauour then banishment. *Ephesus* also could banish the vertuous* *Hermodorus*: *Athens* expulsed iust *Aristides*: *Themistocles* died in exile; *Miltiades* in Prison; *Socrates* was put to death; and * *Phocion*, the most intire and vertuous man of his age, after he had bin chosen fiue and forty times chiefe Captain and Commaunder, neuer receiuing any blame or taxation; yet notwithstanding without admittance of any answere, he was condemned to death, with forty other famous men, onely because they were his friends. States & degrees were there sold also, euen as they did at *Rome*: for *Marius* durst boldly bring Sumpters laden with Money, to buy the voyces of the people; and *Pompey* did the like.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 7. et 8.

Vices which doe ordinarily accompany popular Common-weales.

Offenders spared, and Innocents banished.

*He caused the twelue Tables to be made.

*He was Scholler to *Plato* and *Xenocrates*, and of wonderfull constancy & grauity.

Degrees and Offices bought with Mony.

The

The concuſſions beſide were an incredible matter, made in the face of iudgement, and before the eyes of all beholders.

Extortion & in-Iuſtice committed in the iudgment place.

Much conformable to this, was that of *Statocles*, and *Democlides*, *Athenians*, who when they took poſſeſſion of their Offices. *Come on* (quoth they) *let vs now goe to the Haruest of Gold.* If then ſuch eſtates, degrees, and Iuſtice it ſelfe were ſo vnworthily ſold, in two ſuch great Common-weales, enriched with the ſpoyle of other people: what then may men iudge of the popular preheminence, where the poore are alwaies needy, wretched and indigent? Wee haue an example of the *Megarences*, who hauing expulſed their Prince *Theagines*, eſtabliſhed ſuch an irregular popular gouernment, that it was lawfull for the poore to liue in rich mens Houſes, as *Plato* hath very well recorded.

Example of the *Megarences* to their Prince.

Plato in lib. de Leg.

Now we are to know, that if the Common-weales of the *Romaines*, *Athenians*, or others, hadde ſome time of flouriſhing: it was onely occaſioned, by hauing (in thoſe tempeſtuous daies) a Senate, full of men of honour, as alſo of worthy and vertuous Captaines, that kept the people from diſordering themſelues, and ſerued (indeed) as a bridle to them; As in *Rome* there a *Mennius Agrippa*, a *Camillus*, a *Papyrius Curſor*, a *Fabius Maximus*, a *Scipio*, a *Cato*, a *Scaurus*, and a *Pompey*. In *Athens*, there was a Senate of the *Ariopagitæs*, *And a Pericle* (ſaith *Thucidides*) *who was the true Monarch thereof, though in apparance it was meerely populare.* In briefe, the popular eſtate can haue no long ſubſiſting; if there be not ſome eſpeciall Wiſe-men, that haue an eye to the gouernment.

The reaſon why any popular eſtate hath ſome time of continuance.

Thucidides in Lib. 4.

But ſome will obiect vnto me, and ſay: doe we not ſee the Lordes of Leagues and Confederacies, that they haue built vp a goodly popular eſtate, and continued in the gouernment therof, more then three hundred and fiftie yeares? Are they not alſo (by theſe meanes) warranted not onely from tyranny, but likewiſe haue giuen chaſe to Tyrants, inſulting on their Neighbors? To a double demaund, we muſt needes returne a double anſwere. Firſt, the Country it ſelfe, and naturall diſpoſition of the people, is very conuenable for a popular eſtate. In the ſecond place, they that are moſt quarrellous & mutinous, doe goe to the ſeruice of other ſtrange Princes: the reſt of the milder people, apt and eaſie to be ordered, they haue no great care how the State ſtands.

Lords of Leagues and Confederacies, in their gouerning.

Moreouer, all the Lords of Leagues, and popular Common-weales, do enter into confederation offenſiue and defenſiue, and are vnited ſtrictly together: Not much vnlike to ſuch as walke in darke nights, or goe ouer ſlipperie places, where is danger of downe-fals, they hold one another faſt by the hand; and in this manner they maintaine themſelues, againſt the power of Monarchies, as the *Athenians* and *Thebanes* did in thoſe elder daies. Yet one thing more may not bee forgotten, the foundation of their popular eſtate: was builded and cimented with the blood of Nobility, and of thoſe that were the very richeſt.

A very apt compariſon.

Our auncient Predeceſſours, for the better aſſurance of their eſtates, did ſtriue to equalize all their Cittizens in Goods, Honours, Power, and recompences, and if there were ſome one, more iuſt, more vertuous, and more wiſe then the reſt: if he were not baniſhed, he was vſed as badly, for al things poſſible was taken from him, euen as it was a common practiſe in the Common-weale of *Athens*. It is an act of great in-Iuſtice, to take away the goods of a rich man (which he hath obtained by his care and induſtry) and make them equall to another, of no merit or worthy qualitie. It is alſo contrary to the Law of God, who hath expreſly commaunded, that the proprietie of mens goods, ſhould be kept to themſelues. It behoueth not then to ſay, that nature made al things in common: for the law of the Mother, can no way be contrary to the commaundement of the Father.

Equality is alwaies moſt reſpected in a popular Common-wealth.

Gods law for the propriety of mēs goods.

And as for the power of commaunding, wherin popular men would equal one another: there is much leſſe apparance then in goods: for wiſedome and prouidence is not giuen by an equall diſtribution, and therefore (on meere neceſſity) election muſt bee made in a popular eſtate, of the moſt ſufficient Magiſtrates, for the better commaund and

Danger of electing Magiſtrates and Officers in a popular eſtate.

The reaſon why the common wealth of the *Switzers* hath continued ſo long.

and deliuery of Iuſtice. But who is he then, that perceiueth not at firſt ſight, that among men there are ſome, who haue leſſe iudgement then brute beaſts: yet others againe, who haue the diuine Carracter ſo clearely, that they appear rather to bee Angels, then Men? All which notwithſtanding, they that ſeeke after equality; would haue authoritie giuen to furious, ignorant, and inſenſible Men, as well as to the wiſe, and beſt vnderſtanding. For the voyce of ſuch aſſemblies is not poyzed by weight, and euermore the number of Fooles, wicked and ignorants, is a thouſand times greater then people of reſpect: therefore *Salomon* ſaid truely, *Hardly ye ſhall finde one among a thouſand.*

Equalitie of Authority in all men.

For concluſion, ſeeing it is not in the power of good Cittizens and wiſe pollitiques, to change the populer eſtate into Monarchie; the principall foundation of popular ſway, conſiſteth in the ſtrict obſeruation of Edicts and Ordinances. For in as much as the popular eſtate is eſtabliſhed, contrarie to the courſe and order of Nature, which beſtoweth commaund and preheminence on the verie wiſeſt: this appeareth incompatible to the vulgar people, who will not receiue any commaund in a collectiue name, neither ſet good lawes and ordinances before their eyes, as bright Torches for their better direction; therefore ſuch an eſtate muſt needs be quickly ouerthrowne. And this is the reaſon, why thoſe Lordes of Leagues doe ſo ſtrictly keepe Edicts and Ordinances: otherwiſe, their eſtate had long ſince beene ſunke. Now, in regard that this Chapter ſeemeth ample enough, and (I hope) not wearyſome to the Reader: the matter of *Ariſtocratia* and *Monarchia*, ſhall be handled (by themſelues) in the following Chapter.

A remedy for the maintenance of popular eſtate.

Where lawes and ordinances are not ſeuerely kept, the ſtate can hardly indure

CHAP. XXXIII.

That Monarchia ought moſt eſpecially to be preferred, before Democratia or Ariſtocratia.

BY naturall reaſon, that Seigneurie or Dominion is cald *Ariſtocraticall*, where there be many Cittizens, and the leſſer part of them doe hold the eſtate: or more properlie, where the beſt and woorthieſt people are onely receiued and aduanced. And yet it may be ſaide, that ſoueraignetie ought to be giuen to the richeſt perſons only, as to them that haue therein the greateſt intereſt: conſidering alſo, that they beare much heauier charge then the poorer ſort, who hauing nothing to looſe, meere neede maketh them to forgoe authority. It appeareth then, that *Ariſtocratia* ſhould be preferred before the popular eſtate, but not before *Monarchia*. And yet doubtleſſe, they that doe well conſider what *Ariſtocratia* is; will finde it full of maine incommodities. That it muſt needes be ſo, make ſome obſeruation. In a great Common-wealth, ye ſhall haue many Lords that wil command, and the more Lords there be, the greater ſtore of factions: among whom, deliberations being difficult to reſolue on, they rather vaniſh away like ſmoake, then are ſeriouſly conſidered. For this cauſe is it, that *Ariſtocraticall* authorities haue bin much longer durable and aſſured, wher there haue bin the fewer Lords: As the *Lacedemonians* with thirty Lordes, and the *Pharſalians* with one and twentie, did long time maintaine their rule, but others not halfe the while.

The meaning of the Ariſtocraticall gouernment.

The reaſons of them that maintaine *Ariſtocratia.*

The fewer Lords, the firmer gouernment in *Ariſtocratia.*

It may be obiected vnto me, that they which gouerne the *Ariſtocratical* eſtate; muſt be prouident, valiant, wiſe, and rich. I anſwere, that it is very hard to finde ſuch men there, but at length they will be touched with ambition: and if there happen any to be conſcientious, or religiouſly affected; as commonlie they are the feweſt in number, ſo ſhall they

An obiection and anſwere thereto.

they be ſure to haue the leſſe reſpect & partakers. In which regard, wicked and ambitious men gaining eminency; their concluſions paſſe for autenticall, and they may the eaſier tyrannize ouer the people.

The inconueniences happening in the eſtate *Ariſtocraticall.*

But to be briefe, it is daily ſeene, that the more heads there are in gouerning, the more diſputes there will be, and the leſſe reſolution. For this cauſe, and to ſhun the inconueniences before alleadged; the Seigneury of *Venice*, doe refer the managing of their State affaires to a dozen perſons, but more often to ſeauen: eſpecially, for the detaining of matters in ſecrecy, wherein lieth the ſoule and ſafety of any Eſtate.

The Seigneury of *Venice.*

Let vs put the caſe, that the priuate Councel in *Ariſtocratia* ſhould be ſo ſecret, that nothing could touch the ayre or wind: yet it will bee a very difficult thing, for ſo few Lordes, to maintaine their eſtate againſt all the people, that haue no part at all in their honourable qualitie, conſidering, that euen the Lordes themſelues doe continually deſpiſe popularitie, and the poorer ſort alſo cary as cõtemptible hatred againſt great men. So that, thorough the meaneſt ſedition of Lordes among them, (which is ineuitable, if they bee people of martiall ſtomacke and diſpoſition) the moſt ambitious and troubleſome, will fall into the peoples mercy, and then comes the downefall and ruine of *Ariſtocratia.* And this was the onely occaſion that ouerthrew many Seigneuries and Common-weales; as of *Gennes, Sienna, Florence, Coloyne, Zuricke, Straſbourg, Lindaw*: And the ancient * *Phocenſes*, * *Samians*, * *Cnydians*, * *Mytilenians*, and many other.

An allegation concerning councell.

The ruine & ouerthrow of an *Ariſtocraticall* eſtate.

If an *Ariſtocraticall* Common-weale haue warre againſt a Stranger, and doe come to the loſſe of a battel: the eſtate ſtands in danger, and as little aſſurance haue the Stangers alſo, fearing to bee foyled by the other. To which dangers the popular eſtate is not ſo much ſubiect, each man hauing a part & intereſt in the State. *Ariſtocraticall* gouernment then, is not onely in danger of Straungers as enemies: but alſo of the people, who muſt be contented, or reſtrained by power. To content them, without giuing them part in the eſtate is verie difficult: and impoſſible alſo to accept them in honorable charges and offices, without changing the eſtate of *Ariſtocratia*, into popular rule. To reſtraine them by might, is no matter of certainty, or eaſie when to be performed: becauſe it were an open entrance into feare and diſtruſt of them, that rather are to be won by benefits and courteſie. For otherwiſe, the leaſt warre of Strangers againſt the Seigneury, or of Lords among them; will make the people vndertake Armes, onely to throw off the yoake.

People very hard to be ordered and kept in quiet.

For this reaſon, the *Venetians* (to maintaine their *Ariſtocraticall* eſtate) do beſtow ſome ſmall Offices on part of the people, contracting loue and alliance with them, & vſe borrowings of them; to binde them the better for the States maintenance, yet wholely diſarming them. And to the end, that they may be the more milde and plyable: they grant them freedome, and all kindes of pleaſures, yeilding ſometimes the right of Bourgeſhips, to the richeſt Cittizens. Alſo, if they haue War againſt a Stranger; they haue appointment therein, at what rate ſoeuer it be. But aboue all thinges elſe, they labour to quench partialities and hatreds among their Gentlemen, which procureth: that the rich beeing drunke with pleaſures, and the poorer ſort hauing meanes to Traffick, and exerciſe thẽſelues in all Mechanical Arts, with commodity of the Maritime partes, and naturall ſtrength; they can haue no great occaſion, but much leſſe the power of rebelliſhing among themſelues.

The wiſedom and diſcretion of the *Venetians* among themſelues.

Partialities and hatreds qualified among Gentlemen.

Theſe are the onely meanes, which (next vnto God) hath principally maintained their eſtate: and not the Nature of *Ariſtocratia*, as many haue imagined. And yet notwithſtanding, within theſe foure hundred yeares, or there-about, they haue hardly out-ſtood many ciuill Warres and ſeditions, of the *Bocchouians, Falerians, Tepolians, Baiamontanes*, and cruell factions of the *Iuſtinians, Scæuolaes, Selians, Baſſianes*; the murders of eighteene Dukes, and a great number of Senators, as may be read in their own Hiſtories.

Troubles happening within four hundred yeares.

If the worthy men that gouerned this Common-wealth, were generous and martiall minded: they ſeized the State, as *Cæſar* did at *Rome*, and as *Sylla* before him.

* A litle country of *Greece*, by the gulfe *Criſſeus.*
* An Iſle before *Ionia*, ouer againſt *Epheſus.*
* A Citty of *Caria.*
* A Cittie in *Lesbos.*

him. Or as *Hannibal* at *Carthage*, who mooued Warre against the *Romaines*, whereby he became the cause of ruinating the estate of his Countrey: in regard of the *Barchian* faction, which was quity contrary to him, and hindred, that men and succour should bee sent vnto him in *Italy*. We may perceiue then, that the principall foundation of *Aristocratia*, consisteth in the mutuall amity of Lords: for if they agree and consent together, they will maintaine and gouerne much better then the people. But if there be any faction among them, there is no estate more difficult to be kept, for the reasons before specified; and namely if the Lords be Martiall, for men of war doe brooke nothing so badly, as peace.

It is no maruaile then, if the *Aristocratia* of the *Venetians*, *Ragusians*, and *Lucanes* haue continued some ages: considering, that they doe not addict themselues to armes, neither hold any thing in more recommendation, thē Trassick, and vse of Mony. And, to speake all in one word, there is not any forme of *Aristocratia* more sightly or assured, then that which maketh choise of Lordes of reputation and vertue, or (at least) that are not infamous: especially when due care is had, of substituting another honest man, in the place of him that dieth, and by true election, as continuallie is done in *Venice*. Thus you see the commodities and discommodities of the *Aristocraticall* estate: Let vs now speake somwhat concerning Monarchy, which all the best and chiefest men haue commended before al other commonweals.

It may be obiected vnto me, by such as approoue *Aristocratia* or *Democratia*, that in *Monarchia*, when the death of the Monarch happeneth: new desseignes doe thereon ensue, new Lawes, new Officers, new Friends, new Enemies, new Habits, and new forme of life. For Princes delight to please themselues, by changing and remouing (well-nere) all things, to make speech of their own nouelties: which oftentimes causeth great discommodities, not onely to the Subiects in perticular, but likewise to the whole bodie of the Commonwealth, holding the forme of Monarchy.

If things do not fall out in this manner, but that the Prince is the wisest that can be wished: yet the alliances & loues made with the Predecessor, do vsually end in him. And such fauours and respects beeing finished, Princes doe thereon betake themselues to Armes; and then the strongest assayleth the weakest, or (at the least) will giue him Law. Which cannot so fall out in Estates Popular and *Aristocratical*, where perpetuall alliances are made, considering that the people dye not. This occasioneth, that those other Princes, and particulers, do continually affect rather to contract with a Seigneury, then with one Prince, for the assurance of Treaties and Obligations, whereto the Successours of Princes stand not obliged.

Moreouer, Monarchies that make their Kings by election, do oftentimes fall into ciuill Warres, by diuisions among such as aspire to the Crowne, which draw after them the ruine of the whole Estate many times: considering that euen in the right of succession, there is no meane perill, if there be diuers in the same degree, who sometimes do murder one another, or make diuision among the Subiects, whereof too many examples are extant to our eyes; yea, it often falleth out, that the lawfull Successour is expulsed, by him that hath no right at all. But admit we the case, that there is not any contention in *Monarchia*, yet if the Monarch be a Child: there will be deuision for his gouernment, betweene his Mother and the Princes, or else among the Princes themselues. And if the Child haue a Tutour or Guardian, by ordinance of the Predecessour, or else by Custome: there is then some daunger, least this Guardian should make himselfe Sole Commaunder, which is the most to be feared, if he marry with the Mother of his Pupill. And although (to auoyde this daunger) the gouernment be giuen to the neerest, and the Childes Nursing to his Mother: yet notwithstanding, there haue some Mothers beene found to be Murderers, and haue not onely made sale of the estate, but also of their Childrens liues. And sometimes the Tutour continueth in the gouernment, and leaueth nothing vnto the King but the bare Title: as the

Daunger of Martial Commaunders in an *Aristocraticall* estate.

The principall foundation of *Aristocratia*.

The long continuance of some *Aristocraticall* Common-weales.

Care of new election is an especiall matter.

The discommodities ensuing by *Monarchia*.

Fauours of one Prince, sildome succeede in another.

The affection of Princes & perticulars.

Of wars and their sources in *Monarchia*.

If the King be a Childe, what dangers are depending thereon.

Danger in the Mother of the Prince.

The danger in Tutors and Guardians.

the Duke of *Northumberland* did to the K. of *England*, *Edw. 6.* And as *Apelles* did to yong *Phillip* King of *Macedon*; who could not enioy his owne eſtate, till hee had ſlaine his Tutor. I know likewiſe, ſome one will tell mee, that many times it commeth to paſſe, when a yong prince attaineth to the Crown, he wil not alow the gouerment of Maiſters, that are placed neere him for inſtruction, but bee ruled by his owne fanſy, being addicted to Playes, Maſques, and ſuch like. In brief many times his Court ſhews like a meer *Burdellae*, falling into a thouſand Vices, and the people following their Prince in imitation. If the Prince be a Soldier, he may expoſe his perſon and kingdome to many hazards. Admit that none of theſe aforeſaid things doe happen, yet it hath bin obſerued, that Princes being wiſe & well mannered, when they ariſe to the Monarchie, Soueraignty hath had this hard fortune, that the very wiſeſt haue proued fooles, the moſt valiant turnd coward, and the very beſt to be moſt bad.

Vices whereunto Monarchies are oftentimes ſubiect.

Of a Martiall minded Prince.

A wiſe & well ordred Prince

If the Prince be ſubtle and wicked, he will eſtabliſh tyrany; If cruell, he makes a butchery of the Commonwealth; If couetous, he will haue both the haire & the hide of his ſubiects; If Prodigall, he will ſuck both the blood and Marrow, to glut ſome dozen of Horſe-leaches that attend about him. And if he be ignorant and ſottiſh, then is tiranny ſo much the more to be feared, when as he hath neyther Maiſter nor Companion that dare make head againſt him. Theſe are the dangers that attend on Monarchies.

Contrariety in the natures of Princes, & their ſeuerall dangers.

Tyranny ſildome dreameth on maiſtry.

But yet there is much more perrill in the Eſtate *Ariſtocraticall*, and a great deale more too, in the popular condition: for theſe daungers which wee haue propoſed, ceaſeth for the moſt part, wher the Monarchy is deuolued by ſucceſsiue right. But ſeditions, partialities, and ciuill wars are ordinary, and continualy (as it were) ariſing in greatneſſe, for the vnher-handing of Offices in the commonweale Seigneurall and Popular, then in the eſtate of Monarchy, which will endure no ſedition for Offices, or for anie Eſtate, except after the Princes death, and but ſeldome then too. But the principall point of a Commonwelth, which is the right of Soueraignty, cannot bee, neither ſubſiſt (to ſpeake properlie) but only in Monarchy: for none can be Soueraigne in a Commonweale, but one only. If there be two, three, or more, the one is no Soueraigne, becauſe one can neither giue, or yet receiue lawe of his companion. And although we may imagine a body of many Lords, or of a people, to hold Soueraignty: yet it is moſt certaine, that there is not any true ſubiect, or any ſupport, if there bee not one head with Soueraigne power, to vnite one with another, which one ſimple Magiſtrate neuer can do, without Soueraigne Preheminence and authority.

Seditions, ciuill wars, and partialities for Offices, in *Democratia* & *Auſtocratia*.

The right of Soueraignety is onely in *Monarchia*.

Imaginations are alwayes irrigular and offenſiue.

The difficulties are daily noted, which continually haue accompanied popular Commonweales and Seigneuries, when both the one and other do hold contrary parts, and by diuers Magiſtrates: Some calling for peace, others war; One will haue this law, another a quite contrary; One wil haue this man to be chiefe, another aimes at his friend and pertaker, and the like in diuers other matters.

Contrary opinions in popular Common weales, very hard to be reconciled.

Moreouer, in a Seigneirall and Popular eſtate, the greater part are continually made to beleeue thinges, howbeit, the wiſe and vertuous are alwaies the leſſer number: by which means (diuers times) the more ſound and better ſort of people, are conſtrained to ſtoope vnder the greater, to pleaſe the appetite of ſom ſeditious fellow, or effronted Oration-maker. But the Soueraigne Monarch, hee can alwayes ioyne with the more healthfull ſpirited and meaner part, making choiſe of wiſe men, and ſuch as vnderſtand the State affaires: wheras quite contrary, neceſsity compelleth the popular and *Ariſtocratical* eſtates, to entertain and embrace both fooles and Wiſemen together.

Wiſe men cõſtrained to ſtoupe to Paraſites.

Monarchia alwayes alloweth the beſt councell.

When the Common-wealth of the Romaines was in perrill, they made a Soueraigne Magiſtrate, according to which dignitie, hee had no Appellation, but commanded ſoueraignely, and they tearmed him Dictator. The *Venetians* created a *Prouidadore*; the *Lacedemonians* an *Harmoſte*, & each of them did ſo, conſidering *Monarchia* to bee the moſt aſſured eſtate. Me-thinkes, that theſe reaſons, and manie other, which might bee drawne in perticulerly, are ſufficient to ſhew, that amongeſt the three kindes of lawfull Common-wealths, the right of Monarchie is moſt excellent; and among them of Ryot and Diſorder, the

Comparison by diuers cõmon-weales.

popular eſtate is the moſt vicious. Lawfull borne Monarchie, as a ſtrong and potent bodie, may eaſilie maintaine it ſelfe: but populare qualitie, and Dominion of a few people (as being very weak and feeble) are ſubiect vnto many diſeaſes, and muſt of neceſsity bee gouerned by dyet and preſcriptions. Neuer were *Ariſtocratiaes* and *Democratiaes* ſeene to continue ſo long as *Monarchiaes*, which we finde (by writing) to haue endured a thouſand or twelue hundered yeares, as thoſe of the *Perſians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, and others: but the Popularie or *Ariſtocraticall*, three or foure hundered yeares onely.

Monarchia is more durable then all other kinds of Common-wealth.

Compariſon of both kinds.

Therefore, it ſhall be needeleſſe to inſiſt any longer, in approuing *Monarchia* to be the moſt aſſured eſtate: conſidering, that a Family (which is the true Image of a Common-wealth) can indure to haue but one head only, as wee haue approoued. And all the Lawes of Nature are our guides to Monarchy; be it, that wee reſpect the little Worlde Man, who hath but one bodye, and but one Head, as chiefe of all the other Members: on whom, dependeth the wil, motion, and vnderſtanding. Or bee it, that we looke vppon the great world, which hath but one Soueraigne God. If we eleuate our eyes to Heauen, wee ſhall ſee there but one Sunne. If we deſcend to ſociable Creatures, we may plainely perceiue, that they cannot ſuffer many kinges, or many Lordes, how good ſoeuer they be.

Monarchia is figured and repreſented in the Starrs, and in other Creatures.

This is the very ſame example, which *Solyman*, King of the Turkes, vſed in *Anno Dom.* 1552. hauing heard the lowd acclamations and ſhouts of ioy, which the whole Armie made for the *Sultane Muſtapha* his Son, at his returning from *Perſia*. Commanding him to bee ſtrangled in his Chamber of preſence. When he was dead, he threw his bodie foorth before the whole army, and cried out alowd, *There is no more but one God in heauen, and one Sultan on Earth.* Two dayes after, he did put to death *Sultan Gobeus*, becauſe hee wept for his Brother, and *Sultane Mehemet* the third, becauſe hee fled away for feare, and would leaue no more but one only, to ſhun the inconueniences enſuing by many Lordes and Commanders. Euen ſo we haue beheld all the people vpon Earth, from the furtheſt date of Antiquity, and when they were guided by one light onely: to like nor allow of any other forme of Commonwealth, but abſolute Monarchy.

Read the Hiſtory of the Turkes, and there this example is at large related.

An example deriued from Antiquity.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Vertues & ſecret properties of the Nut-megge: That it was vnknowne to our ancient predeceſſors, vvith diuers obſeruations, worthy due regarding.

THERE are manie things, which beeing ordinarily worn or carried about a man, do impaire & grow vnto leſſe eſtimation: as ſom precious ſtones, which though they are of a hard and ſolide matter: yet notwithſtanding they waxe old, and looſe much of their valew.

There are very few things but they grow aged by vſe, and loſe their versue.

Cinnamon, Cloues, and Pepper, borne about vs, do drie of themſelues, and looſe their ſweet ſauour. Contrarywiſe, the Nut megge (on whoſe behalfe I haue written this Chapter, termed by the Latines, *Nux mixiſtica*) being worne or carried about a man, doth encreaſe it ſelfe, and becommeth much the better. I found this rare effect of Nature, in the lower *Germanie*, where the Inhabitants of thoſe Countreyes, doth vſuallie hang Nutmegs about their Childrens necks; and beeing ſo worne fiue, or ſixe yeares together: they were then much more Oyly and moyſt, then they were the firſt yeare. After I had conſidered on diuers reaſons inducing to this purpoſe, I could finde but one eſpecially which I will declare: ſubmitting my ſelfe neuertheleſſe, to any other, that can alleadge a better, and more profitable.

Where the Author made his firſt obſeruation of the Nutmegge.

Nutmegges (doubtleſſe) beeing long time kepte in Spiceries, bee it in places dry or moiſt, and well packt vp togither, do yet dry of themſelues, become fuſtie, full of holes, and of bad taſt, euen like to worme-eaten and rotten wood. Neuertheleſſe, a young man bearing a nutmeg about

How Nutmegs looſes their Vertue and ſauour.

about him, & expoſed to the open aire; dooth encreaſe and make it much the better thereby.

The reaſon how a Nut-megge is bettered by wearing, about a Child & yong man.

Now, to comprehend whence this proceedeth, we muſt vnderſtande, that this is not proper to all Nutmegs, worne by all men indifferently: but it is to bee conſidered, of ſuch as is about an infant or elder Childe, a youth, or anie other young man, not hauing attained to the age of fortie yeares, as commonlie the *Belgians* are, and thoſe of the nether *Germany*, beeing of verie good habitude, euen as vulgarly they are. This is eaſilie knowne, by the goodlie proportion of their bodies, the chearefull countenance and complexion of their faces, and firm fleſhineſſe of their limbes, by their Ordinarie appetite to feeding, ſtrong digeſtion, and beeing liuely diſpoſed in all their ioynts and members; alwayes trauailing couragiouſly, rarelie troubled with ſickneſſe or diſeaſes, ſhunning and auoyding the riotous exceſſe, and lauiſh deſire of gourmandizing, whereof they are verie carefull, mingling wholeſome Spices continually amongſt their meats; and ſcarſely anie one of them, but wearing ſome about them, eſpeciallie Nutmegges.

The ordinary diſpoſition of the *Belgians*.

The yonger ſort do weare them about their Neckes, becauſe they hold opinion: that they make ſtay of the Rheume which falleth downe on the ſtomacke, and is a griefe enſuing by ouermuch eating and drinking; ſuffocating thereby, the Naturall heate. And becauſe ſuch Nutmegs as are worne about the necke, for the ſpace of foure, fiue, or ſix yeares, (ſome more, ſome leſſe) do neither waſt or conſume, but appeare to bee more weighty and Oily: it ſeemeth to proceed by this commendable temperance, from whence it exhaleth a vapour ſomewhat delicate and humecting, wherewith the Nut-megges (which they weare) are plenteouſly ſtored, which cauſeth that their Oyly nature, cannot by no meanes becom dry, but rather is much the more encreaſed.

The reaſon why Nutte-megges are worne about the necke.

Nor is this to bee accounted any way ſtraunge, becauſe wee finde in Learned mens writings, that from the bodies of diuers perſonnes, haue yſſued very ſweet and odoriferous ſweats. Among whom we read of *Alexander* the Great, whoſe Garments receyued a wonderful ſweetneſſe (as one recordeth) from his verie bodie, and ſo continued in them moſt pleaſingly, without any other Arte or cunning. I my ſelfe ſawe an *Indian* at *Nantes*, who though he was ſtark naked, and his bodie ſeeming of a wilde Oliue colour: yet, when mens handes were ſtreaked thereon, they brought thence a ſweete ſauour, very anſwereable vnto Ciuit.

The Sweates of ſome mens bodies are very ſweete and pleaſant.

A naked Indian at *Nantes*.

As for Maides and young Women, ſuch matter is not acknowledged of them: and therefore I thinke, that the hinderance proceedeth from this, that Naturall heate is more imbecille, and of leſſe power in them, then it is men; and their exhalation is nothing ſo temperat; and in regard alſo, that they are fuller of Excrements, as hath beene declared in the precedent Chapter. But if wee ſhall ſpeake of aged people, they do reſemble trees ouer ſpent with yeares, full of Putrifactious humors: which maketh them white-headed, wrinkled, and full of defects, hauing no more ſtrength to grow or encreaſe, whereby to produce matter of anie worth. Otherwiſe, they are ſo drie, that no exhalation at all commeth from their bodies; for age is nothing els but a meere exſiccation of the Radicall humour, and an extinction of the Naturall heate. Whereby may appeare, that they can no way better a Nutmeg by their exhalation. The Reader may content himſelfe (if he pleaſe) with this reaſon, which many learned men haue approoued, ar well as my ſelfe. It ſhall now not be much amis, to diſcourſe a little further of the Nut-megge, concerning the manner of his growth, in what Countreyes; and likewiſe of the faculties thereof.

Concerning Maids and young Women.

Aged men or women haue loſt their temperature.

A definition of Age.

That Nutmegges were vnknowne to our reuerend Auncients, is verie eaſie to be comprehended: becauſe, neyther *Theophraſtus*, *Dioſcorides*, nor *Galen*, did euer make any mention of them. And it ſerueth to no purpoſe, to alledge, that they haue ſpoken of *Macer*: for, I ſay, that the * *Macer* of the Greekes, was not the *Maces* of the *Arabes*, which is a hide or skinne that dooth couer the Nutmegge. And it is verie likelie, that if they had hadde anie knowledge of the *Maces*, queſtionleſſe they woulde haue lefte ſomething Written thereof. Neyther could wee attaine vnto anie know-

Nut-megges and Maces vtterly vnknowne vnto our Auncients.

* Not Maces, but a reddiſh Aromaticall and aſtringent Rinde of a certaine Indian roote.

knowledge in this caſe, till after that the *Arabes* had gotten vnto ſome authority, who taught manie medicines, vtterly vnknowne to the Grecians, becauſe they were much neerer vnto the *Indiaes* then they.

A deſcription of the Nut-megge and Mace Tree.

The Tree which beareth theſe Nutmegges, and the Maces is as great as a Peare tree, hauing the like Leaues, but ſhorter and rounder. It carryeth his Nutlike fruite, couered with a very hard rinde: which (when the ripening ſeaſon is come) cleaueth or openeth of it ſelfe; and ſheweth the filme or skinne, that encloſeth the Nut-megge, like a ſcale or ſhell; and that is it which wee call the Maces or Mace. I meane not the exteriour or outward rinde, albeit (in diuers parts) they vſe to Confect it with Suger, and is much commended in the Countrey where it groweth, that the ſmell & taſte thereof, is verie wholeſome againſt the paine of the Collicke, and the diſeaſe of the Reines.

The outward Rinde of the Nut-megge.

The fruite being ripe, and the ſayde rinde exteriour opening (like to the ſhel or ſcale that encloſeth the Cheſtnuts of *Lymoſine*:) the Mace appeareth as red as Scarlet, wonderfull goodly to beholde, eſpecially, when the Trees are wel charged and laden, and beare more then is their vſuall cuſtome. The Nutmeg drying, the Mace ſtill keepeth cloſe and faſt about it, till looſing his red colour, hee begetteth another, which is like a Golden Complexion: And theſe Maces are ſolde at three times dearer rate, then the Nutmegges.

The firſt appearing of the Maces, & alteration of their coullour afterward.

This Tree that beareth theſe Nuttes, groweth in one of the Iſlands of the *Molucques*, which is called *Bandano*. It is found alſo in diuers other places, as in *Banda*, *Bandornica*, *Herma*, *Tharod*, *Machedad*, *Lyzamath*, *Cares*, and in *Zeylan*, which are the moſt fruitfull Landes, and better then anie other. The people of the Countrey do vſe to gather them, ſome more in one place, then in another, according as they can get them: for, in the moſt parts of all the Iſlands, all thinges are in common, without any priuate claime. This is affirmed by *Garcias d'Horta*, who trauailed himſelf into thoſe parts.

In what places the Nut-megge Trees doe vſually moſt grow.

They that be freſh, and not drie, withered or worme-eaten, are the beſt nutmegs; likewiſe, they that were waightie, maſsie, oyly, & abounding in moiſture: ſo that by pricking them with a pinne or Needle, they ſend forth a ſweete ſauour. Nutmegges (according to the *Arabians* opinion) are hot and drie, in the ſecond degree compleat: they are aſtringent, & (by champing in the mouth) doe make the breath ſweet: they take awaie ſpottes and blemiſhes out of the face, ſharpen the ſight, and ſtrengthen the Liuer and ſtomacke: they diminiſh the Spleene or Milt, prouoke Vrine, ſtay the courſe and Flux of the Belly, expelling all Windineſſe, and helpe greatly againſt the Diſeaſe of the Mother, proceeding of Frigiditie. In briefe, they haue the very ſame Vertues and properties, as the Cloaues haue. Nutmegs do yeilde a licquor or iuice, being freſhly pounded, heated in a pan, and preſently preſſed: which iuyce being let ſtand til it be cold, becommeth like virgin wax, and ſenteth very ſweetly. This vnguent is very ſoueraigne for cold Gowts, and to make a man gracious in the fauor of Ladies. Thus much haue I gathered concerning the Nut-meg.

Naturall properties of the Nut-megge.

A ſoueraigne Oyntment made of Nut-megges.

The choyce of Nut-megs.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradox purpoſely written in the defence of Warre, approuing and maintaining it to be much more famous, honorable, & meritorious of commendation, then Peace.

BEcauſe many ſufficient men haue (heeretofore) verie plentifully diſcourſed on the praiſes of peace among which, wee haue *Eraſmus Roterodamus*, *Romulus Amaſeus*, *Claudius Ptolomeus*, and *Adriano Bentiuoli*; all of them (with others of no leſſe elegancy) hauing ſpoken ſoundlie, and to the purpoſe, as being Orators of no leſſe learning, then fluent and eloquent in the tongues: the two firſt in *Latine*, and the other in the *Tuſcan* language, all hauing diſcreetely employed their paines: yet notwithſtanding, al their defences beſtowed on the behalfe of Peace, I cannot forbeare to maintaine the contrarie, and

Such Authors as haue written in the defence of Peace.

Opposition made against the former defences.

and will approue with resolued corage, that they haue done mightie iniurie vnto themselues, in making such description of commendations, by multiplicitie of ydle arguments, which now I will not trouble my selfe withall, either to improue or confute. But so many onely will I produce and aduertise yee of, as shall happen to my memorie, in fauour of honourable combustion & war, and appeare to the manifest discredite of Peace.

The apparant harmes and iniuries ensuing by Peace.

For the first of my reasons, I say, that in the time of Peace, Millitarie Discipline is lost, and commeth to nothing: which (neuertheless) hath beene at all times in reckoning, and allowed as a matter most necessarie, for Conquest, enlarging and conseruing of Empires, Prouinces, and the verie greatest and ciuillest Iurisdictions thoroughout the world.

* A Field ten miles distant from *Athens*, where *Theseus* slew a terrible Bull.
* A long Mountaine passing from *Leucadia*, through the midst of *Greece*
* A Towne of *Bæoti* a by *Cytheron* neere to *Thebes*.
* A Towne in the borders of *Ionia*, and an Isle called *Achillea* in *Pontus*.

Witnesses heereof, are * *Marathon Salamina*, * *Thermopylæ*, * *Platææ*, * *Leucæ*, and many other places, not meanely renowned by the Heroycall Actions of Armes. By the meanes of warre, *Horatius Cocles* was made immortall; and the three *Decij* helde for three Demie Goddes. Hence arose the great & infinite praises (so sweetly sung and Celebrated by Poets, and our ancient Historians of both the *Scipioes* and honourable *Marcellus*. To whome, I would gladlie see who can be iustly compared, vnder Correction of whatsoeuer hath beene said by fore-named Authours, in honour of their Gowne-men, the onelie especiall louers and fauourers of peace.

Auncient customes for the habits of Cittizens.

We see also by experience, that (welneere) all auncient Statues or Figures, both were and are formed in military habits. And it was not lawfull (by the customes of all elder and noble Nations) for a Cittizen to weare any other Garment, then a party-coloured coate: vntill hee had slaine, or (at least) vanquisht two of his Countreyes enemies. In this case, the *Carthagenians* had a most notable obseruation; for, looke how manie times a Soldier had beene seene in the face of the enemy so many Plumes, helmets, or Horsses, should bee bestowed vppon each seuerall man: but contrarywise, as often as they were absent from the field, so manie Lambes and Capons wer sent them, as remembrances of their

Worthy encouragement for Souldiers: and as great disgrace to Cowards.

crauenly cowardise. Likewise by publick agreement, it was not lawful for any mã to marry, except hee had first serued in sundry foughten battailes, or performed some one or other honourable exploite, in the defence of his Country.

Law for marriage.

Let vs consider the great honor which Warre maintaineth euen to this verie instant, to such as either haue or do bear Armes for safety and defence of our holy Christian faith. In memorie whereof, Noble and famous Orders of Knighthood were auncienly established. As Knights of *Ierusalem*, of *Rhodes*, of *Malta*, of Saint *Iames*, of Holie *Lazarus*, of *Iesus Christ* in *Portugall*, of the Round Table, and of the Garter in England, with diuers other Dignities for Religious warfare, onely for the performance of meruailous and excellent Actions. Whereas contrary-wise, the mindes that were thus fired to haughty atchieuments, in the sloathfull times of peace, would too easily (euen of themselues) be conuerted to proud and insolent attempts.

Honour perpetuated by deedes of Armes.

Orders of Knight-hood to entermize the memory of Armes.

To prooue this true, that they which in the times of Warre, doo accomplish deeds of Vertue, and in the dull daies of peace) fall into quite contrary behauiours, we may perceiue by great *Marius*, the Conqueror of the *Cymbrians*. When warre did set an edge vpon his true temper, he had not his equall for valour and prowesse: but, in the trifling times of peace, he was the most wicked and dangerous man in all the Countrey. In like manner, wee shall finde it for most certaine, that Peace quencheth whatsoeuer is good in anie man; and quickneth or giueth life vnto all such thinges, as are in him most hurtfull and dammageable.

Examination of the seuerall times of Warr and peace.

Peace the quencher of all goodnesse in men.

Let mee moue a question (in meere Courtesie) vnto such as are the greatest blamers and deprauers of warre. What can they call Hatreds, Quarrelles, and Seditions, but the onelie true and perfect Instruments, whereby Nature oftentimes helpeth to perfourme manie verie lawdable actions? Ye may immagine, that it was not without very great reason, that VVarre (by the Latines) was called *Bella*, Fayre, Pleasaunt, and Commodious: for such indeede is the true Nature thereof, albeit our new vpstart gaine-sayers dooth affirme, that

Concerning Hatreds, Quarrels and Seditions.

The name giuen to warre by the *Latines*

it is meant in a contrarie ſence. But if it were lawfull, to compare the loſſes in peace, with them that enſue onely by warre: the report would be pittifull, and the remembrance verie Tragicall.

Famous Armies deſtroyed by the meanes of truce.

How many goodly Armies haue bin broken, defeated and deſtroyed, by the meanes (I will not ſay of peace) of truce onely? Which, though it bee Warres neereſt Kinſman, yet it is ſworne enemy vnto all Vertue and Valor. The ſtrength and powers of Truce, miniſters the meanes (euen as Peace doth) to leſſen and impaire Citties, Townes, and whole Prouinces, by ſtraunge Lawes and Ordinances: beſide, it engendereth infinit ſecret hatreds, and vpholdeth Princes in roughneſſe and ſeueritie againſt theyr Subiects. In time of peace, the diſpoſitions of men, which (but for it) would be highly exalted with enflamed deſire to expreſſe their brauerie and roialty, do become ſleepie, drowſie, penſiue, ſlothfull, laſciuious, and effeminate.

Princes made rough and ſtearne to their people, by peace.

But to prooue that Warre hath bin fauoured and eſteemed by our Lorde God himſelfe, tell mee (I pray yee) was he not called by the Children of *Iſraell*, *The Great God of Battailes*, *The Lorde of Hoſtes and Armies?* Looke in the Olde Teſtament, how manie mightie ouerthrowes and ſlaughters were executed in his Name, vppon them that were the Aduerſaries of his people? Howe manie were ſlaine by *Moyſes*, *Ioſuah*, *Gedeon*, *Sampſon*, and diuers other? Howe manie ſlew *Abraham*, *Dauid*, *Iudas Machabeus*, and they that wer in thoſe times? What ſhall wee ſay of Saint *Michaell* the Arch-Angell; who (euen in Heauen it ſelfe) made ſuch a ſharpe Conflict againſt the Draggon? And, to continue on this diſcourſe, euen to the New Law, if GOD had beene diſpleaſed with Warre, would hee haue commaunded his Apoſtles to ſel their cloaks, and buy each of them a Sword? If Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, had hated Soldiers, or Militarie Diſcipline, would he haue apointed them this Law and Ordinance (when they demaunded of him, what way they ſhould take, whereby to attaine to the ſaluation of their ſoules) *That they ſhould content themſelues with their Wages*, and *not rob or pille from the poore people*. Hee woulde then rather haue commaunded them, to leaue that eſtate, and betake them vnto ſome Hermitage; or elſe, to deale in ſome affayres of Merchandize, or in ſome ſuch like employments. No, content your ſelues (quoth hee) in your Garriſons, with your ordinarie pay, and offer no ſhame, violence, or extortion, to any one. For your calling (which is the Art Militarie) will not let or hinder ye from your ſaluation: becauſe manie of your profeſsion, haue thereby wonne their ſafeſt ſecurity.

The implication of S. *Iohn Baptiſts* words to the Souldiers, according to the authors interpretatiō.

Warre, fauoured and allowed by god himſelfe, and what names were giuen him.

Examples alleaged out of ſacred Scripture in the old Teſtament.

Examples out of the new Teſtament.

This in briefe, and in my conceipt, is that which bleſſed Saint *Iohns* words intended, if I bee no bad Paraphraſt or Interpreter. If hee had beene willing to diſcommend Warre, yet he wold haue forborne it: perceyuing what pride and inſolence was crept into rich mens mindes, during the pampring daies of peace and no way ſo ſoone to be cured or corrected, as by the worthy diſcipline obſerued in warre.

How many haue beene obſerued, of great Gentlemen, Merchants, Countreymen, and other of all conditions, who were woont to bee moſt proud and arrogant: ſuddenly to become kind and tractable, onely by meanes of the bridle of Warre? This is it, which deliuereth vs from a number of miſhaps by theeues ydle Vagabonds, Gameſters, Pipers, Players, young Rogues, Cozeners, Ruffians, and High-way watchers. It ſerues to whet and waken the ſpirites of Men, making their bodies to become more ſtrong, light, nimble, pacient; yea, and emboldened againſt all hard and ſiniſter fortunes.

Warre is the only bridle to many notorious inſolencies and abuſes.

Conſider the ſweetneſſe and delight which the *Cymbrians* founde in VVarre, vſing it as the Conſeruation of theyr Countrey: and when they went to fight, they woulde ſing as chearefullie, as if they had beene going vnto a wedding. Immagine what pleaſure was taken therein by furious *Hannibal*, Valiaunt *Marcellus*, Vertuous *Scipio*, Couragious *Camillus*, and that Victorious *Alexander*.

The *Cimbrians* hada great felicity in Warre.

I ſay moreouer, whoſoeuer is ignorant in taking good order for publique affayres, there is no place or Schoole, wherein hee may more eaſily attaine thereto; then by noting the preparation and conducting of an Armie. Beſides, whoſoeuer knoweth not the deceiptes, ſleights, and trickes of ingenious prudence,

Warre the Schoole for publique affaires, and ingenious prouidence.

dence, or how to ſtand vpon his guarde, to know what he ſhould auoyd, and what he ought principally to followe: let him but liue in war a month or two for pleaſure; and in that time he ſhal lern more then all the Bookes of Peace ſhall euer be able to teach him.

Lessons to be learned in a Field of Battaile, for any mans benefit during life.

Furthermore, hee that couets to vnderſtand the true Nature of inuiolable obedience, ſtrict diligence, incompareable vigilance, vnſpeakeable promptitude of heart, and ineſtimable ſtrength of the bodie: let him but vouchſafe ſo much leyſure, as (for a while) to follow a field well manned and prepared, there to obſerue carefully, what hee may behold for his owne benefit. If hee finde not himſelfe well ſatisfied; yea, & more then contented in verie few dayes, I will yeeld, and looſe my credite in this cauſe. Which therefore ſhall ſerue me to conclude withall, maintaining ſtill, that war is to be preferred before peace, as deerly beloued, and with choiſeſt praiſes commended. Beſide, our Prayers ſhould continually bee made to God, to create ſuch chearfull hearts in our Princes, that wee may not any long time, remaine in want, of ſuch a precious and vnvaluable Iewell.

The concluſiō

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Indian Beare: And of thoſe Beares in our owne Natiue Countreyes, howe different they are in their ſeuerall Natures.

All kindes of Creatures haue their contraries appointed, to appeaſe their hurtfulneſſe.

NAture hath verie many times expreſſed hir care and prouidence (as a dutifull handmaid atending on God) whē there are any ſtore of hurtfull creatures in ſome country, that may impeach the inhabiting of men, or Liues of other beaſts and animals, to engender ſome other of contrary kinds, to deſtroy the ouer-abounding of ſuch harmefull things. As we may obſerue in Serpents, which do deuoure vp Toads & Lizards: Serpents alſo themſelues, are eatēn by Storks, and many times they themſelues do feede one vpon another. Cats alſo do deuoure Rats, and ſo in diuers more beſide. I ſpeake this the rather, becauſe we finde recorded in the generall hiſtorie of the *Indiaes*, that in *Quiloa*, a certaine Countrey of the New-world, there are ſuch extraordinarie ſwarmes of Antes, that they conſume the ſeeds and rootes of all Trees and plants. So that, if there were no Beares (which Nature in eſpeciall fauour hath there appointed, and in great plentie) ther could not be any poſſibilitie of dwelling there, becauſe they would make the Countrey to bee quite barren.

Quiloa a Region in the New-found World.

The Beare of this Region, liueth only (without anie other foode or Paſtorage) by eating thoſe Antes, whoſe beddes and Neſts hee eaſily findeth, and ſo with his tongue (which is verie broade and large) hee is ſo quicke and readie in licking of them vp, that hee is onely nouriſhed by them. There are alſo great ſtore of thoſe Beares, but they are not fierce, wild and harmefull, as thoſe in other partes: for they will not ſet vppon men, neyther mount vppe vpon Trees, to deuoure the young ſprouts and fruites, but are verie eaſily made tame and tractable by the *Indians*.

The Indian Beare feedeth on *Antes* only.

The Indian Beare is gentle and tractable.

There is no need of plucking out their eyes, or boaring their lippes, to thruſte Rings of Iron thorough them, onely to tame them. For euen of themſelues, they are (well-neere) Domeſticall: and, if it were not for theſe Beares, neither men, and great ſtore of other creatures, could not liue there: but they encreaſe in thoſe parts ſo aboundantly, that they ſuffice to deſtroy the plentie of Antes; in which reſpect, the Countrey may well account it ſelfe to be moſt happy.

The errour of *Ariſtotle* and many other learned men beſide.

I haue not well beene informed, whether it bee the Nature of the Beares in this Countrey; that (according as hath beene reported) the ſhee-Beare yeildeth or whelpeth a Male of Fleſh, vvithout anie forme or apparance of life: and that the Damme, onely by the Vertue of licking, giueth it true ſhape.

Of this opinion, were manie Learned and graue men, as *Ariſtotle*, *Plutarke*, *Plinie*, *Elianus*, and *Du Bartas*: but it is a manifeſt errour, as experience hath plainly declared vnto vs, becauſe in manie encloſed places of *Germanie*, and of *Fraunce* alſo, Beares of both ſexes

A ſtrait obſeruation by Nature.

are kept, which haue engendered young ones, verie well formed in all their members. For, it is an order, obſerued by nature verie ſtrictly in our terreſtriall Animalles, that in theyr paſſage out of the Mattixe, they are fully compleated in all their parts, without any need of further forming, encreaſing verie well in thoſe three dimenſions, length, largeneſſe, & depth.

Concerning teeth in yong Infants, that they are not bred after their birth.

It ſerueth to no purpoſe, to alledge, that Childrens teeth are engendered or formed after their birth. For I anſwere, that they bring then with them from the Mothers wombe: as I haue ſeene in the diſſection of many young infants, newly borne and dead, whoſe gummes beeing opened in the pittes and hollowes of the Iawes, the Teeth haue beene plainely found.

But indeede, no outward appearance is made of them, vntill certaine moneths determined by Nature; in which time, they grow greater and ſtronger, & pierce their paſſage through the gummes For mine owne part, in the Mountaines of Saint *Claude*, in *La franche Counte de Bourgongne*, I haue ſeene a ſhee-Beare ſlaine: whoſe Belly being preſently opened, three young Whelpes were there found, fully formed and hairy, and (as I thinke) verie ſoone to haue beene whelped, and that which is affirmed by eye-teſtimony, I hope hath no neede of further probation. *Scaliger*, a great Phyſition and Phyloſopher, alſo affirmeth; That he being once at the taking and killing of a Shee-Beare on the Alpes, the young Whelpes in her belly were found to be wholly formed, as I haue formerly iuſtified by mine owne ſight.

A view of young whelps in the Dams belly.

The teſtimonie of *Scaliger*

Plinie ſaith, that the thirtith day after her conception, the ſhee-Beare deliuereth her young ones: but *Elianus* ſayeth, within three moneths after, which is the more likely and credible, becauſe all great creatures, do beare their burthens longer, then ſuch as are ſmall and little. When they are brought into the world, they are about the bigneſſe of Weezels: and there is good apparance, that they can be no bigger, becauſe they are carried no longer time, as Kine doo theyr Calues, Mares their Foales; and other great Beaſts their young ones; and theſe Shee-Beares hath commonlie three or fiue.

How long time the She-Beare goeth with her yong and manner of her whelps.

So ſoone as ſhee hath conceiued, ſhe commeth no more into the males ſight. When deſire of coupling with the male is kindled in her, ſhee is ſo greatly aſhamed thereof: that ſhe hideth her ſelfe in the remoteſt obſcure places, and the male neuer ſeeketh after her. At length, being preſſed by Nature, and deſire of generation, ſhee commeth to finde the male, and tumbling and playing before him, lyeth directly vpon her backe; and ſo hee coupleth with her, euen as men and women vſe to doe. And this is the reaſon, why it ſhould not bee accounted ſo ſtraunge, that Beares haue had actuall dealing with VVomen, wandering thorow the Forreſts and Mountaynes, and coneeyued by them, as I ſhall declare more at large in the next following Chapter.

How the She-Beare coupleth with the Male.

Beares haue dealt carnally with weomē.

They helpe themſelues with their Pawes and Feete, euen as men do with their handes and feete; for, they can goe vpright along while together, and hurle or throwe ſtones with theyr formoſt Pawes, ſmite with a Staffe, and whatſoeuer elſe themſelues will doo, as well as we.

Actions performed by Beares.

They are a'moſt continuallie troubled with paine and Ache in the head, and in ſuch violent manner, that oftentimes (as madded therwith) they throw themſelues downe from very high rocks their heads going forwardes, couering their eyes with their pawes, beecauſe their ſight is verie feeble, and by couering their eyes, they ſeeme to find ſome eaſe.

Beares troubled with head-ach.

They eſpie out ſuch places, where Bees doe make their Honie and VVax, onely to make them angrie, and to the end, they may bee pricked and pierced by the Bees ſtinges, both in their heade, and about their eyes: wherby their ſight is amended, and their head greeſe much aſſwaged. They feede indifferently on all kindes of Foode, be it Fleſh, Fruites, Hearbes, ſprouts of Trees, and Honey. They will aſſaile and kill (if they can) all wild and ſauage Beaſts; as Harts, Hinds, Boares; yea, and VVilde Bulles manie times.

Beares haue bad eyeſight, and how they helpe it.

The feeding and hunting of Beares.

The Shee-Beare feeling her ſelfe to be bagde, or conceyued with yong (which moſt commonly is in the winter rime) with-draweth her ſelfe into her Caue, which ſhee prepareth in a ſtrong defenced

When the Female is bagde with young.

fenced place, far from common resort, and well couered with earth, boughes, and braunches; entring thereinto alwaies backward, becauſe it ſhould not be knowne, or found by Huntſmen. There ſhe remaineth forty daies together, without any food or ſuſtentation; doing nothing elſe, but licke her right paw, whereby ſhe liueth all that while. Afterward, ſhe commeth forth againe, and then eateth all the Antes ſhe can come by: yet not for any nouriſhment (like to to the Indian Beare) but onely to prouoke her to vomit, to the ende that ſhe may feed the better. Which when ſhe hath done, ſhe then ſeeketh after food, and becauſe ſhe hath continued the ſpace of forty daves, and eaten nothing: her inteſtines are faſt clunged togeather; ſo that, no meate can haue entrance, but is inſtantly caſt vp againe, and therefore ſhe eates the Hearb called * *Aron*, which giueth dilatation and open ſpreading to her bowels againe.

How long time the She-Beare faſteth, and of her comming forth of her Caue.

*Calues foot, Ramp, Starch worte, or Cuckoe-pint.

As for her Whelpes or young ones, they do not teate or ſucke, like to other Creatures, becauſe *Munſter* reporteth (but I know not from whom) that one *Demetrius* a *Moſcouite*, who was ſent thence as an Ambaſſadour to *Rome*, declared for a certainty to ſome perticuler Men of credit: that in his Countrey of *Moſconia*, there were great ſtore of Beares, big in ſtature of body, and very fierce, that after their birth (for the ſpace of foureteene daies) liued without eating any thing, continuing in ſo profound a ſleepe, that nothing could waken them, no, though they were prickt and pierced very deepely. After that time is paſſed ouer, they do then awake, and fal to licking of their formoſt paws, and liue (onely by this licking) till the Spring time, when they begin to come abroad with their Dammes, and nibble on tender Hearbs, as they ſee them do. Now, to ſpeake vprightly, I can hardly be induced to beleeue this, becauſe Nature hath giuen Breaſts, or Dugges to She-Beares, as I my ſelfe haue ſeene, and then they ſhould haue their Milke in vaine.

Fables reported by *Demetrius* a *Moſcouite* Ambaſſadour to *Rome*.

Nature hath giuen breaſts or dugges to She Beares.

Moreouer, that if they be purſued by Hunters, hauing their young ones in their company, and they vnable to eſcape, in regard of their weakneſſe: the Damme carryeth ſome on her back, and one in her mouth, and ſo climbeth vp vpon a high Tree, to preſerue her ſelfe and them in this manner. This maketh me to remember, that which is recited by *Ælianus*, of a She-Beare and two Lyons.

When a She-Beare & her young ones are purſued.

*Aelianus in lib. 3. cap. 30.

He ſaith, that he heard it reported by one *Eudemus*, that a She-Beare of * *Pangæus*, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, chanced to finde a Denne; wherein were young Lyon-whelpes, and neither the Sire or Damme there preſent, to defend them from this She-Beare, therefore ſhe killed them, & afterward departed thence. Within a ſhort while after, the Lyon and his Lyonneſſe returned to their den, bringing preyes to nouriſh their young Whelpes withall: but finding them dead, and gathering (by their ſente) how they were murthered; they inſtantly purſued the Shee-Beares footing by the ſmell, and diſcerning her a farre off, drew neerer and neerer ſtill, deuiſing their beſt meanes, how to entrap her. Which the She-Beare alſo perceiuing, and knowing her ſtrength farre in-ſufficient, to deliuer her from theſe diſpleaſed Lyons: forthwith ſhee began to climbe a Tree, and got vp to the very top thereof. Theſe enraged Beaſts ſeeing they could compaſſe no amends from the murdreſſe; tormented themſelues exceedingly, and the Lyonneſſe lying downe at the foote of the Tree, kept it as beſiedged, to be reuenged on her Enimy. But the Sire or male Lyon, he ran vp and downe from Hill to Dale, making the Mountaines to tremble with his loud out-cryes, and all the other Beaſts to be very feareſull. At length, hee lighted on a man a Wood-feller, who was hewing downe a Tree in the Forreſt, and perceiuing the Lyon to make towards him; with extreamity of diſmay, the Axe fell out of his hands, and faigne he would haue fled for his owne ſafety. The Lyon approaching neere vnto him, made ſignes of humble and gentle fawning on him, and in ſuch pleaſing manner, as we ſee Dogges to do: licking his hands and garments, oftentimes proſtrating himſelfe at his feete, euen as if he implored his help in ſome vrgent occaſion.

* A Promontory of *Thrace*

A ſtrange Hiſtory of a She Beare and a Lyonneſſe.

Beaſts diſcouer the killers of their young ones, by their ſente or ſmel that did the deed.

The Lioneſſe lyeth downe to beleager her enemie.

Admirable humanity in Lyons, to doe themſelues good.

At length, he took him by the cloaths with his teeth, as if hee would bee his guide and conduct to ſome place, often patting

The Lyon giueth directions to the mã, to goe along with him.

patting his paw vpon the Axe, that the Wood-feller ſhould take it vp againe: which the fearefull man being not able to comprehend (though the beaſt ſtill vrged it by diuers perſwaſiue ſigns) the Lyon took it vp with his teeth, and carried it himſelfe. So, winding his taile about one of the mans legs, he conducted him, firſt to the place where the young whelps lay murdred, which was not far from the Tree whereon the ſhe-Beare was mounted. Thither alſo he brought him, and the Lyonneſſe ſeeing them comming, ſhe aroſe (with chearful diſpoſition) to meete them, equalling, or rather exceeding the Male Lyons affability to the Man. In briefe, both the beaſts made ſuch apparant ſignes to the Carpenter, that hee not onely ſaw the She-Beare aloft on the Tree; but gathered alſo by their moanes, that ſhee had killed their young Whelpes, and therefore they would haue him to cut downe the Tree; becauſe, by no means elſe, they could be auenged on her. The man did quickly cut downe the Tree, & as it fell, ſo did the She-Beare: which was ſo ſooner on the ground, but inſtantly they rent her in infinite peeces, returning many gratefull ſignes to the poore Carpenter, and conducting him ſafely to his former working place againe.

As expreſſing what loſſe in nature he had ſuſtained, by ſo euident a teſtimony.

The She-Bear diſmembred in many pieces.

But returne we now againe, to the naturall diſpoſition of the Beare. He will neuer eate the Fleſh of any Beaſt, which he findeth dead, or readily killed for him. It is ſaide alſo, that if a man counterfeit himſelfe to be dead, and retaineth his breath while he ſmelleth to him; hee will not doe him any harme. He driueth all Rats out of his Denne, and will not abide therein, if there bee but one left in it. He will neuer eate any Hony out of the Hiue, where he findes the Bees to be dead.

The Beare vſeth to eate the fleſh of no beaſts, but ſuch as he himſelfe killeth.

Munſter declareth (by direction from the fore-named *Demetrius*) that a Beare ſaued the life of Man, in the very remoteſt and vaſteſt Forreſt of all *Moſcouia*, in the yeare, one thouſand fiue hundred and thirty, and after this manner. A man inhabiting in a neighbouring Village, went into the Forreſt to gather Waxe and Hony: becauſe in thoſe Countries, the Bees vſe to make their Hony in hollow Trees in the Forreſts, whereof there are no meane number, and hee thereby maketh his beſt benefit, that is moſt diligent in ſearch; and getteth the greateſt quantity.

Munſter. ex Demetri.

A pretty Hiſtory, and no way vnlikely, of a mans life ſaued by a Beare.

The poore Countrey-man, ſtanding with his Legges extended abroad in a hollow Tree, for his better gathering of his Hony-Combs: the ſlender hold (which ſupported his feete) chanced to breake, and downe he fell further into the hollow of the Tree, till hee was vp to the Chin in Waxe and Hony; deſtitute of all ſtrength for helping himſelfe, or hope of any ſuccour, becauſe no Paſſengers frequented that way (at leaſt-wiſe, very ſildome) that might heare his wofull complaints, ſo that he continued there for the ſpace of two daies.

The poore Country man in great diſtreſſe in a hol low tree.

Now, it fortuned, or rather, the eſpeciall Grace of God ſo directing, that a Beare came by the Tree, and ſmelling the Honny, climbed vp the Tree, and deſcended downe to the place where the poore man was. The Beare beeing fearefull when he beheld the man, turned to get vp againe out of the Tree: but the poore man caught hold on one of his hinmoſt feet, and held ſo ſtronglie with both his hands, that the Beare brought vp himſelfe and the man out of the Tree, and both fell downe together on the out-ſide of the Tree, ſomewhat aſtonied with the fall, but no way hurt, the Beare returning into the Woodes, and the man to his home. Thus the Beare ſaued the poore Countrey-mans life, without declaring any ſigne of hurting or offending him.

When hope is weakeſt, heauen is the ſtrongeſt.

A very great and memorable deliuerãce

Bachiles Anchiſius ſaith, that in the Northerly Countries, there are white Beares, that liue both in Waters, and on the Land: beſide, that either with hurling ſtones, or branches of Trees, or with their clawes, they will break open the Ices in Riuers, and in the Sea, only to catch Fiſhes to feed on. Moreouer, that they are not ſo malicious or harmfull, as other Beares are, neither are luſtfull, or ſeeking after weomen: As one, whereof I am now to ſpeake, and wherby a Lady conceiued, after the maner of women, witneſſed for truth, by *Ioannes Saxonius*, in his large Hiſtory, and *Ioannes Magnus*, Arch-biſhop of *Vſpalia* in *Swetia*; & laſtly, by Arch-biſhop *Olaus*, his

Bachiles Anchiſo, or *Anchiſius*, concerning white beares.

Ioannes Saxonius.
Ioannes Mag. Epiſc. Vſpal.
Olaus Epiſc. Vſpal.

his Succeſſour, who in his Writings auoucheth the very ſame, according as I haue ſelected it from them in this enſuing Chapter.

CHAP. XL.

Of a Lady of Swetia, *that was conceiued with child by a Beare, and afterward what enſued thereon.*

IN a part of the Kingdome of *Swetia* or* *Sweuia*, there ſtood ſometime a goodly Caſtle, builded neere vnto a Mountaine, by a wealthy Lord, and one of great authoritie. This Lord had a very faire Daughter, who walked abroad in an euening, accompanyed with ſome other Gentlewomen, to take the open ayre in the Fields. As they walked together, pleaſantly talking and diſcourſing; a Beare (by chance) had ſtrayed abroad from the thickets on the Mountaine, of verie huge ſtature, fierce and terrible, making directly towards this faire troup, who (in great feare) when they eſpyed the Beare, fled, ſome one way, and the reſt another, for their beſt deliuerance. The Beare laying hold on the chiefeſt Ladie of all the reſt, lifting her forcibly vpon his backe: ran (ſo faſt as he could) into the thickeſt of the Forreſt, not meeting any reſiſtance by the way, becauſe the fore-ſaide Ladies came foorth alone of themſeluee, not hauing any man in their company.

Now, albeit the Beare had thus wandered abroad, in ſearch of ſome prey, for appeaſing his hunger: yet (referring the maine point heerein, to Gods mercifull and omnipotent preſeruation) the Beare, mooued by ſome inſtinct of nature (farre differing from that in Beaſts of the ſame kind) would not kill her for his foode, but carried her to his Caue, which was in a very darke and deep valley. There his wonted, rough and ſterne nature, became conuerted into louelike embracings and careſſes, which were ſo extreamely purſued and continued: that the Lady apprehended his luſtfull intention, which, though it was monſtrous and vnnaturall, yet it qualified ſome part of her former feare. And, as ſhe durſt not (in this extreamitie) reſiſt the fury and power of the Beare, dreading each houre the loſſe of her life: ſo (queſtionleſſe) much againſt her will or liking, ſhee was enforced to conſent, and endure ſuch companying with him, as you may better imagine, then I expreſſe.

The Beare would daily iſſue forth of his den, hunt and kill all kinds of Beaſts, and bring them home as food for himſelfe and the Lady: who (in this vrging neceſſity) was glad to eat raw fleſh, wilde Fruits, and ſome other foodes familiar to men; as Cheeſe, Bread, and ſuch like victuals, which he would get from thē that kept Cattle in the fieldes, or ſuch as trauailed to Faires and Markets. Her daily drinke, was Water of a cleare running Brooke at the Caues entrance, ſhaddowed with a louely thicket of young Trees: and thus ſhee liued, in hope that (one day) God would deliuer her. Many times (while the Beare was abroad at his prey and purchaſe) ſhee purpoſed to make an eſcape thence: yet durſt not attempt it, leaſt hee ſhould againe recouer her, and then kill her; beſide, ſhe feared the rauenous fury of other ſauage Beaſtes, whereof no meane ſtore frequented the Mountaine.

As thus ſhe ſpent ſome moneths in this hapleſſe manner, it fortuned, that certaine Huntſmen (purſuing their delightfull ſporting ouer the Mountaine) with their Grey-hounds and Beagles, followed this Beare ſo mainly; that he being falne into their ſnares, they there ſlew him. And although this was vnknown to the Lady, yet when ſhe heard the voyces of men, and they appearing to be neere the Caue: ſhe came foorth vnto them, to their no little dread and admiration. Yet looking more aduiſedly on her, they perfectly knew her, and had heard of her loſſe, with generall ſuppoſition of her death: whereupon they conducted her home to her Father and Mother, who ſcarcely knew her, her complexion had been ſo greatly altered. In this time, Nature (who ſometimes worketh wonderfull things, and

* *Sweuia* bordereth on *Bauaria*, *Halſatia*, the Riuer *Rhene* and the Alpes.

What kind of nourishment the Lady had in the Beares Denne.

The Ladies diuers determinations to eſcape from the Beare.

The lady ſurprized by the Beare, and carried away to his Denne, notwithſtanding all her vttermoſt reſiſtance.

The happy manner of the wofull Ladies deliuerance from the Beare.

Behauiour of the Beare to the Lady whē ſhe was in his Den.

The Lady was brought home to her Father and Mother.

and contrary to common order) had disposed so of the Beasts seed in her bodie; that she being growne great, and generally expected to be deliuered of a monster: it prooued to bee a goodly Male Childe, not any way pertaking in the Sires beastiall forme or appearance, sauing that his body was much more hairy all ouer, then is seene in other Children. He was carefully nursed, and the name of *Beare* imposed on him: but when he grew to mans estate, hee became so strong and powerfull, that euery one stood in great feare of him. The Huntsmen that killed the Beare, his begetter, would often boast in his company, after what manner they had deliuered his Mother: but hee was the Deathsman of them all, saying; *Albeit, he had receiued such a fauour by them, yet notwithstanding, he stood bound in nature, to reuenge the death of his Father.*

The Lady was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, and he was named Beare.

Beare slew al them that killed the Beare his begetter.

This Man begat *Trugillus Sprachaleg*, who was a very valiant Souldiour and Captaine; and he begat *Vlfen*, a man of high deseruing: of whom, the Chronicles of the Countries of *Dannemarch*, *Sweuia*, and *Gothia*, doe make most large mention, for he was the Father of *Suegus*, who was King of *Dacia*; whereupon, all Histories doe affirme, that al the Kings of *Dacia*, and of *Sweuia*, proceeded from this race, and all the fore recited Authours (who are of the same Countries) doe maintaine as much. Concerning my selfe, I haue seene many tame and domesticke Beares, amourous of Women, and She-Beares to be the like of Men, although their eyes haue beene pluckt out, and very few are ignorant of the truth in this case: therefore this history sufficiently approueth, that these beastes doe couple after the manner of men.

The discent of Beare, according to the reporte in Chronicles.

The Kings of *Dacia* and *Sweuia* descended of a Beare.

The Authors affirmation out of his own knowledge.

Now, let vs admit the Beare to bee cruell and vile in all his actions; yet notwithstanding, Nature hath bestowed diuers medicinable properties, on some peculiar parts of his body. His head is held venomous, to such as eate thereof, and to procure raging madnesse: in which regard, the Inhabitants of these Northerly Countries, doe vse to burne those heads, and the Ashes of them are exceeding good, for them that haue the Foule-euill, or Falling-sickenesse, by often washing the diseased parties head, with Lye, made of the saide Ashes or Cinders. If they be mingled also among Hony, it will cause Haire to grow againe, where it hath long time wanted: euen as the Fat or Grease of the Beare doth the like, when men haue lost their Haire; helping likewise the paines of the Sciatica, and other Gouts. Also his Flesh is wholesome to bee eaten, and hath no euill tast. The *Scythians*, *Getes*, and other Notherne Countries, do fasten Beares heads on the Gates of their Cities and Townes, perswading themselues; that they doe preserue them, from being hurt by their enemies. Thus you see, what I collected out of good, ancient, and approoued Authors, concerning the Nature of the *Indian* Beare, and those of other Countries, better knowne to vs.

Sundry medicinable properties belonging to certaine partes of the Beare.

For the foule euill or falling sickenesse.

For restoring lost haire, & helping the Sciatica and Goutes.

The *Scythians*, *Getes* and Northerne Nations.

The End of the Eight Booke.

The Ninth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Great Turks *Court, more commonly cald (in these daies) the Court of the Gret Signior: His Pompe, State, Officers, and Attendants; As also their daily Wages and Allowances, according to their degrees, and places of Seruice, &c.*

In the 25. Chapter of the first Book.

WE haue alreadie spoken sufficiently (though briefely) concerning the Originall of the Turkish Empire, and in what manner they attained to such height and greatnesse: Our purpose therefore, in this present Chapter, is, to discourse onely of the Gouernment, and Order obserued in the Court, vsually tearmed by themselues, the *Porta* or Court of the *Grand Signore*; whereto I am the more willingly induced, because the Pompe, Might, and Maiesty thereof, may bee publikely discerned.

The great Signior maketh his most abiding in Constantinople, with some briefe discription thereof.

The Cittie of *Constantinople*, wherein the Great *Signior Turke* (with his Court Royal) maketh his most residing; was in former times called *Bizantium*, and new *Rome*, containing now in circuit, about eighteene Miles. It hath seauen small Hils, not of any great height, and it is rounded with old ruined wals, being full of Houses, though none of the best, yet composed of Clay, wood, and some few of stones. There are many Groues or Thickets of Trees in the Citty, vn-inhabited, consisting of Cipresse Trees, and diuers others there growing in like maner. In *Constantinople* is the *Serraglio* of the *Signior Turke*, which is a singuler thing, & very great, as we shall relate hereafter. There is the *Serraglio* of Weomen, for the Great Signior; The *Serraglio* of *Ianissaries*; The Patriarkes Pallace; The Pallace of *Constantine* the Emperor, which is partly ruinated; The Church of Saint *Sophia*, which was builded by the Emperour *Iustinian*, of admirable fine stone, and curious Marble, as yet (though very ancient and excellent) is to be seene, part whereof, the Great *Signior* imployeth as a Stable for his Horses. There is also the *Moschea* of the *Sultane Mehemet*, which hath an *Amarato* (that is as an Hospitall or Almes-house) ioyned vnto it, wherein is entertained and lodged men of all Nations and Religions, that will enter into it, and there they are allowed three dayes acceptance and food, as Hony, Rice, Bread, Water, and a Chamber to rest in. There is belonging to this Hospitall, goodly Bathes, and rare Fountaines or Springs of Water, very delightfull to behold. There are also the *Moscheaes* of *Sultane*, *Baiazeth*, of *Sultane Selim*, and of diuers other Lords, which are very beautifull and and costly builded: whereby it appeareth, that when they pleased, they knew how to make houses, and Pallaces most magni-

Il Serraglio del Signior Turco.

The Pallaces in Constantinople.

The goodly Church of S. *Sophia.*

An Hospital for people of all Nations, and three dayes entertainement.

Diuers *Moscheaes* in the Citty.

magnificent and sumptuous.

There is likewise the * *Hippodromo*, which is a place, where anciently they vsed to breake and run their Horses, in the forme of a Theater or circle in the midst of which *Hippodromo*, there standeth a sharp Spire or Pinnacle, being an ingenious Piller, made in the fashion of a Needle, very faire, well wrought, and without any Lime or Morter: yet made of fine Stone, and framed in such manner, that it riseth aboue fifty fadome in height, obseruing still the true shape of a Needle, and resting vpon foure round Bals of Marble. There is also a Piller of Brasse, in forme of a Serpent with three heads: and a *Hercules* of Brasse, brought thither from *Hungaria*; and in the midst of all these, standeth a frame or deuise, made like a *Colossus*, of diuers kindes of beautifull Marble, whereon is curiously engrauen, the Histories of all the forenamed thinges; and others, that were wont to be in the Theater or *Hippodromo*. Thorow the Citty, there are diuers tracts or pathes of Antiquity, Arches, Colloms of Porphiry, Springes fetcht from *Danubie*, & other neere neighbouring Riuers: many Gardens with goodly Houses in them; many *Moscheaes* belonging to priuate Lordes, and great store of Bathes, annexed to the *Moscheaes* of publike Magistrates, and other priuate persons.

On the other side of the Sea, and at the head of the *Serraglio*, are the hils of *Asia*, containing the iourney of two miles, little more or lesse: which *Asia*, vnder one name only is now cald *Natolia*, and there (on the shoaring banckes) are diuers little Castles, termed *Scutari*. Next, there is that which they call *Chalcedonia*, seated in a corner of the *Hellespont*; where diuers notes of Antiquitie are to be obserued, and (in many places) the foundation of auncient Churches may be seene, as well of Christians, as of the Gentiles, being now goodly places, and abonnding in Fruits. The site or scituation of *Constantinople* is such, as not only it exceedeth all description, equal to the due merit thereof: but also can as hardly be conceiued in thought, in regard of the beauty and delicate composure therof, so that (vndoubtedly) it may rather be reputed diuine, then otherwise, and whatsoeuer hee be that shall behold it, will iudge it worthy to be preferred, before all other sited Cities in the world.

In the Citty, beside *Turkes*, there are *Iewes*, being * *Marrani*, fled, or repulsed out of *Spaine*; and these are they that haue taught, and do yet teach, all kinds of Trades to the *Turkes*, and the most part of all the Shoppes and Boothes for Trades, are kept and exercised by those *Marrani*. There is a place named *Biscstano*, where is bought and sold all kinde of Cloathes, and Turkish Commodities, Silkes, wollen and Linnen Cloath, Siluer and Gold wrought into all formes, Bowes, Slaues, Horses, and all kinds of thinges else to be had in *Constantinople*, which continually are brought to this Market, and which is euery day kept open in full sale, except Friday onely. *Constantinople* is in *Thrace*, and the terminations thereof are in this manner. On the East, is the *Propontis*, and mouth of the great Sea, from the streights of *Hellespont*, to *Bosphorus Thracius*. On the West, is part of *Bulgaria*, and part of *Macedonia*. On the North, *Bassina*; And on the South, *Ægæum Mare*, with part of *Macedonia*, which turneth towardes the Riuer *Nessaua*, anciently called * *Nessus Fluuius*. This most Noble Citty is inhabited with *Turks*, who (by the writings of diuers approoued Authours, for confirmation, and many of the *Turkes* themselues also) had their Original from *Scythia*, which now is part of *Tartaria*, a Northerly Region, and deuided into two parts by the Riuer * *Tanais*; one part whereof is in *Europe*, & the other in *Asia*. That part of *Europe* is confined (on the one side) with *Pontus*, and on the other side, with the *Riphean* Mountaines, being backed also with *Asia* it selfe, and with the Riuer *Thaspis*. By *Ptolomie*, these two *Scythiaes* are named, the one, *Intra* * *Iamnum montem*, and the other, *Extra Iamnum*, as is more at large elsewhere to be seene.

This people, being parted from *Scythia*, as formerly hath been said, and beginning (in their own confines) to make commodities and irruptions, proceeding on still further: in short time they ouer-ruled a great part of *Asia*; but in regard they knew not how to maintain themselues vnder one Head or Commaunder, they could not make any firme

* A coursing or running place for Horses.

The curious Needle in the *Hippodromo*.

The three headed Serpent of Brasse

The great *Colossus*,

Antiquities in passage thorow the citty.

Gardens and goodly Houses.

Priuate *Moscheaes*.

The hils of *Asia*, now called *Natolia*.

Castelles *Scutari*.

Chalcedonia in the *Hellespont*.

The site or seate of *Constantinople* exceeding description.

* A Nickename for Infidell Renegado Spaniards.

The *Biscstano* or chief Market-place in *Constantinople*.

In what manner *Constantinople* is bounded or limitted on all sides.

* Wher stood a Citty of *Thrace*, built by *Constantine*.

* A Riuer of *Scythia*, parting *Asia* from *Europe*

* In the lesser of the Isles called *Baleares*.

The *Turkes* issuing forth of their owne confines.

firme or setled foundation. Which being well perceiued and considered by one, who was named *Otthoman* (a man of more condition then common baseneſſe, being of high spright and valiant minded) he consulted with his owne thoughts, that if he could compaſſe the arme and furtherance of some ingenious man that had authority: hee might easily haue the people and whol Country vnder obedience, and encreaſe the same as occasion stil serued. Hereupon, he discouered his priuate intention to three men, whom he thought more apt and conuenient for this buſineſſe, then any of the rest: promising them, that if he could compaſſe the hope he aymed at; both they and their of-spring should be continued and maintained in such high state and dignity, answerable to so great a benefit as he receiued by them. Moreouer, that not any one of their posterity, should be vnder-handed, or left to the mercy of Law, except they offended very grieuously. The conditions were accepted by these men, and they conspired together against the chiefeſt Soueraignety: in which progreſſion, what by art, craft, threatnings, & much expence of blood, all was obtained to their full desire. These three men, one of them was named *Michaele Greco*, made a *Turke*: of whom are descended the *Marcalogi*, & one of them (is at this instant) *Saniack* of *Boſsina*. The second was called *Malco Greco*, a Renegado: of whom also came the *Malcozoli*, and there is but one onely left of them, who is *Saniack* in *Grecia*. The third was *Aurami*, a Natiue Turke, the descendants of whom were tearmed *Euracaſsi*, and it is not knowne, whether any of them bee left, or no. When the Race and Family of *Otthoman* failed, these other pretended right to the principalitie, and therefore they were very highly respected. This *Otthoman* came to the Gouernment, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, or there-about, and liued in the regiment, twenty eight yeares. After whom succeeded *Orchanes*, who liued twenty two yeares in the dominion. Next, *Amurath* raigning twenty three yeares. After him *Baiazeth*; Then *Cyriſcelebes*, or (as others will haue it) *Calapine*, who liued sixe yeares. Next him was *Mahomet*, who raigned foureteene yeares. Then *Amurath* the second, who ruled one and thirty years. Then *Mahomet* the second, who raigned two and thirty yeares, and was called the first Emperour of the *Turkes* in *Conſtantinople*. Next, *Baiazeth* the second, who raigned one and thirty yeares. Then *Selim*, eight yeares; To whom succeeded *Sultan Soliman*, who raigned forty seauen yeares: And after him, *Selim* the second, raigning eyght yeares. Then *Amurath* the third, who raigned one and twenty years. Next to him, *Mahomet* the third, ruling nine yeares: And lastly *Achmeth*, or *Achmet*, who came to the Empire, being but seuenteene yeares old, and raigneth yet at this present.

Otthoman, a man of bold and sprightly courage.

Otthoman discouered his secret purpoſe.

Very liberall and large promiſes.

The conditions accepted and proſecuted.

The *Marcalogi* descended *Michaele Greco*

The *Malcozoli*, of *Malco Greco*.

The *Euracasli*, of *Aurami*.

Succeſſion that ensued after *Otthomã*.

Orchanes. *Amurath*. 1.

Baiazeth. 1. *Calapine*.

Mahomet. 1.

Amurath. 2. *Mahomet*. 2.

Baiazeth. 2.

Selim. 1.

Sultan Soliman

Selim. 2. *Amurath*. 3.

Mahomet. 3.

Achmeth or *Achmet*, the Turke or great *Signior* now raigning. 1613.

1 THE Great Signior hath a *Serraglio* in a part of *Conſtantinople*, at the two Seas deuiſion, which containeth (in circuit) about three miles: and therein is his chiefe Seat and Court, which is called the *Porta*. This *Serraglio*, because it was begun to be builded by the *Sultane Mahomet*: when hee dyed, hee would haue it leuelled with his *Moſchea*, and that a thousand Aſpers should be dailie paied towards the charges, which Aſpers doe amount to twenty Ducates, and this payment is as yet obserued. In the said *Serraglio* are very many goodly Chambers, but one (aboue all the rest) appointed for the Great Signior, and wherein he sleepeth, where doe attend sixe Youthes (supposed by some to be Weomen) who onely doe awaite on his person. Of these sixe, two are appointed daily for seruice in the Chamber, and of the Signior, and by them at night time, the Office of Guard is performed, one standing at his head, and the other at his feete (continually vigillant) with two lighted Torches in their hands.

These two doe helpe in the morning, to put on the Signiors Garments, the vppermoſt whereof being called *Caſtanno*; hath two Pockets: into one whereof, the Pages do put a thousand *Aſpers*, and into the other, twenty Ducates of Gold euery morning, which Mony, if (in the day time) it bee not giuen away by the Signior; it remaineth to them that maketh him vnreadie at night,

Of the Porta or Court, wherin is the great *Signiors* chiefe State.

Six youths that wait on the great *Signior* in his Chamber, & order of their seruice.

The guarding and watching of him in his sleeping in the night time.

What Money he daily carrieth about him, being put into his pockets by his Pages.

for he neuer putteth on thoſe garments againe, neither weareth any twice, as is credibly affirmed. When he rideth abroad on pleaſure, either to hunt, or any other ſportfull exerciſe, beſide the forenamed Mony which he carryeth about him; the *Caſnadar-Baſhae*, who is his chiefe Treaſurer, rideth next behind him, who carrieth great ſums of Mony, which the Signior commaundeth to be giuen away. The Offices of the fore-named ſixe young Pages, are altred according to the *Signiors* will and pleaſure. One of them is called the *Chiuchter*, that is he which carrieth the Pantofles of the Signior; The ſecond, *Scilichtar*, who beareth his Bow and Arrowes; The third, *Chiocadar*, who carrieth his cloak or Mantle; The fourth, *Saraptar*, who carieth his Vial of water; The fift, *Schemeligli*, who beareth his ſtoole or ſeat; And the laſt is *Oda-Baſhae*, who is chiefe of the Chamber. Theſe Pages haue firm and ſetled allowance of Wages; ſome fifteen, and others twenty, but the *Oda-Baſhae* thirty Aſpers daily.

The *Caſnadar-Baſhae* Eunuch, chiefe of all the other Treaſurers, hath threeſcore and ten Aſpers daily.

The *Chilergi-Baſhae* Eunuch, chiefe of all the other Diſpenſers or Stewards, hath forty Aſpers daily.

The *Saraidar-Baſhae*, Eunuch of the *Serraglio*, when the *Signior* is in Prograce, hath fifty Aſpers daily.

Twelue Eunuches, ſubiect, or at commaund of theſe fore-named, haue ſome ten, and ſome fifteen Aſpers each man daily.

In the next place, we are to ſpeake of fiue hundred young Women, from the age of eight, to the yeares of twentie, who are kept in a *Serraglio*, and are the choiſe delights of the *Grand Signior*. They haue ten and twelue Aſpers daily each one of them, and are enſtructed in diuers Arts, according to their ableſt apprehenſion: but moſt eſpecially in Reading, Writing, and Doctrine of their Law or Religion, and in riding. Their Maiſters or Tutours, are ancient *Taliſmani*, called *Cozza*, that is to ſay, Doctours of the Law.

Theſe young Women, at the time of *Bairono*, which is (among vs) the Feaſt of Eaſter, are all allowed Garments by the Great Signior, which are of Silke and of Cloath, without any forme of Liuery. Their Head Attires are all of Gold, and they haue Semitaries and Bowes, like *Amazones*: but they neuer go foorth of the ſaid *Serraglio*, till they attaine to ſuch yeares, as the Signior thinketh them apt for ſome Office, and then they are made eyther *Spacoglani*, or *Scilichtari*, or of ſome greater degree, according to their carryage, or grace that they haue won with the Signior. Euery tenne of theſe Women are kept by an Eunuch, called *Capoglano*, that is to ſay, chiefe of the younger Women, and euery one of them hath a night-Slaue, and toucheth not him that lyeth neereſt him. They lodge in goodlie Roomes, like great and ſpacious Hauls, verie full of lights, and their Eunuches doe ſleepe in the middeſt of thoſe Roomes. There is a Garden belonging to the *Serraglio*, containing in compaſſe more then a mile, whereto appertaineth fiue and thirtie Gardiners, called *Boſtangi*, who are decayed and aged *Ianiſſaries*: and theſe *Boſtangi* haue (from three to fiue Aſpers) each man dailie, and euery one hath a Liuery of Turkiſh Cloath, and a Shirt yearelie allowed him. When they depart out of the *Serraglio*, they remaine *Ianiſſaries*, or *Solacchi*, or *Capigi*, or otherwiſe, according to their qualitie.

The *Boſtangi-Baſhae*, who is chiefe of the Gardiners, hath fifty Aſpers daylie allowed him, and many other royall fauours beſide.

The *Protogero*, who is as Lieutenant to the Gardiners, hath twentie Aſpers daily, and euery ten hath a chiefe, called *Boluch-Baſhae*. Out of this Garden, which is very great, well laboured, and full of excellent Fruits of all ſortes, there is yearely gathered ſuch plentie: that the benefit made onely thereby, ſufficeth for the Signiors expences in dyet, beſide a good ouer-plus remaining for other vſes. Neere to the Garden, doe two Foyſtes or ſmall Barkes continually attend, which are rowed by the Gardiners, when the Signior pleaſeth to ſollace himſelfe on the Water, and the *Boluch-Baſhae* gouerneth the Helme.

There

Taliſmani Cozza, Doctour of the Lawes, Schoole-Maiſters to the Concubines.

Offices beſtowed on Concubines when the *Signior* pleaſeth.

Eunuchs and Night-Slaues that attend on the Concubines in their Lodgings.

Boſtangi, Gardeners belonging to the Weomens Serraglio, and their daily allowance.

Boſtangi-Baſhae chiefe Gardiner.

Protogero, Lieuetenant to the Gardeners.

Boluch-Baſhae.

Foyſts for the Signiors recreation on the Water.

Capagaſſi Eunuch.

Caſnadar-Baſhae, Eunuch.

Chilergi-Baſhae Eunuch.

Saraidar-Baſhae, Eunuch.

Twelue Eunuchs.

Fiue hundred young Weomen, who are Concubines to the great *Signior*, and kept in an eſpeciall *Serraglio*.

The *Caſnadar-Baſhae*, the *Signiors* chiefe Treaſurer.

The ſix yong Pages, and what belongeth to their ſeuerall Offices, and their wadges.

Assi-Bashae, chiefe of the Cookes.

There is one called *Assi-Bashae*, who is chiefe of the Cooks, with fifty Cooks vnder him, that haue each man fiftie Aspers by the day, vnder Cookes four, who haue fixe Aspers; and fixe others, eight Aspers each man.

Caualgi-Bashae Maister of the Confectionarie.

Caualgi-Bashae, is chiefe of the Confectionarie, hauing forty Aspers daylie allowed him: and he hath thirty other Companions, who haue some fiue, others fixe Aspers each man.

Casnagir-Bashae, the chief Butler.

The *Casnagir-Bashae*, who is Maister of the Butlers, or chiefe Butler to the Great Signior, hath forty Aspers daily. Morning and Euening hee bringeth in his hand, the Cuppe which the Signior drinketh in, and hath an hundered *Casnegeri* vnder him, who haue from thirtie, to sixtie Aspers each man daylie.

Mutpachemin, the chiefe Steward.

The *Mutpachemin*, who is the chiefe Steward, hath fortie Aspers daily, and keepeth a Clearke vnder him, that hath twenty Aspers daily.

Ianissarie-Wood-carriers.

An hundred decayed *Ianissaries*, which with Carts doe carry Wood to the *Serraglio*, they haue from three, to fiue Aspers a man daily, and are cloathed also.

Sacca, water-beaters.

Ten *Sacca*, which carry Water on Horses in Bouges, haue each man from three, to fiue Aspers daily.

The *Signiors* daily expences for his weomen, &c.

The expences which is graunted by the Grand Signiors allowance, to his women and their Eunuches, with other persons, to the number of a thousand, or thereabout, amounteth to fiue thousand Aspers euery day.

His Stable of Horses in the *Serraglio*.

There is a Stable in the *Serraglio*, with two hundred Horses for the Signiors person, and two hundred men to mannage and keepe them, who haue from fiue, to eight Aspers each man daily.

Capigi-Bashaes, Captaines of the Gates, who cõmand ouer the *Capigi*.

Three *Capigi-Bashaes*, who are Captaines of the Portes or Gates, that haue an hundred Aspers by the day, and are cloathed yearely. Vnder them they commaund two hundred and fifty *Capigi*, that haue each man from fiue, to seauen Aspers dailie. Each *Capigi-Bashae*, standeth obliged (with a third nũber of the *Capigi*) to keepe a Guard at the Gate of the Grand Signior, beeing changed still day by day. And when Ambassadours, or others doe come to kisse the Grand Signiors hand: all of them are presented with Garments, or else Money, according to the degree of him that is brought to that honor.

Capigichechessi, Protogero to the *Capigi*.

A *Capigichechessi*, who is as *Protogero* of the *Capigi*, and hath forty Aspers daily.

Bashaes Visirs, chiefe Councellors and States-men to the great *Signior*.

Foure *Bashaes*, called *Visirs*, that is, chiefe Councellers to the Signior. He that is greatest in authority, hath foure and twenty thousand Ducates by the yeare, and the other of them, haue sixteene and eighteene thousand yearely each man. They hold (beside) so much Land of him, as yeildeth three times more benefit, then is their allowance and prouision of Money: whereto are added the rich garments giuen them by the Signior; the great presents of Suiters, and others; beside the royalties held by their Offices, which are infinite. These *Bashaes* liue and goe cloathed very pompously, hauing Slaues, both Men and Women, to whom they giue Wages, Horses, Garments, Head-attires of Gold, Girdles of Siluer, according to such Office and degree, as they hold about them: and by these (with his owne prouision) is each *Bashae* serued, euen as the *Signior* is serued by his attendants. They haue fiue and twenty, or thirty Secretaries granted them by the Signior, who are men of good esteem, and haue fiue and twenty or thirty Aspers ech man daily, beside Slaues, some more, som lesse, according to ech mans quality and estate. These *Bashaes* doe go in and out to the Signior, about matters and occasions of State, & are they (in briefe) that gouerne and manage all things after their owne liking.

Secretaries allowed by the *Signior*, to attend on his foure *Bashaes Visirs*.

Mophty, the chiefe Priest or Bishop.

Next, there is the *Mophty*, who is the Interpreter and chiefe of the Law or Religion: And he is not troubled with any other matters, but in cases belonging to Religion, and concerning their Faith. His Office and Dignity is, as presenting the person of the chiefe Priest or Bishop.

Cadi Leschieri Talismani, Doctours of Law for the Army.

Two *Cadi Leschieri Talismani*, who are Doctors of the Law for the Armie, one of *Greece*, the other of *Natolia*, and they hold very worthy Offices. They sit at the Court gate, and do proceed or go before the *Bashaes Visirs*, albeit the other are more esteemed. They are Executors of the Lawes, and with consent of the *Bashaes*. They place and displace the *Cadi*, who are as Potestates and chiefe Magi-

Cadi, Maiors or Poteſtates through the Land.

Magiſtrates thorow the Countries. They hold in Lands (each man) about ſeauen thouſand ducates yearely, and do keep two hundred or three hundred Slaues ſeuerally: being alſo allowed by the Signior, ten Secretaries, and two *Mochtur-Baſhaes*, who performe the Office of Cauallery, and liue on the royalties, whereof they haue good ſtore.

Mochtur-Baſhaes, as Maiſters of the Horſſe.

Difterdari, Maiſters of the Rents & Reuenues.

There are two *Difterdari*, or rather, (as we vſe to tearme them) Gouernors of the rents and reuenues. One of them hath the collection, & keeping of thoſe accounts, which come from one third part of *Greece*: to wit, thoſe parts which are towardes *Danubie*; and next, from *Aſia*, *Soria*, and *Ægypt*, with Landes of ten thouſand Ducates yearely, albeit, (with their royalties) hee raiſeth three times as much. The other hath charge of the other two third partes of *Grecia*, but when the great Signior goeth forth into the Field: he remaineth as his Vicar and Lieutenant in *Conſtantinople*, and hath ſixe thouſand ducates in lands, whereof he maketh three times the value, and their ſeuerally Offices are of great dignitie. They keepe vnder them fifty Clearkes, with many coadiutores, who haue care of the *Caſna* accounts, that is, of the Signiors Treaſure: and theſe Clearks are allowed wages by the Signior, from fifteene, to fifty Aſpers each man daily. Alſo theſe *Difterdari*, each one of them hath 1000. Slaues, & the other fiue hundred: Likewiſe, the Clearkes, they haue from two, to twenty Slaues, each man allowed him.

The great *Signiors* Vicar and Lieuetenant in Conſtantinople.

Caſna, the Treaſure belonging to the *Signior*.

Roſunamegi, Maiſters, or Clearke-Comptrollers

Two *Roſunamegi*, Maiſters of the Clearkes, that receiue the Monies, and make diſburſement thereof again when need requireth, who haue xxv. aſſiſtants betweene them. Theſe two men are allowed forty Aſpers apiece; and the fiue and twenty haue from eight, to ten Aſpers each man daily.

Deſnadar, weighers of Money.

Deſnadar, whereof there are two, whoſe office is to weigh the Aſpers and Duckates, with fiue and twenty Aſpers allowance daily for the one, and thirtie for the other.

Saraffieri, bankers or Money-Changers.

Sixe *Saraffieri*, as Bankers or Lombards, who know the true eſtimate of Gold and Siluer, and haue from ten to fifteene Aſpers, each man daily.

Then there is a *Neſſangi-Baſhae*, who ſigneth the Commaunds, and publique Writings, with the Signe or Marke of the Signior. His Office is, as Great or chiefe Chancellour, and he is a man of much reputation. He ſitteth in the *Porta*, next to the *Beglerbey*, and hath eight thouſand ducates of annuall Lands, beſide very honorable places, with aboue three hundred Slaues.

Neſſangi-Baſhae, the Lord high Chancellor.

There is a *Caſnadar-Baſhae* abroad, or at large, as common Treaſurer, with ten *Caſnadri* vnder him: himſelfe hath fifty Aſpers daily, and the ten other fifteene each man.

Caſnadar-Baſhae, Treaſurer at large.

The *Deftermin*, who is as Surueyer of the Lands, and keepeth a Regiſter of them all. He hath forty Aſpers dailie, and vnder him are ten Clearkes, rewarded from ten, to fifteene Aſpers dailie each man.

Deſtermin, Surueyer of the Lands.

Then there are foureſcore *Mutaferache*, who are as Demy-Lances or light Horſemen to the Signior, carying their Launces alwaies, whenſoeuer he rideth abroad, and acknowledging no other Head or Commaunder, but the Grand Signior himſelfe onely. Afterward, when either by art or deſert, any one of them can attaine ſo farre into his fauor; he is made *Aga*, that is a Captain. The meaneſt of them haue ten, and the better ſort, foureſcore Aſpers a man daily.

Mutaferache, Demie-Launces or Light-Horſſe-men.

There is a *Chiaus-Baſhae*, who is chiefe of the Sergeants for the Army, and holdeth ſuch credit with euery man: that when he is ſent by command from the Signior, to any *Baſhae*, *Saniack*, or *Cadi*, with order, to cauſe the head of any one to be ſmitten off: he is obeyed, without receipt of any Letter by him, or commaundement in writing, and euen no otherwiſe, then as if the Signior himſelf were there in perſon, and commaunded it to be done. This man hath an hundred Aſpers by the day, and keepeth an hundred Slaues vnder him, for whom he is allowed from fiue & twenty, to forty Aſpers for each man daily.

Chiaus-Baſhae, as Sergeant Maior.

A very great and eſpeciall preheminēce.

The *Mechter-Baſhae*, is Maiſter of them, that doe diſplay or ſpread abroad the Tents or Pauillions, and the Tapeſtry that couers the Floores in the Court, with ſuch like buſineſſes thereto belonging. He hath forty Aſpers dailie; one *Protogero*, and fiue and twenty Aſpers allowance: threeſcore *Mechters*, waged from fiue, to eyght Aſpers

Mechter-Baſhae, Maiſter of the Tents and Tapiſtry.

Aspers each man, and their yearelie Liueries from the Signior.

Aga, Captain of the *Ianissaries*.

The *Aga*, that is, Captaine of the *Ianissaries*, who hath a thousand Aspers and more daily, and sixe thousand Duckats in Lands yearely. This *Aga*, when Court is kept, which is commonly twice or thrice euery weeke, standeth obliged, to feede the *Ianissaries*, with Bread, Rice, Mutton, Hony, and Water. He hath a *Checaya* vnder him, or rather a *Protogero* of the *Ianissaries*, who is as his Vice-gerent, and hath two hundred Aspers daily in ready Mony, and thirty thousand in Lands yearely. He also hath a Clearke of the *Ianissaries*, called *Ianissariassis*, waged with an hundred Aspers daily.

Checaya, Vicegerent of the *Ianissaries*.

Sechmem-Bashae, Maister of the hunting Hounds.

The *Sechmem-Bashae*, is Maister of the Hounds for Hunting: he hath an hundred Aspers daily, and to the number of almost two thousand *Ianissaries* vnder him.

Zagarzi-Bashae for the Beagles.

The *Zagarzi-Bashae*, is Maister of the Beagle-Hounds, beeing allowed fiftie Aspers daily, and hath about seauen hundred *Ianissaries* vnder him.

The number of the *Ianissaries*, and their allowances & Commanders

There are to the number of twelue thousand *Ianissaries*, that haue from three, to eight Aspers wages, each man daily allowed them. Euery ten haue their *Oda-Bashae*, and euery hundred haue their *Boluch-Bashae*: but these chief Men of the tens and hundreds, do ride on Horsebacke, the *Oda-Bashaes* beeing allowed forty Aspers each man dailie, and the *Boluch-Bashaes* sixtie, the rest of the *Ianissaries* doe goe on foote, beeing cloathed once ayeare by the Signior, in coorse Azure cloath.

The *Ianissaries* dietting together.

Their dwelling is in two partes of *Constantinople*, freely giuen them by the Signior, wherein dwell they that haue no Wiues; but such as be married, do inhabite diuers places of the Citty. For their liuing together in friendly manner, euery Man layeth downe his perticuler proportion; And they haue a Steward, and a Cooke, who make preparation of their dyet: but such as come short in stipend to the rest, are bound by obligation to attend on the other, and take their leauings. Euery hundred of them, when they go to the Field, do carry their Tent or Pauillion with them, being all Foot-men: and part of them Shot, other Halbardiers, and

How they go to the Field by hundreds.

some that vse the Semitary onely, euery three Men hauing a Horse, for carriage of their necessaries. When they grow into yeares, or (in some other respects) their seruice seemeth not pleasing to the Signior: they are cashiered out of the *Ianissaries* Booke, and are tearmed *Assareri*, that is to say; Guards for Castles, & then they haue Commaders appointed them for that purpose, who are called *Castillians*, with equall allowance to the wages which formerly they had, so that no one of them falleth into distresse.

Assareri, keepers of Castelles.

Vauoides are subordinate Rulers or Lords, aduanced by their merits in seruice.

Some of them there be who speede so successefullie in the Warres: that they come to be made *Vauoides*, and exalted to great Dignitie. They begin the exercise of Armes when they be but young Lads, and are enstructed by the most expert: beeing chosen of healthfull disposition, strongly limbde, yet quick and agile, but (aboue all) courragious, and much rather to bee cruell, then any way pittiful. In these men consisteth the strength and full firmenesse of all the Turkish Armies: who because they are continually exercised thereto, and (altogether) become one sole body as it were, are (indeede) to bee feared and doubted.

Solacchi Foot-men to the *Signior*.

Of *Ianissaries* there are elected an hundred and fiftie *Solacchi*, who are as Foot-men to the Signior, with allowance from fifteene, to twentie Aspers each man daily: and they go euermore about his person, at all times when hee rideth abroad.

Solach-Bashaes, Maisters of the *Solacchi*.

Two *Solach-Bashes*, are chiefe of the *Solacchi*, and ride on horsebacke; being allowed thirty Aspers daily each man, and the *Solacchi* are vnder obedience to the *Aga* of the *Ianissaries*.

Aga of the *Spaccoglani*.

The *Aga* of the *Spaccoglani*, a very honourable Office, hath in Lands and day Wages, ten Duckets continually, and great store of Slaues, with a *Checaia* vnder him, or else a *Protogero*; who hath (betweene Lands and Wages) an hundred Aspers daily, beside a *Ianzgi*, that is, a Clearke, hauing thirty Aspers, and sufficient regalities.

Ianzgi, an attendant Clearke.

There be of the *Spaccoglani*, who are young lustie men on horsebacke (for so meaneth the Word *Spaccoglano*) three thousand, beeing waged from twentie, to fortie aspers each man daily, & euery

Spaccoglani, young Gallants on Horsbacke, and their seruice.

Education of the *Spaccoglani* from their Child-hood.

twenty hath a *Boluch-Baſhae*. Theſe do ſerue on Horſe-backe, with fiue or ſixe Slaues, and as many Horſes for each man; giuing their attendance alwaies (and lodging likewiſe) on the right hand of the *Signior*. They are men of ſufficiency, ouer whom the *Signior* appointeth no head or Controller, but onely himſelfe. They are firſt brought vp or educated, in the *Serraglio* of yong Boyes, and as they grow in yeares and goodneſſe, choyſe is made of them, and ſo they do attaine to this degree, which ſerueth as a Ladder for them, whereby to mount to much greater grace, fauor, and preferment.

Aga of the *Silichtari*.

The *Aga* of the *Silichtari*, who hath thirty Aſpers by the day, and vnder him a *Protogero*, a Cleark, and a *Checaia*, that are allowed thirty Aſpers each man daily, and more.

The differēce betweene the *Silichtari* and the *Spaccoglani*.

Of theſe *Silichtari*, there are three thouſand, who ride on horſebacke likewiſe, and lodge on the left hand of the Signior, hauing from twenty, to fiue and twenty Aſpers each man daily: with foure or fiue Slaues, and as many Horſes, beſide Lands for their better maintenance. Theſe men are educated in the ſame manner, as the *Spacchi* or *Spaccoglani*, and there is no other difference betweene them: but that the *Spacchi* attend on the right hand, and theſe on the left, of the Signior.

Olofagi-Baſhawes, Commaunders ouer the Souldiers.

Two *Olofagi-Baſhaes*, who are chiefe of the Souldiours, with two thouſand *Olofagi*, that ſerue on the right and left hand of the Signior. The two chiefe Commaunders, haue an hundred and twenty Aſpers each man daily, and the other, from eight, to ſixteen each man. Moreouer, the two haue vnder them, a *Checaia*, a Clearke and a *Protogero*, with Slaues and Horſes, the one more, the other leſſe.

Agaes of the *Caripoglani*, poore young men.

Two *Agaes*, Maieſters or Rulers of the *Caripoglani* (who are poore young men) with fourſcore Aſpers of allowance for each man. Their *Protogeri* haue thirtie Aſpers, their Clearks fiue and twentie: And they haue vnder them, about two thouſand *Caripoglani* (who are waged from ſeauen to foureteene Aſpers each man) and they haue Slaues and Horſes beſide.

Bracor-Baſhaes chiefe Grooms of the Stable.

Two *Bracor-Baſhaes*, who are Maiſters or chiefe Quiries of the Stable, one aboue the other in Office. The better hath fiue hundred Aſpers by the day, & the other two hundred; beſide *Protogeri* and *Checaiaes*, and others that are waged from thirty, to forty Aſpers dailie each man.

Seracchi, as Sadlers.

Then there are to the number of ſixteene thouſand; ſome tearmed *Saracchi*, who make Bridles and Saddles; others *Ceiſſi*, Seruants or Groomes of the Stable; others *Carmandari*, that attend on the Mules; others *Denegi*, that waite on the Camels; and *Caurilgi*, that feed the Heards of Horſes in diuers places, who are waged from two, to twentie Aſpers each man daily.

Ceiſſi, Grooms of the Stable. *Carmandari*, Muletters. *Denegi*, Cammellers. *Caurigili*, Herds for Horſes.

Peichi, Foote-Poaſts or Lackies.

Next there is betweene thirty and forty *Peichi*, Foote-Poaſts, or Lackyes, who were brought vp (from their younger yeares) in knowledge of the miles, & diſpatch much ground in ſhort while, and with wonderfull ſwiftneſſe. When the Grand Signior, is to ride abroad, they are continually ready, becauſe they are imployed ſtill in many buſineſſes.

Foure thouſand choice Horſes for the *Signior*.

Of elected and choiſe Horſes, there are about foure thouſand, for the perſon of the Signior: which are ridden by the youthes of the *Serraglio*, and by the Eunuches, as a daily practiſe and exerciſe.

Zachergi-Baſhaes, chiefe Faulconers.

There is a *Zachergi-Baſhae*, Maiſter of the yong Hauks, and another *Zachergi-Baſhae*, Commaunder of all the Faulconers. The firſt hath an hundred and fiftie Aſpers daily, and the other but foureſcore; with their *Checaiaes*, *Protogeri*, and others, that are waged each Man daily, from ten, to fiue and twenty Aſpers. Vnder theſe, are about two hundred *Zanigleri*, one hundred whereof, haue onely tenne Aſpers each man daily: but the reſt hold Landes, or elſe exemption from taxations, and follow the fields as pleaſeth the Signior.

Zaniglieri, attendants on the chiefe Faulconers.

Gebegi-Baſhae, Maiſter of the Armour.

The *Gebegi-Baſhae*, is Maiſter of the Armour, hauing threeſcore Aſpers daily, a *Protogero*, and Clearke, with twenty Aſpers each Man dailie. Vnder him are a thouſand and fiue hundred *Gebegi*, waged from ſeauen to foureteene Aſpers dailie each man, and they all goe on foot with the Signior to the Field.

Topci-Baſhae, Maiſter of the Musketiers.

The *Topci-Baſhae*, is M. of the Musketiers, hauing threeſcore Aſpers dailie;

a *Protogero*, and a Clearke, with twenty Aſpers, each man daily. And vnder him are two thouſand *Topci*, waged from ſix, to ten Aſpers, each man dayly going on foote.

Arabagi-Baſhae Maiſter of the Cariages.

The *Arabagi-Baſhae*, is Maiſter of the Carts, Waggons, and Carriages, hauing fortie Aſpers daily, a *Protogero* and Clearke, at twentie Aſpers allowaunce, each man daily: & vnder him, are 3000. *Arabagi*, waged from three, to ſix Aſpers each man daily.

Mechter Baſhae, Maiſter of the Drums & Trumpets.

A *Mechter Baſhae*, is Maiſter of the Trompets and Drummes, hauing thirtie Aſpers daily allowance, a *Protogrro* and Cleark, at twelue Aſpers a man daily. Vnder him, are a thouſand and two hundred *Mechters*, partly on foote, and partly on horſebacke, from three to fiue Aſpers, each man daily.

Imerelem-Aga, the *Signiors* Standard-Bearer.

Imerelem-Aga, who carrieth the grand Signiors Standard, hauing two hundred Aſpers daily, and he is (beſide) Captaine ouer all the *Mechters*.

Arpaemin, Purueyor of grain and Corne.

The *Arpaemin*, hee is Purueyer for Corne, hauing a *Protogero*, and a Chancellor: himſelfe hath ſixtie Aſpers, the *Protogero* thirty, and the Chancellour twenty daily. This *Arpaemin* hath xx. perſons vnder him, who are allowed dayly amongſt them, eight hundred Aſpers.

Saraemin, Prouider in generall.

The *Saraemin*, is Purueyer or prouider in common: for hee looketh to the ſtreets of *Conſtantinople*, and al the waies whereby the Signior paſſeth foorth to Warre. He hath charge alſo of publick Buildings; of Springs, Wels, and Water-conduct. He is allowed fifty Aſpers daily, and hath foure hundred men vnder him: among whom, is giuen a thouſand Aſpers: hauing a *Protogero*, and a Clearke alſo, with 38. Aſpers, allowed each man daily.

Baratemin, Steward of the *Signiors* commands.

The *Baratemin*, who is appointed to deliuer the Signiors commands in writing, and to receiue his houſe moneyes: hauing fortie Aſpers daily, and attended with two Clearkes, and two Ouer-ſeers, with twenty Aſpers daily each man.

Dragoman, the Interpreter of Languages, or Maiſter of the Ceremonies.

The *Dragoman*, who is Interpreter of all Languages, which Office is as highly reputed, as is the Vertue and Wiſedom of him that exerciſeth it. He hath fiue hundered Ducates in firme Prouiſion euerie yeare, beſides, his enioyning as much in Landes, and aboue foure times as much in extraordinarie fauours, being alwayes verie eſpeciallie reſpected of them.

The Womens Serraglio, *differing from the other.*

The great *Signior* his ſecond *Serraglio* of weomen & for his Children.

2. OVer and beſide all the forenamed matters, there is another *Serraglio* of the Signiors Women, containing in circuite more then a mile and a halfe: being richly furniſhed with diuers goodly Chambers, and other retirements, wherein the Signiors Children are kept, ſeperately one from another, with their Mothers, and a great number of Eunuchs allowed for their keeping & ſeruice. There is alſo the *Sultana*, that is to ſay, the chiefe Mother, or the Signiors Wife, by whom he is ſaid to haue his firſt Child.

The *Sultana* or the *Signiors* wife.

In this place alſo, are three hundered young Damoſels, brought thither Virgins, and deliuered to the gouernement of many Matrons: which Virgines, are enſtructed in al kinds of curious imbroidery and workes: and euery one is allowed from ten to twentie Aſpers daylie, as wages, and euery yeare, at the two *Bairanoes*, they haue coſtly Garments of ſilk giuen them. Among theſe, hee maketh choiſe (to his owne liking) of ſuch as hee will admit to his priuate companie: and when he hath lien with any of them, hee giueth her a rich head attire of Golde, & ten thouſand *Aſpers*, placing hir then in another lodging, ſeperate from the other Virgins, encreaſing ſtill hir ordinarie wages.

Three hundred Virgins for the Signiors vſe.

His reward to each virgin after her company.

To this *Serraglio* belongeth an *Aga* of the Eunuches, who hath an hundred ſcore *Aſpers* for him & his: three *Capigi-Baſhaes*, and a hundred *Aſpers* amongeſt their *Capigis Ianiſſaries* at the Gates: among whom are daily giuen ſix hundered *Aſpers*. The *Saccaes*, that bringeth in Water, who haue in al forty aſpers daily. Theſe Damoſels are thus ſerued and enſtructed, till they be fiue and twentie yeares of age, the Matrons beeing their Miſtreſſes, and the ſeruants are the verie yongeſt of them. When they are fiue and twenty yeares olde, if the Signiour pleaſe to make no more vſe of them, they are then married to the *Spaccoglani*, and ſom other of the Slaues about the court, according to the qualitie and degree on eyther

Attendants on the *Serraglio*, and their wadges daily.

How long the Damoſels continue for the *Signiors* vſe, and what becommeth of them afterward.

either part, and insted of the ones losse, another is admitted.

The Serraglio of Children.

THere is another *Serraglio* neere to* *Pera* consisting of about foure hundred Children, who are waged each one from sixe, to ten Aspers daily, and are cloathed with Silke twice euerie yeare. These Children haue an *Aga* and Eunuches, euen as the great *Serraglio* hath, with *Capagi*, young Ianissaries, and an hundred Maisters of diuers Artes and professions: amongst whom, are giuen eight hundred *Aspers* daily. They are not so Nobly borne, neyther of so seemelie presence or ingenuity, as these that bee with the Signior: and yet neuertheless, many of them do attaine to greatnesse: and choise is made among them of many, that are admitted to the great *Serraglio*. Especialy, in *Adrianople*, called by some *Andrianople*, there is a *Serraglio* of three hundred Children with Wages, *Aga*, *Eunuchs*, *Capigi*, *Ianissaries*, & two hundred Maisters, that haue amongest them, two thousand and eight hundred *Aspers* daily.

These children are of a third or more inferiour quality; and therefore, are the more respectiuely enstructed and restrained, euen as all the rest (in ciuill manner) are of them, according vnto their spirit and behauiour, choise is also made for their further aduauncement. There is likewise in the same Countrey, another *Seraglio*, newly made with a goodly great Garden belonging to it, and seated on the Riuer *Mariza*: wherin ther is about three hundred yong *Ianissaries*, who dispend each man yearely, a thousand and two hundered *Aspers*. They haue an *Aga*, allowed sortie *Aspers*, a *Protogero*, and a Clearke, each thirty *Aspers* daylie. In diuers other places of *Adrianople*, there are Gardens, continually belonging (euen as in *Deposito*) to a thousande and fiue hundered young *Ianissaries*, selected out of these youths, as they grow to yeares and qualitie: hauing *Agaes*, and Clearkes on whom are bestowed six thousand *Aspers* euerie yeare, or very little lesse.

There is then an *Aga* of the *Azamoglani*, called young vntutord or vnciuill *Ianissaries*, that abide in *Constantinople*, and haue threescore *Aspers* dayly: there being vnder his commaund, about fiue thousand of these wilde-headed *Ianissaries*, who are cloathed twice euery year, and haue Maisters for their instruction; among whom, is spent tenne thousande *Aspers* yearely. These do attend about the Ship-wrights, bringing them wood to supply their building, and diuers other affayres beside. Some practise Cookerie, and so become seruants to the *Ianissaries*, whereby (at length) they attain to bee *Ianissaries* themselues. Euerie fourth yeare, the Signiour sendeth into *Grecia* and *Natolia*, to take and surprize Children from the Christians, and then ten or twelue thousand of these men are sent out at a time, that doth bring verie many christian children back with them: who are then conueyed vppe further into *Natolia*, towards *Bursia*, now called * *Mysia*, or into * *Caramania*, where they are brought vp in digging the Ground, because they may bee inured to labour, and also to learn the Turkish Language. These Children are thus kept three or foure yeares; and then sent out to allure other in like manner: being then giuen to the gouernment and Discipline of the *Aga Azamoglani*. No wages or allowance is granted to these by the Signieur, so long as they abide in *Natolia*, because they are both fedde and cloathed at their cost, in whose seruice, they delue the grounds, or doo any other labours for them.

I thought good to make mention (in this place) of all the *Serraglioes*, because they are as appendixes on that belonging to the Signior, and reckoned in the whole expences, returned into the books of charge, belonging to the great *Serraglio* of the Signior. Into which accounts are also called the Moneyes laid out for cloathing (twice yearely) the *Bashaes*, the *Cadileschery*, the *Defterdari*, the *Beglerbeyes*, and the *Nessangi-Bashaes*: which expences, allowed to them that be in extraordinarie, do amount to, and exceed the summe of a Million of aspers yearelie.

Of the Arsenale, *or Store-house of Munition.*

3. THere is also an *Arsenale* on that part of *Pera*, not of anie bigge

* *Galatea* or *Galatia* in *Gollogræcia*, in *Asia* the lesse, ioyning to *Phrygia* and *Lydia*.

Maisters for enstructing the youths in the *Serraglio*.

* A Citty of *Thrace*, built vpon the Riuer *Hebrus*. The Serraglio of Adrianople.

* In Thrace, rising out of *Rhodope* by Adrianople, into which Riuer the head of *Orpheus* was cast.

Gardens belonging to young Ianissaries.

Azamoglani, are young *Ianissaries*, that be (as yet) rude and vntutourd.

Attendants on the Ship-wrights.

Ianissaries imployed by the Signior for the stealth of Christians Children.

* A Country in *Asia* by *Hellespont*, bordering on *Troas*.
* Now called *Narsinga*, in *Asia minor*, betweene *Persia* and *India*.

Aga Azamoglani.

All the *Serraglioes* are limbs or branches of the *Signiors* great *Serraglio*.

Charges allowed extraordinarily.

The *Arsenale* in *Pera*.

bigge or large circuite, which hath on the Sea-shore, to the number of ninetie two Arches, and containeth so little ground within: as not onely the Galies, but also their other appurtenances, and Timber for worke, can hardly bee there placed. In this *Arsenale*, do about two hundered men labour ordinarily euerie day; who, with their Maisters and Ouerseers, haue daily two thousand *Aspers* among them. There are a thousande *Asapi*, who haue foure thousand Aspers among them.

Workemen in the *Arsenale* and their wadges in their seuerall degrees and places.

Proti, or Workemaisters, to the number of fiftie, who when they are idle and labour not, haue sixe Aspers dayly, but when they work, twelue *Aspers* each man.

The *Emino* hath fortie Aspers, the Clearke fiue and twenty, with ten clarks more vnder him, that haue an hundered Aspers daily. All these, when neede requireth, do performe their seuerall Offices. But if they intend badly vnto theyr Trades, or labour not effectually in the building of Gallies, whereby no such benefit ensueth on their paines, or like expedition as is vsed among vs: if the fault be found by any Christian, he is well recompenced, and the other verie seuerely punished.

Care for furtherance of labour.

Of the Beglerbey.

4. AS Commander ouer the *Arsenale*, and all the rest, there is one that is called the *Beglerbey* of the Sea, as much to say, as Lord of Lords, an Office newly created: for, in times past, he was alwaies woont to bee called Captaine of the Sea. He that was *Saniack* of *Callipolis*, and is now the first that had the degree of *Cairedinbei*, was called *Barbarossa*, and afterward created the 4. *Bashae*. To him is giuen the gouernment of all the Nauie, and he hath in prouision euerie yeare (both in Lands and Ducates) fourteene thousand, collected on *Rhodes*, *Negropont*, and *Mytelene*, albeit he gathereth a double aduantage. There is not any other especiall man, appertayning to matters of the State, and charge of the Sea, that deserueth Annotation, and therefore comming to land affaires, I will proceed in this manner.

Beglerbey of the Sea is chiefe Commander in the *Arsenale*.

His authority and yearely allowance.

There is one called the Beglerbey of *Græcia*, wherein is comprehended all the Countreyes which the Great Signiour enioyeth in Europe. This Beglerbey, is the greatest of all the rest, hauing in Lands sixteene thousand ducates yearly, but his benefite amounteth to twice as much more.

Concerning the *Beglerbey* of *Grecia*, and his authority.

Hee sitteth in the *Porta*, behinde the chiefe *Bashae*, and is of great reputation with euery one. He hath beside his slaues (which are aboue a thousand) a *Defterdaro*, Landed at three thousand Ducates yearely: An hundred Clearks, that keep the Bookes and accounts of the Landes, assigned to the *Sub-Bashaes*, *Cadi*, *Spacchi*, and others; among whom, is yearely giuen ten thousand Ducats. Thirtie seauen *Saniacks*, who are al vnder his obedience: and haue each man from fiue to twelue thousand Ducats yearly

His dignity in the Court, & his attendants A *Defterdaro*.

Sub-Bashaes *Cadi* *Spacchi*. &c.

Saniacks.

These men, are distributed into the Prouinces, where they remaine so long as pleaseth the Signior; and are thence translated or chaunged (as hee thinketh good) into some other Prouinces. Their Office, is to gouerne the *Spacchi*, to see them well exercised in Armes, and to be kept in due obedience. Foure hundred *Sub-Bashaes*, who haue in landes among them, foure hundred thousand Ducates. Thirtie thousand *Spacchi*, who are Souldiers on Horsebacke, diuided for best order of seruice: partly of the Beglerbeis of *Grecia*, and partly of all the *Sanicks* of *Grecia*. They haue (one by another) in Lands, two hundred Ducats, and each one of them, for euery hundered of Ducates, is bounde to keepe a man armed on Horsebacke, with his Launce: and beside the saide armed man, they haue, some two, some foure, and others fiue Seruants and Horses. These *Spacchi*, are all slaues to the Signior, and the sonnes of slaues, and of *Spacchi*.

The Office of the *Saniacks*.

Exercise of the *Spacchi*, and their imployment.

The *Beglerbeys* and *Saniacks* of *Grecia*.

Next, there are twentie thousand *Timariotti*, who haue from tenne to fortie Ducates in Lands, each man yearly: but because their compensation ariseth not to an hundred Ducates each man, they are not called *Spacchi*. These haue a horse and two or three seruants for each man, seruing distributiuely to all the *Sanicks* of *Grecia*. That which they call *Timari*, is the assignation or appointment of lands, the Rents, Fees, or Reuennews of which assignations are deriued, partly from the Fee-farme, letting, or deuising: but the greater

Timariotti, are such as liue vpon timarros, holding Land in Knight seruice vnder the *Signior*.

Timari, assignation of Lands, Liuings, Farmes or States, lately conquered by the *Signiors* Forces.

greater part, is from the tenths of all the reuennewes granted from the Turkes as well as Christians, and from the leauies which are fiue and twenty Aspers (*Per poule*, as we vse to say) of the Christians onely, and from the impositions on cattell, Trees, and other things, which taxes are ouer and aboue those, that are paied ordinarily to the Signiour. Sixteene thousand *Archengi*, those are aduenturers on horsebacke, set downe thorough the Countrey of *Grecia*, and bounde to follow the warres without any pay; and therefore are empted from all taxations: the Cities and Townes are tied to find their prouision of victuals onely, from place to place where they serue.

Achengi, are aduenterous seruitours on Horsse-backe.

What number serue the *Signior* thorow *Grecia*.

There are in *Græcia*, that is, throughout the whole Country therof in towns, Villages, and other places, as well of Turkes and Christians, enioyned to seruice, about the number of threescore & eight thousand.

Next, there are six *Beglerbeyes* in *Asia*, and one by himselfe in Egypt. The first, is called the Beglerbey of *Natolia*, which (in elder times) was *Asia minor*: he hath fourteene thousand Ducates in Landes annually, but hee maketh much greater benefit thereof. This man hath vnder him, and in his gouernment, *Pontus*, *Bythinia*, all *Asia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lycia*; all which Prouinces (vnder one Name only) is at this day cald *Natolia*. His place in the *Borta*, is next to the Beglerbey of *Grecia*, and he hath (beside his own proper Slaues) aboue a thousand more vnder him; and twelue *Saniaks* landed from foure to six thousand Ducats each man; *Spacchi*, ten thousand; from fiue to ten Aspers, each man dayly, besides much more in Landes, and those serue vnder him, according vnto euerie ones degree.

1 The *Beglerbey* of *Natolia*, and the places vnder his cõmaund.

His place in the Court.

The Beglerbey of *Caramania*, which aunciently was *Celicia* and *Pamphilia*, with tenne thousand Ducats in Landes. Hee hath vnder him seauen Saniackes, from foure to sixe thousande Ducates, each man in Lands. And fiue thousande *Spacchi*, from fiue to tenne Aspers, each man daily beside their lands.

2 The *Beglerbey* of *Caramania* and his command.

The Beglerbey of *Amasia* and *Toccato* which was *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, with eight thousand Ducates in Landes. Of Saniacks he hath eight from six, to eight thousand Ducates each man in Landes: *Spacchi*, foure thousand, from fyue to ten Aspers daily each man, and lands.

3 The *Beglerbey* of *Amasia* and *Toccato*.

The Beglerbey of *Aladula*, which is a place betweene *Soria*, *Caramania*, and *Toccata*, anciently called *Paphlagonia*, & is the one halfe of the lesser *Armenia*. He hath ten thousand ducates in landes, and *Saniacks* seuen (sometimes four, & sometimes six) from foure to six thousand ducates in lands: *Spacchi* six thousand, from 5. to ten Aspers daily each man & lands. In this Prouince of *Aladula*, it is sayde, that when the Signior was there, beside the stipendarie men; thirtie thousand other personnes were obliged to ride on with him, at the charges of two villages onely.

4 The *Beglerbey* of *Aladula*, and his command.

The *Signiors* being in *Aladula*.

The Beglerbey of *Mesopotamia*, vnder whom is the rest of *Armenia Minor*, and part of the greater, the other appertayning to the Sophie, and the *Cordi*, which confyneth with *Bagadeth*, or *Baldacco*, anciently called Babylon. His Landes amount to aboue thirtie thousande Ducates: and beside his owne slaues, hee hath more then two thousand. Vnder him are twelue Saniackes, landed from foure to sixe thousand Ducates yearelie each man: *Spacchi*, ten thousande, from ten to fyfteene Aspers each man daylie, and verie well landed, because they liue on the Sophies Confynes, with whome they haue continually bickerings.

5 The *Beglerbey* of *Mesopotamia*, and his command.

The Beglerbey of *Damasco*, *Soria*, and *Iudea*, Landed foure and twentie thousand Ducates. Hee hath aboue two thousand slaues, and twelue Saniackes vnder him, Landed from fyue vnto seauen thousand Ducates: *Spacchi*, twentie thousande, with Aspers from tenne, to fyfteene each man daylie, and good Lands.

6 The *Beglerbey* of *Damasco*, *Soria*, and *Iudea*, and his commaund.

The Beglerbey of *Cairo*, whose iurisdiction extendeth so farre as *Amech*, that is in *Arabia*, and the Arabiaes are possessed by the Signiour, in the same manner as hee is possessed of *Albania*, where hee challengeth no such obedience, as all other States and Countries doo yeelde vnto him of his owne: yet, *Arabia Fœlix* is nowe in farre more subiection to him, then the other. He hath thirtie thousand Ducates in Lands, and Slaues aboue foure thousand. Sixteene Saniackes, Landed from sixe vnto eight thousand Ducates each one of them; and sixteene thousande *Spacchi*, from fifteene

7 The *Beglerbey* of *Cairo*, & his large extendure.

fifteene, to twentie Aſpers daylie each man.

Lords vnder no controule.

Betweene *Amech*, and the Countrey of the *Sophie*, there are ſome *Arabian* Lords, that owe no obedience to anie bodie. The reſt of the Sophies land, confineth on *Meſipotamia*, wherein is *Maldacco*, paſsing *Meſapotamia*, the Sophye alſo confineth the plaine of *Naſinam*, then toucheth *Eſdum* and *Erſum*, which are principall places in *Armenia Maior*, and confine with the **Hyberi* and **Georgiani*. In theſe *Armeniaes*, both the great and leſſer, are many of the **Cordi*, people liuing in the Mountaines, yet warlick and Martiall: thoſe of the greater *Armenia* being in obedience, partly to the Signior, and partly to the Sophie, but thoſe of the leſſer, not to any one. **Trabiſonde* confineth with the *Georgiani* and *Mengrelli*, and part of the *Hyberi*, which people were anciently called *Colchians*. **Azemia*, which in elder times was *Aſſyria*, belongeth to the Sophie, and hee is the abſolute Lord thereof.

* A Region in Aſia, enuironed with the Hill *Caucaſus*.
* People of *Scythia* in *Aſia*.
* Mountaine people of both the Armeniaes.
* In the edge of Macedonia by the Euxine Sea.
* *Aſſiria*.

The whole Country of *Natolia*.

In this *Natolia*, I mean in the whole Country which the *Signio* poſſeſſeth in *Aſia*, Citties, Townes, and Villages belonging both to Turkes and Chriſtians, are ſeauenty two thouſand, beſides them in Egypt, whereof there are great ſtore.

Of the Saniacks.

The Saniacks are warlike men and of great account

5. THe *Saniacks* aſſuredlie (as I haue alreadie ſaide) haue gouernment in the Prouinces, committed vnto them by the *Beglerbeys*, and are men of much reputation and great eſteeme, eſpecially in warlicke occaſions, whom I will alſo ſet downe, by the names of thoſe places, which are giuen and aſsigned vnder their regiments.

The *Saniacats* of the *Beglerbey* for Grecia, according to their names and places.

Firſt, the *Beglerbey* of Grecia, apointeth his *Saniacats* to theſe places: firſt toward *Solonichi*, & then follow the other of *Caffa*, and of *Siliſtria*, *Nicopolis*, *Vidin*, *Samandria*, *Seruia* and *Belgrada*, *Sournich Boſſina*, and *Erſech*, which is *Seruia*, and called a Dukedome; *Scutari*, *Valona*, *Iauina*, *Carlali*, *Lepanto*, *Morea*, *Negropont*, *Trica'a*, *Callipolis*, *Chricheliſſa*, that is, forty Churches, *Viſa*, *Cirmē*, *Chioſtandill*, *Volcitrin*, *Priſdren*, *Ocria*, *Alazaaſſar*, *Elbaſſan*, *Voinug*, *Cinghene*, and *Taiazza*. Theſe are thirty, which were wont to be fiue and thirty; but the fiue are vnited to the propinquent places, as *Philippolis*, *Sophia*, *Dyrrachium* or *Durace*, *Albania*, and *Scopia*.

The Saniackats belonging to the *Beglerbey* of *Natolia*.

Natolia, that is *Aſia Minor*, hath *Pontus*, *Bithinia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lycia*. The Saniakats of this Beglerbey, are in *Chiothachia*, and the reſt in *Chiogaeli*, as *Boli*, *Caſtamoni*, *Anguri*, *Cangri*, *Therchieli*, *Mateſſeli*, *Aidineli*, *Hallaice*, *Buga* and *Magneſia*, which appertained to the Sultane *Muſtapha*, the Signiors firſt borne ſon, and which place is halfhemd in with the ſea.

Saniackats of the *Beglerbey* of *Amaſia*.

Amaſia and *Tocatto*, that is *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*. The Saniakat of the Beglerbey, is in *Amaſia*, and the reſt in *Chiorma*, *Gianich*, *Charaiſſer*, *Saſum*, and *Trabiſonde*.

Saniackats of the Beglerbei of *Caramania*.

Caramania, that is *Cilicia* by the midſt of *Cyprus* and *Pamphilia*. The Saniakat of the Beglerbey is in *Giogna*, and the other ſtretch into *Naranda*, *Axar*, *Eſchiſſar*, *Verſageli* and *Siuraſſar*.

Saniackts of the *Beglerbey* of *Aladula*.

Aladula, that is *Armenia Minor*. The Saniakat of the Beglerby is in *Maras*, & thoſe of the other, in *Sarmuſſacli*, *Albiſtancraſi*, *Adana & Terſis*.

Saniackts of the *Beglerbey* of *Dierbech*.

Dierbech, which is *Meſopotamia*, and part of *Armenia Maior*, for the reſt belongeth to the *Sophy*, and to the *Cordi*. The Saniakat of the Beglerbey, is in *Dierbech*: and the reſt haue their abiding in *Charaenit*, *Argui*, *Tolgich*, *Caſſanchief*, *Meridin*, *Charput*, *Muſſul*, *Eſrum*, *Payburt*, *Eythlis* and *Maxiuancuaſsi*.

Saniackats of the *Beglerbey* of *Soria* and *Iudea*.

Soria and *Iudea*. The Saniakat is in *Damaſco*, and the other in *Melathia*, *Diuitghi*, *Antep*, *Antiochia*, *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, *Chama* or *Aman*, *Camps*, *Scepheto*, *Ieruſalem*, and *Gazara*.

Egipt and the Saniackats of her *Beglerbey*.

Egypt, with part of Deſert *Arabia*, to *Alziden l'Almach*, with all *Arabia fœlix*, where are many Arabian Lords, which are partly at the deuotion of the Grand Signior, and partly to no bodie. The Saniakat of the Beglerbey is in *Cayro*, & ſome other places.

A briefe Summary of all the forenamed Officers and Offices.

All the fore-recited Saniacks, Beglerbeyes, Baſhaes, and other Officers, haue Lands and Wages (as hath beene ſaide) firmely in ordinarie pay: and get much more extraordinarily, liuing chiefely by the benefit of their ſlaues, whome they muſt of neceſsity cloath, and allow ſome Wages to keepe them from ſtealing. What the Rents and Reuennews of this Signior is, may bee conſidered by the mighty

mightie expences he is at daily, the whiche reuennewes is collected of the *Carazo* or impositions, procceding frō those subiectes that are not Turkes, yeelding yearely a Million and a halfe of ducates. The Customes or towle for cattell, yeeldeth eight hundered thousand Ducates; and the Mettall Mines affoord sixe hundred thousand Ducates.

Yearely Reuenues comming into the the Grand *Signior*.

There are infinite other Customes and payments, impoſed on Salte, Commands, dead folkes goods, guifts, the reuennewes of Egypt, beside other Moneyes, Rents, and Tributes, which are so much, as not only do supplie the expences ouer and aboue the Landes and readie Moneyes, and bringing daily into the great *Casnar* or Treasurie, aboue twelue thousand Ducates, besides other great aduantages, and ouerplus summes of Moneyes. And it is supposed, that the least reckoning of the ordinary reuenues, may be about fyfteene thousande Millions of Gold: Fiue whereof onelie enter into the *Casnar*, but the other ten remaine for the Ministers of the warres employments.

An inestimate of the whole in generall.

CHAP. II.

Of the lawfull meanes, whereby to compasse the esteeme and reputation, of beeing truely and excellentlie Courageous & valiant.

A demaund made to *Augustus*, and his worthy answere.

IT was demaunded of *Augustus*, in what hee could best obserue the valour of a man of war. *Thus* (quoth he) *vvhen his effort and endeuour, hath relliſh* (in common) *with that of his Fellowes, but that some perticuler matter appeareth in his attempt, which is no vvay due to the Armies general victory, wherein himselfe fighteth vnder the Captaynes charge, yet as if himselfe were no chiefe in respect.* Such a man among the *Albanians*, was *George Castriot*, who hadde to deale with two of the verie greatest, and most dreaded Princes of the East, against whose Iniustice he opposed himselfe only, and manie times wonne verie goodly victory ouer them: yea, and compelling them sometimes to require peace, yet without anie other aide, then his owne perfect valour, accompanied with Discretion and Equity. Which yet (neuertheless) at length hee lost, both to his owne ruine and all *Albania*, by the entermises and medlings of the Pope, and of the Byshop of *Durace*, who constrayned him (iniuriously) to breake his faith promised vnto Mahomet the second, being at that time in Warre against the Venetians.

George Castriot, surnamed *Scanderbeg*.

The Pope & Bishop of *Durace* medled in Warre matters.

He could freely auouch, that (as naked and all alone) hee vndertooke warre against the Great Signior, and that hee did it onely by the bright beautie of his courage: which could no way gather apprehension of surmounting, fighting in so iust a cause as the Christians generall quarrell against the Turk. And he might also as freely confesse, that the losse of his estates, and of his sonnes (which hee had not till after his death) was onlie conceiued in the wombe of a Popes and Byshoppes rashnesse, who more enflamed with spleene, then strengthned with men of armes, ouer bare the modestie of this poore Lord, who died in a weake estate, yet not wholly troden downe; but in leauing nothing to his heires, whereby to make a fresh reply vpon Mahomet. Hee ruined Christianity in *Greece*, thorough the insolencie of these two men of the Church, who were more apte to command a sedition, then anie way to apease it, and had more Cowardise in giuing bad counsell to their friends, then corage to helpe them out of the losses bredde by them, euen as in a sourse of infallible and vndrainable misfortunes. Whereinto also they threwe *Hungary* headlong, hauing counselled a young King vnaduisedly to violate peace with the Great Turke: who (thorough this error onely) is at this day victorious, and remayneth possessor of the *Hungars* whole estate; & afterward fell vpon *Austria*, where hee hath (almost) as great a share as the Emperour. And he, though endued with perfect valiancie, hath had much payne and care to repaire those wide gaps and breaches, which these rash & presumptuous men made, without any necessitie or ouuert profitable consideration vnto Christendome, but well-neere to the vtter

The freedom of confession imputed to *George Castriot*,

Christianity ouerthrowne in *Greece*, by two Church mens meanes.

Further harmes that ensued by them, in *Hungaria*, and elsewhere.

ter subuersion of the Easterne people in those parts.

Leonides also is one of them, to whom iustly may be attributed the glorie and perfection of intire man-hood, considering, that without any curious inquisition for himselfe, eyther of good or euill, and careless of any intention for prayse or mispriſion: he vndertooke to oppose himself (at the *Thermopylæ*) against great king *Xerxes*, the astonisher of the world, who had filled all *Greece* with horrour and affrightments, both of Soldiers and horses, hauing no lesse prouision (beside this equipage) of power & fighting men on the Sea, which they did nothing else, but meerely smite and beate with their Oares, euen as if hee would haue compelled the insensible Elements, to the vnderstanding and fauouring of his enterprizes.

Leonides King of *Lacedemon* slaine at *Thermopylæ* fighting against *Xerxes*.

All which notwithstanding, the worthy *Leonides*, accompanied onelie with foure thousand men, fought against him with such sprightly resolution and Vertue: that he left vs more matter and subiect of amazement, then capacity of immitation. I must send yé amongest the Greekes, there to admire the whole History, which is the most remarkable in al Antiquity.

Leonides vndertaketh the fight with 4000. men.

Brasidas must not be forgotten, who trauersed the Campe of the enemie, at the siedge of * *Methone*, and by a necessary endeauor, accomplished and woon immortall Fame and Renowne, which serueth yet (to this day) for a common Prouerbe, by the wonderfull perfection of his courage, whose picture is plentifull among the Greekes, only with this Motto.

A valiant Captaine of *Lacedemon*. * The Citty *Modon* by the Sea side in *Peloponnesus*.

Be as valiant as Brasidas.

Hysparmenes, Captaine to *Darius*, is woorthy to holde ranke amongst them, that not onely had a beame, but an entire Starre of true valiancy. For, his Master, and the fortune of all *Asia*, bowing vnder the yoake of Great *Alexander*, he would not yeeld himselfe vnto the Conquerour, though his Castle was no longer holdable, the Cittie of *Susa* beeing brought in subiection to the *Macedonians*, to whom he made this answere. *I do not resist against Great Alexander with any hope to ouercome him: but only to Conquer mine owne misfortune, which may well suffer me to dye, yet not at the discretion of any other, then of my selfe, who would force the fortune of your Maister, if hope were answerable to my dutie. Yet, all that I can hope, is now not lawfull, because the royal Darius is dead.*

Darius conquered by great *Alexander*.

Hyrtius Mela, purchased most signale glorie, in perfection of courage, when seeing the Cittie wherein he dwelt, called * *Prænestè*, wholly destroyed from the toppe to the bottome, and by his Guest *Sylla*, who (in the right of Hospitality) graunted him both grace and life: hee valiantly made refusall with this exclamation against the Tyrant. *Is it possible, O thou most barbarous and cruel of all men, that thou wouldst be so bloody to thine Hoste, as to let him liue, after so many cruelties which thy rage hath exercised on an innocent people? Thou art not pittifull to me, but onely to afflict me more, & wouldst bestow life on me once, to make me thereby dye a Million of times. Hast thou slaine my Companions, Fellow Cittizens, Kindered and Friends, and wouldst thou now compel mee to liue?* Speaking these words, hee stabbed with a Poniard, *Mutius Listrio*, the principall Instrument and Organ of *Syllaes* cruelties; yea, the only Authour and motiue of *Prænestes* ruine. To whose Ashes, this good and Famous Cittizen, sacrificed his owne life, by the death of the deareſt Friend vnto the Tyrant, who instantly commaunded, that hee should be massacred & thrown into the common Sinke, or Lay-stall of the Citty.

* A noble Citty betweene *Persia* and *Babylon*, where was the sumptuous Pallace of *Cyrus*.

* The Citty *Palæstrina* of *Latium* in *Italy*.

The couragious wordes of *Hyrtius Mela* to *Sylla*.

Hyrtius Mela slew *Mutius Listrio*, the causer of his Cities ouerthrow.

Quintus Curtius, that Honourable Romaine Knight, did a deede of absolute and respectiue manhoode. For, when he had Learned from the Oracle, that the wide gaping Gulfe in the midst of *Rome*, which infected the Cittie with pestilence and most noysom aires, could no way be closed againe, but by the Voluntarie leaping of a man into that infernall and darke downefall, he gladly threw himselfe thereinto, for to end the Romaines miserie, and saue the liues of infinite people of all degrees. The Inscription on his Brasen Statue was thus.

The memorable act of *Quintus Curtius*, for the deliuerance of his Country.

This was the acceptable Sacrifice to the Goddes, and the Sauiour of his Country. This was the Heire to the vertues of the chiefest Romaines, *and the scandal of al cowardly men. This was he that could not die, but by being profitable to the liues of his Fellow-Cittizens.*

His Statue of Brasse yet standing in *Rome*.

Cneius Cepio, made his manly corage to appeare, in a matter worthy to be obserued. For, when hee beheld a huge mighte Elephant, stouping and make offer to seize on *Domitius* his Captaine: he preuented him quickly, by throwing himselfe vnderneath his bellie, which he stabd with so many stroakes of his Poniard, that the Elephant being faynt with paine, violence of his wounds, and losse of blood, fell downe dead, and with his fal, crushed him also to death, who made no spare of his owne life, to speede his Generals with safety.

Domitius rescued from a dangerous Elephant.

Fuluius Nassius, was carefull to winne himselfe faire reputation in Arms, when the Romaines his Companions and warfellowes) being vanquished by *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Thrasymena*, and flying away like Cowards, hee stept betweene their pursuite and attaint, allowing them time for running, by making a wall, as it were, of himselfe and his horse in a narrow passage, where the flight of the one side, and following of the other, was meerely logd vp. The death of his horse was frightfull and terrible to the Horses of his enemies, and a safegarde also for himselfe, that he could not suddenlie bee surprized by many *Numidians*. So that, thorough his long resistance, euen vnto death, he saued the remainder of the Romaines liues, that fled from foorth their owne field of battell.

A Noble nature in a true hearted Souldiour.

Fuluius Nassius an honourable Romaine.

*A Lake in *Hetruria*.

The valour of *Mutius Scæuola* cannot be conflicted by eternity of ages. For he (all alone) amazed a victorious Prince, ready to possesse himself of Rome, which must needes haue yeilded in verie fewe dayes, or be compelled to render or ruin it selfe, by falling into the *Tarquins* handes, and the people of *Hertruria*, verie desperate enemies.

The liues of many preferred before any care for his owne.

Mutius Scæuola, a perpetuall mirrour to all posterity.

This braue and Couragious *Scæuola*, (without any communication of his desseigne) threw himselfe into his Enemies Army, not as a friend, but as an open enemy. He sought for King *Porsenna* in all places of the field, he found his Royall Pauillion, and slew the intendant on his affayres, as guessing by the riches of his habite, and the honour generallie done vnto him, that it had beene the King himselfe. Hereuppon, hee was apprehended, and brought before the King *Porsenna*, who suddenly conuerting rage into admiration, and admyration into pardon, sent backe Noble *Scæuola* to *Rome*. And which is much more, he raised his siedge, as beeing fearefull, that some other courage, more fortunat then that of *Mutius*) should make a second attempt, and so prooue to bee his death indeede. But what gratitude did *Scæuola* returne for this high fauor? that you shall perceiue by his owne wordes, which are these: *Sir, for the kindnesse I haue receyued from your Maiesty, I purpose neuer to rest vnthankfull. Let me then tell ye, that there are yet in Rome, foure hundered gallant young men, who haue proiected how to kil you, or else to loose themselues in the aduenture.*

He slew the Secretary to King *Porsenna*, as taking him to bee the King.

The gratulation of *Mutius Scæuola* to K. *Porsenna*.

Androcides the *Samian*, made the most aduantageable essay in Courage and perfection of valour, that anie of vs can desire to accomplish. For, being prisoner vnto *Eupolemus* the great Pyrate, who (vnaduisedly) had tolde him, that the verie next Night, hee purposed to surprise the Cittie of *Samos* (as doubtlesse the enterprise would haue beene infallible, because all the ablest fighting *Samians* were restrained in *Peloponnesus*) hee preuented him halfe a day before, by giuing him so strong a blowe with a Candlestick e vnder the eare, that so dyed the losse of his Countrey, and he together that had intended it. A matter questionlesse exceeding beleefe, that a man to saue a Cittie, and the Inhabitantes, would run into such a certainty of death, whereto hee meerely prostituted his life, because hee would not behold the place of his birth and Natiuitie, in the mercie of such an infamous and outragious Pirate.

Eupolemus the proud Pirate, that intended the subuersion of *Samos*.

It is in such actions (you my braue masters, & dainty sweet perfumed Courtiers, that true courage makes it selfe to be best seen: and not in committing effronteries and impudencies in our publicke streets,

To such as are rather dishonour to Princes Courts, then any credit at all.

streets, in bawdy-houses, yea, and in the frequent company of our best friendes. We are like to Lyons, that make no acknowledgement of their fostering nurses, Gouernors or Guardians, if the colour and fashion of their garments be neuer so little changed. If all their humors that keepe vs company, do not iumpe and correspond with ours; immediately one is an Asse, another a Nouice; this fellow hath no complement, that neuer came where courage was; either hee is too sad, or too merrie, or else he hath no taste of our Court ayre: these are our most familiar discoursings; yea, and (many times) all that we can say. Make a little better search into your selues henceforward, for som such faire occasions to appeare in, and that our outward shewe may not be by starts and passions, but on well formed and compleat desseigns. Regard aduisedly, wherein we may be profitable to our Prince and Countrie; and thereon immediately resolue, to effect some such one thing or other, as may be worthy each of the other. Let it appeare (then) that we are Captaines indeed, least we be not reckoned worse then silly Soldiers: and let it be seene, that we are necessary helpes then, when men woulde iudge vs vtterly vnprofitable. Let it bee noted, that we haue courage then, euen when it faileth in our fellowes: and yet without accusing them of any cowardise but onely by attempting and executing more then they. Let vs then (in good earnest) performe the *Rodomontado* of *Scipio Affricanus*, who was wont to say: *I seeke not to be known to man by man, but I would only make my selfe known to al the world.*

Seleucus hearing and perceiuing, that euery man boasted and flattred him, that he was worthy to inherit the fortune and vertue of *Alexander*, returned this aunswere, *You should bid me satisfie the credulity, which you haue conceiued of my valor, and then you would quickly emptie mee of courage in aspyring, when you but make me to remember Alexander, who perfourmed more then a man can thinke, or anie way is able to do.* He also said, *Asia is yet the same field of battaile, where his Captains disputed about his heritage: but no man was to bee found, that could answere his deseruinges.* Let vs striue to imitate the valiancy, and necessarie courage of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, who conquerd the fortune, enuy, hazards of war, and furie of the victorious. Let vs read the histories of such as (heertofore) opposed themselues, against the good successe and vertue of the English men. Let vs not make esteeme only, but forme in example and singuler study, the valor of those ancient knights, that made this State of ours inuincible, and drew it out of decayed ruines, yea, out of a bottomlesse gulfe, wherin it appeared to be sunk, and (welneere) wholy swallowed. In dooing so, it is not to bee feared, that although we were no more then perticuler men, or Gentlemen, or Captaines, or Soldiers, yet we should attaine to worke woonders, and to arriue before the eyes of Commonweals, of Empires, Monarchies, and of their Princes, by whom (at length we should be admired, sought for, acknowledged, and recompenced, acording to our owne wishes, and contrarie to the mediocrity of a wel gouernd hope Aboue all, our courage declares it selfe, not checkable by a weake man, or one that is not so valiant as our selues, prouided, that it be stil vnder our own charge, and can commaund in some such case, where it may well come off with dutie discharged. Otherwise, it will happen to vs, as *Sophocles* said:

Who lets his furious tongue walke liberally,
In checking some disordered quality:
And hath no reason but his owne bare braine,
Must looke himselfe to finde the like againe.

I haue seene some to misprize their own companions so mainly, that they offred much iniurie to Armes, and to the whol companie, whereof themselues were but poore dependants, seeming more in outward shew, then inward substance. For, a Vertuous Souldier, or he that is a man indeed, should alwayes bee consorted with iudgement, to supply the defects of such as are lesse then himselfe, and say; that although they bee not qualified in some one kinde, yet in some other, they owe nothing to him. One may bee a worthy Seruitor on Horseback, another on foote, euerie way equall to him, and so likewise in the other degrees of Manhood.

The eie is the most excellent part of the countenance, yea of the whol body: and yet notwithstanding, if a man were composed of eies only, he would rather be a monster, then any piece of perfection &

A noated humour in ouermany idle Gallants.

A deuise how to be beneficiall both to Prince and Country by care, forwardnesse & manly behauiour.

The vsuall brauadoe of *Scipio Affricanus*.

The worthy answeres of *Seleuchus* to his Parasites and Flatterers.

Bertrand du Guesclin a famous Souldiour of *France*.

Practise and example are the best noats of good men, and to renowne their names to endlesse posterity.

Courage cannot be reproued by weaknesse.

Sophoc in Treg. de Antig. Pomp.

Of a vertuous Souldiour and man indeed, how he maketh his best appearance.

A very excellent comparison.

excellencie. Let vs neuer note then, whether a man be inferiour to vs in anie one vertue: but rather consider, that manie other Vertues are needfull for vs, which we bestow no paines to purchase. Let vs expresse contempt of vile and detestable men, that serue as spurs to whoring, Sodomy, Flatterie, and softnesse, which (among vices) are not onely enemies to true and perfect valour, but to the generall society of men, and Authours of scandall to all Nations. Ignorance is not to be counted as a Vice, when it is accompanied with simplicitie and naturall care for the auoyding of euill. But mispriſion of Vertue, and disdayne to compasse it, is not onely an odious brutality amongest true men: but (which is much more) a crime punishable by fyre and sword, and all other inflictions Customarily due, to the perseuerance of foule and guilty offenders or euil doers.

What kind of men are most to be contemned.

When Ignorance is not to be reckoned as a vice.

There is no necessity, that a valiaunt man should be apt to spleene or offence, through the riots of a Court Minion, of a Buffone, or of some young Sir, that hath not as yet learned how to be silent, or when to speake to purpose. A Gentleman of couragious perfection indeed, should bee of the humour of inuincible *Hercules*, of whom *Homer* deliuereth testimony in the first Booke of *Odissaes*.

Of taking offence or displeasure.

Homer in Lib. 1 de Odyss.

He made no more account of frowards words,
Then of the Flie, that silly harme affords.
He differed (in all) from common kinde:
And Fortunes frownes with him were as the wind.

Hee ought likewise, in all his other actions, to correspond with these precepts.

The picture of a constant wise man.

The constant wise, is euer like himselfe,
And neare shrinkes courage at the losse of pelfe:
The death of Children cannot make him dye,
But, when help fails, Hope doth the place supply.

He should not conceite, that he is to deale with some small enemy, but rather to crie out with couragious *Brasidas*, of whom wee haue alreadie spoken. *O God, there is not anie thing of so weake power; but, if it durst defend it selfe: it could finde meanes whereby to preserue it ovvne life.* Hee vsed these Words, in regarde of a Mouse that bit him by the Finger, as he thrust his hande into a Fraile of drye Figges.

The words of noble *Brasidas*.

Demetrius beeing at *Thebes*, aduisedly noted a man that was Lame of all his Members; and of whom, a Court Musk-Minion, made a subiect of scornefull Laughter, saying: *This is not he, that hath (til this day) tardied our victorie, for Nature hath made him a Cripple. It is true* (answered *Demetrius*) *but how dooſt thou know, whether reuenge and disdaine haue any other weapons then hands onely, considering that mine haue done no seruice at al for the surprizing of this Cittie?*

That the meanest or silliest creature is not to be despised

CHAP. III.

Of those meanes which Princes ought to obserue, for beeing well attended vvith Gentlemen and valiaunt Captaines of true perfection.

Princes that seeke the Conseruation of their subiects, and to leaue peaceable estates and dominions vnto theyr Children, ought Religiously to ordaine (next to the establishment of Iustice) that lawes should be allowd to perticuler families, wherby children may bee educated euen from theyr infancy, as destenied to the inclination of such Artes, as (by manifest experience) their nature is subiected vnto, by the secret power of the more or lesse great blessings of God, and as it pleaseth him to extend or shut vppe his graces in one more then tn another. Yet notwithstanding, as accommodating the diuers inclinations of men, to perfect that great hermony which maintaineth the world, and combineth humain societie with so strict a bond, that (as it often commeth to passe) the very greatest haue neede of the meanest mens help, & al sciences, yea, euen the silliest, do tend to one selfesame end, by diuers precepts & contrary manners, yet all for the seruice of nature. For otherwise it would fal out, that common weales would conuert into deserts: and men (being apt but to one exercise only, how excellent soeuer) should haue no commerce togither, but only in words & vse of the Elements, which being wholly contrary (as it seemeth) in that common concord,

Lawes for the education of Children, euen frō their Infancy.

The blessings of God not limitted to any bounds or measure.

No one exercise, how excellent soeuer, is fit for all men.

concord, for fortifying and maintaining this great building; and the leſſer alſo, which boaſts his owne mirror and liuely figure: doth teach vs, that wee ought to haue a generall vertue of profiting: and yet neuertheles, that it is neceſſary therein to make vſe of diffrent effects and proprieties. This was well knowne to *Heſiodus*, when he ſaid:

Heſiodus his verſes, thus tranſlated out of *Greecke*.

The very darkeſt ſullen night,
Helpes Nature with as deere delight,
As the brighteſt Sun-ſhine day,
That the Gods moſt honor may.
They both moſt neceſſary be,
Healthfull alike in each degree.

Let me then tell ye, that neuer (throughout all the ancient Monarchies) was the like inuented, for the inſtitutiō of youth; as the Diſcipline vſed by the Great Signior, towards the *Amaſoglants*, and children of the tribes. The only euill (which is great, in regard of God, yet litle acording to his eſtate & maner of gouerning) is, in that Chriſtians are compeld to renounce their Religion, to imbrace that of *Mahomet*, which (at this day) is the verie greateſt, and moſt reſpected in all the Eaſt. Take off this defect, and thēn there is not any thing (I ſay) in the worlde, neither did all former ages euer afford the like For you may behold in *Conſtantinople*, a *Carauani* or numberleſſe troope of yong Boies, that are carefully tended by Maiſters of all eſtates in al ſuch things as they are moſt apt vnto, without any conſtraint of Nature, and for the ſpace of a yeare, they are permitted all kinds of exerciſes; to the end, that becomming iudges of themſelues, each one may afterward purſue his owne inſtinct, and beſt inclination. Some are found to be fit for warre, and they are as quickly recommended to Maiſters meete for ſuch enſtruction: yet with ſo great an obſeruation, that time ſhall rather bee wanting, then care of their employment. Such as are noted to pleaſe themſelues, in the compoſing of ſhips or gallies, with paper ſailes, and packthred tacklings, or anie other ſtuffe, more aſsiduate to their yong fancies, then other; they are forthwith be ſtowed in the Sea *Arſenale*, & inſtructed in al affaires fit for the ſea. Theſe docible and debonaire ſpirits are differently employd: ſome to Phiſick, others to prieſthood, & ſom beſide to iudiciary ſeruices. Finally, ſuch as are of ſo groſe tēper, that no faire apprehenſion ſhineth in them, are imployed in Gardening, a midle ſort in Architecture, Painting, & Horology. They that ſeeme wholy diſgraced by nature, are inſtructed in Carpentry, Taylory, and twiſting of Cables, making of ſails and many other mean offices: which are by their aptneſſe (in them) very gracious in the great Signiors reſpect; & begeteth them both lands & perpetual penſions.

Gardening, Painting, and Clocke making.

It is neceſſary in a Chriſtian Oeconomy, to make the like practiſe, as we plainly behold in the fabrick of man. If we look vpon our bodies, or thoſe of beaſts, wee may perceiue many members to haue their diſtinct operations; without the intruſion of any others office, or that the enuy of inferiors diſcontent themſelues at the dignity of their ſuperiors, or any of them (either through diſcord or partiality) do refuſe to lend one another their aſſiſtance. It behoueth I ſay, that in well ordered Commonweales; but eſpecialy among Chriſtians, the ſame courſe ſhold bee kept and maintained one with another: and although our charges and eſtates are different, yet that wee ſhould euermore continue vnited in our ſpirits; and with a iuſt deſire, to ſupply the defects of our aſſociates, and alſo to aſsiſt them. For it is very requiſit, that we ſhold be all like to trauailers, wandering by diuers wayes, yet all to arriue at one hauen in the end.

Our Chriſtian rule or diſpoſition, compared to the body of man, or of Beaſtes.

Gouernmen in Chriſtian Commonweales.

The ſtronger are to ſupport the weaker.

But aboue all, a King ought to conſtrain his Nobility, to cauſe young Gentlemen to be enſtructed in good Letters, for Capacity of adminiſtring the great and ſoueraign Magiſtracies of his kingdom: for therby muſt needs enſue, that dignity wil be more venerable, iuſtice in better reſpect, and iudgements more legittimate. We may ſee (to our ſhame) that at this day the greater part of Magiſtrates in all our Parliaments of *France*, receiud their originall from plaine *Plebeians* and Yeomen, who neuer could haue honour ſo liuely imprinted in their brows and ſouls; as they that naturally are heires, to I know not what admirable and holy vertue, which (with no meane aduantage) appeareth rather in young ſpirits of Nobilitie, then in them of the thirde ranke, who alwayes haue but feeble Conceptions, and neuer eleuate or rayſe their thoughts, except it bee to euill, as either to ſedition, or infamous and diſhoneſt

The eſpeciall Office and duty of a King.

The diſgrace of *France* at this preſent day.

Owles are no way to bee compared with young Eaglets.

The inſtitution obſerued by the great *Signior* for youth.

How young Boyes are tended by diligent Maiſters.

The purſuite of ſeuerall inclinations.

For Warre.

For making of Ships and Gallies.

Phiſick, Religion, & Law.

againe. Whereto wee may ad alſo, that their courages are cowardly, ſtanding amazed and confounded at the ſmalleſt accidents; neyther are they ſo apt to outſtand tumults and ciuill inconueniences, as Sun-bright Nobility, which euen of it ſelfe is engirt with ſome celeſtiall flame, that cauſeth the vulgar people to apprehende more in their oppoſition againſt them, then in thouſands of poore ſpirits that are of their owne quality, whoſe fathers at the beſt, were but Farmers, keepers of Granges and Dairies, which they helde at a certaine price, and annuall Rent.

The worth of Sunne bright Nobility.

Nobilitie then doth ſhame to it ſelfe, by not ſeeking to appeare in the venerable authority of the Senate: conſidring, that Preſidents and Counſellors in Courtes Soueraigne, ſeeme to be voluntarie Tutors to the Prince, and as Noble Guards to his inuiolable Greatneſſe. By this meanes they would free them from the gripes of a huge heape of wretched Officers, and they ſhould neuer be ſubiected to the mercenary iudgment of their ſubiects, who miſtake themſelues verie ſuddenly, and diſpoſe both of the liues and goods of Gentlemen drawn into action: euen like to their Shop keeping fathers, in their eſteeme of paltry wares. In this manner, the King ſhould haue a more ſound, ſure, and ſtrong election of men meete for warre, which now adayes hee cannot haue: becauſe Gentlemen doo (indifferently) imploy all their ſonnes to ſuch trades, as is impoſsible in conueniency for them, conſidering the diſsimilitude of their natures, repugnancy of their humors, and contrariety of their ſpirits, which is more, or which is leſſe apt vnto one office then to another. I doubt not, but at length thorough the great ſcarſity to be found of martiall minded men: all ſorts of Gentlemen will not know howe to appeare in the diuerſitie of warre hazards, whither they be ciuill or ſtraunge. Yet I may verie well ſay, that there are many carried thereto, contrarie to the firſt conception of their *Genius*, who (neuertheleſſe) being apt to diuers thinges: can accommodate their ſpirits therto, albeit it is much leſſe natural to them, then ſomthing els. This is the reaſon why *Ariſtotle* ſaide, that lukewarme water was cold, in regard of that which is boiling, and yet eſteemd hot, in conſideration of that which is ycie. This is asmuch to ſay, as that the moderat ſpirits of gentlemen, pertaking in the thirde or fourth degree of heat, may ſerue for warre. If ſo, much better then ſhould they be apt and profytable for the affayres of State and pollicy. Such alſo, as encline to the fourth or fift degree, do pertake of an influence more ſtrong and pregnant for war, then anie other exerciſe elſe. This is to bee diſcerned in the Nature or caſe of our infancie, which telleth vs by our yongeſt carriage, what will be the inclination of our moſt ſolide age, and inciteth, nay, meerely exalteth vs (with a certaine violence) to acknowledge that which ſhall (one day) be either neceſſary or profitable at the leaſt. According to the ſaying of *Heſiodus*.

Of preſidents and Councellors in the Courtes of Kings.

Heſiodus, concerning our yeares of infancy, expreſſing thereby, what our ſtróger age will be.

All Infant Pleaſures, Playes, and Ioyes,
All youthfull Apiſh trickes and toyes,
Our Cradle power, which breaks no bands:
Our firſt eſſayes in riper houres,
Our weakneſſe, ſtrength, or what elſe ours,
As in a painted Table ſtands:
For following yeares therein to ſee,
What good or bad ſucceſſe will bee.

Princes and great Lordes ought to enſtruct their Pages in ſuch exerciſes, as do beſt anſwere vnto the condition of true Gentlemen, and ſhould make no vſe of their ſeruice, in ſeruile, baſe, or abiect occaſions: as in theſe daies they do, without any care of gouernment, or preſcribing them ſome honeſt forme of conduction. I proteſt, as I ſee the carriage of theſe ill taught times, I had much rather place my ſon or Kinſman, with a Spittle Maiſter, or Hoſpitall Keeper, then with a Prince: conſidering how badly Pages are entertained, and ſo ſlenderlie enſtructed in anie vertuous actions, as wee cannot diſtinguiſh them from common Lackeyes, but by the outward appellation, beeing elſe employed for all vſes; euen all one, with the verie fouleſt condition Varlet of the houſe. One while they are Gourmands, by ſome Groome of the Chamber; another while beaten by a Scullion of the Kitchen: and beaten they bee at euerie moment, but not to any good purpoſe; and more for Ceremonie, then with any vertuous intent of their Correction. They are baſelie reputed, and badly nouriſhed, whereby they conſtraine them, yea, and of themſelues are meerely conſtrained to forget and

Baſe gripple Slauery, is alwayes enemy to Gentillity.

How Princes and Lords ſhould educate their Pages.

A great error in the Gentry of theſe daies.

Pages very hardly diſtinguiſhed from common Lackies.

Many are made capable of warre, againſt their naturall inclination.

What ſpirits are reputed fit for Warre, by pertaking in the degrees of heate.

The little care and respect that Gentlemen haue of their Pages.

and declines, from their owne first faire and naturall disposition, to sharke and get by vnlawfull meanes, such things as are most needfull for them. Some teach them how to be dissolute at their Table, for a Trencher can be no sooner offered: but it is presently swept ouer with the Nailes and Fingers; yea, with the whole hand, and tongue too sometimes. Afterward, perhaps Nature beeing scarse halfe contented: poore Youthes, they trot after their Galloping Maisters, who rid a great deale of ground in a very short while, whē their Pages follow not so fast with their feet, as with frequent and disordred passions. By which meanes, Youth neither do or can learne any thing among them, but forgetfulnesse of vertue and good manners, by the example of indiscretion & folly in their Maisters.

The Page is heere put to the Lackies Office.

Moreouer, we may see our streetes crowded with a heap of young Gentlemen, who haue much adoe to maintain themselues: and yet they must haue attending Pages, to trudge with Tokens or Loue-scripts, to Madame or Mistris *Many-better*. And then come they poasting after, euen through the chiefest parts of the Citty, not shaming to let the world see their gracelesse insolence. Now, the very great hurt of all, consisteth in this, that the whole multitude of Pages (as well those about Princes, as them that follow great Lords and lesser Gentlemen, beeing themselues ill bred, and worse disciplinde:) are compelled to bastardise their naturall splendour, by putting on a new habite, of disordred, shameless, and monstrous behauiour; that (afterward) they looke rather like wilde and barbarous *Albanians*, then any true borne Gentlemen of blood. By which meanes, Commonweales are afflicted, Kinges lewdly serued, Magistrates scarcely obeyed, the Lawes dispised, and confusion embraced.

These are tearmed our graceless Gallants.

The maine & chiefest inconuenience aboue all other.

Beside, a Gentleman brought vp out of the Princes eye, beginneth to grow disdainefull of him, when hee once apprehendeth (and malliciously enough) that he is not in any obligation to him: he waxeth proud, and such a man soone forgetteth al proportion and measure. The very highest degree of such a mans seruice, is to domineere and rule, to mount into the Seat of his Maister, Lord, or Prince: for, whatsoeuer hee seeth beneath, or on either side, is nothing to him, and the World (all this while) honoureth none more, then such a man.

Of Gentlemen, still in the Princes sight.

The nature of an ambitious man.

Howbeit, the Paganes did euermore acknowledge, that Generositie is more familiar with good, then vicious men, and, that valour is more domestick and naturall to a man that is temperate, peaceable, and milde, then the proud and ambitious, who is of the condition of a weake stomacke, which coueteth more meat, then it can resolue and digest. Princes ought to be respectiue, of such a rich and sanctified enstruction, and not admit such ouerture to the desseignes of Gentlemen; ouer greedie and couetous, in aspiring daily to some nouell degree, yet no one of them seeing the way, by the eye of his owne power, or Iustice of his merit. Thus all runs wrong, for God blesseth no Mans actions, but his that doth well, & withdraweth his eye from wicked inclinations: who wil haue no other King, then the State, or any Law, but such as may bring him in some benefit. Vertue is the *Primum mobile* of courage, that seemeth (by his owne power) to attract all things to it selfe, that is required in the perfection of valour: which is onely borne to be enstructed, and enstructed to serue, and (by seruice) to yeild it selfe not onely beneficiall, but necessarie also.

The Pagans opinion concerning Generosity.

An especiall duty imposed on Princes.

What endeauors are blessed of God.

Vertue the onely first mooner of Courage.

Princes in these daies, are faultie of too little care, that Nobility should be more forward in the exercise of vertue: and themselues also doe lend most imployment, to such as are more commēded to them, then fit for vse. Vertue giueth no more hire to the intercessions of a Courtier, made honorable and rich altogether; then to one of her owne breeding and bringing vp. Hence should arise all the Officers of a Crowne, and hence are aborted all the Creatures of a King, that leaneth wholly to passion, & nothing to vertue. He ought then to hold the list in his owne hand, to foresee each man in his profession and degree, and hence he will deriue: that his Financiers or Cherker-men, shal bee without fraud, his Councellours free from partialitie, and his Gouernours voyde

The ouermuch neglect of Princes in these dayes.

The checkroule should be held in the Kings owne hand, for the election of his followers.

voyde of faction. All their ayme and ſcope, will be to iuſtifie by their effects, the good choyſe and lawfull election, which the Prince hath made of ſuch perſons. And although they ſhould come ſomewhat ſhort of merit, yet would they ſtretch their endeuour; to deſerue the voyces of the honeſteſt Men, and the grace of their ſecond Creator.

Such as ſerue God and their Prince.

Honor aduanced, is the peoples beſt contentment.

When a Man of Honor is aduanced, the people doe looke on it with a pleaſing eye, and diſcerne (therein) the wiſdome of their Prince: who inſtantly is exalted to admiration; from admiration, to intire loue of his Subiects; and from thence to the bleſſing of GOD, who plauſibly entertaineth the ſuffrages of the Common-weals ſuppliants, for the health and preſeruation of their Prince. Contrariwiſe, all is in diſorder, when bad men hold the beſt places of credit: then the people mutiny; the Princes iudgement is ſcandalized; common affection cooleth; the curſſe of God embraceth, and bringeth the lateſt cauter that cleaueth to this euill. Aboue all, I wiſh that he, of whoſe ſeruice a Prince ſhall make vſe, ſhould haue the feare of God before his eyes, without which: all Wiſedome will eaſily bee conuerted into craft; valour into violence; Iuſtice into Crueltie; Pollicy into Monopolies; and without which (I ſay) all thoſe things which heauen hath beſt beſtowed on vs for the beſt, will only be Inſtruments of the worſt. Without this, our very affections, are as ſo many violent torments, and cruell Hels both to the Soule and Body, and our reaſon is nothing elſe, but meere trumpery and deceipt. O what inflictions could I wiſh to ſome *Machiauelists*, who maintaine, that ſuch as bee bound to Conſcience, reaſon, and Lawes, are no meete Seruants to attend on Princes: but that flattery is to be preferd, both aboue Lawes and Nature.

The Seede that yieldeth Kings the beſt encreaſe.

What enſueth by the aduancement of bad and vnworthy men.

The feare of God is to be preferred before all things elſe whatſoeuer.

The opinion of ſome wicked *Machiauelists*.

If it be ſo, that thoſe bleſſed Quires of Gods Booke, do beare witneſſe, that *No Man can ſerue two Maiſters*. Commaunding vs alſo elſe-where; *To feare God, and honor the King*: it is then a matter very euident, that the moſt part of all other Seruants, doe yeilde nothing elſe but eye-ſeruice onely. And this is the reaſon, that Kinges are euill ſerued farre off, and betrayed in ſecret. They that being Seruants to their King, will alſo do ſeruice to God; they euermore walke after one manner. They ſerue to content their Conſcience, and not they eye of their Maiſter. They propoſe God before their eyes, as both the Beholder of their actions, and ſearcher of their harts. They waite for his grace and Wages: being aſſured of recompence and reward on his part, when they doe their dutie, although it bee to vnthankfull Maiſters. This is the Seed from whence Kinges ſhould gather all hope, of being maintained, ſtrengthened, and wel ſerued. From hence ought they alwaies to chuſe their Councellors of State, and al thē, to whom they will communicate their power and authoritie.

Inſtructions giuen out of Gods Booke, for the ſeruice of Kings.

The Prince that deſireth to accompliſh all theſe things, both for the quiet of his owne Conſcience, and happy adminiſtration of his Eſtate: muſt be ſure to haue no Flatterers about him, vnprofitable perſons, Loue-Brokers, voluptuous and Epicurian Courtiers, that make the publike Purſſe, ſerue for the expences of their perticular Luxurie, gurmandize and pomp, while (in the mean time) the vertuous, and ſuch as haue deſerued much better of the State: remaine far enough off, ſlenderly known, without Grace, and without Honour, (I meane no other, then that of their owne proper merit) who neuertheleſſe are (oftentimes) ineſtimable, and more worthy of adminiſtration; then of the blind and briske (let mee not ſay faint-hearted) fauours, which the Princes of theſe times vſe towardes ſome young Gallants, that ſmell more of Ciuet, then the Cannons Powder, and much more of the Woman, then Man: yet vnworthy of eyther Sexe, their depraued Natures are ſo highly ſubiected to infamous Vices, which ſunder them frō thoſe common proprieties, that do let vs know a Man, to be truely a Man, and a Woman, truely a Woman. I am perſwaded, that it was of them, whieh that Great Man ſpake, on the *Grecian* Theater, ſaying:

Eſpeciall obſeruations for a Prince, that would be ſerued with good men indeed.

These are Carpet Squiers, not Knights fit for a Field.

You Swiniſh men, that haue no other care,
But onely for ſuch food, as you prepare
To gorge your foule polluted trunkes withall:
Meere Swine you are, and ſuch your actions all.

A Mirrour for many, that dare not behold it.

Like

Like them you run, such is your leaden pace;
Nor Soule, nor reason shineth in your face.
Stabled you are within the Courts of Kings,
Not fit for Councell, Armour, or such things
As to your Natures are contrary quite.
Easily you can faire Ornaments disgrace,
Therefore you fit not such a royall place:
Kings loose themselues, that doe in you delight.

Great men will not willingly looke vpon serious and weighty considerations.

But why do I seeke to enstruct Gentlemen, seeing they striue (as much as possible that they may) not to behold any lawfull action: because their Soules should bring no iudgement against themselues for the excesses which they haue committed? It is enough for them, to make some essay of that which is written in Saint *Iohn*, to wit. *That if all Testimonies of Scripture, and lawfull imitations doe faile vs: yet notwithstanding our Conscience, and Nature it selfe doth sufficiently shew, what is our dutie.* Looking thorow all Windowes of Equity, Iustice, and Reason; Pagane Authours tooke knowledge, yea, and did set down in Writing: that there were Furies, who inflicted reuenge on the iniuries, as also on the sinnes of Men, which is nothing else, but the torments of vile and wicked Consciences.

The Window of Equity, Iustice, and Reason, acknowledged by the Pagans.

This is the worme whereof the Prophet *Esay* speaketh; it is the Worme (I say) that neuer dyeth, but byteth and teareth without intermission. These are the Tapers and Torches, which terrifie and burne our harts: This is that which is called, the remembrance of our wicked and abhominable liues. *Epicurus* himselfe, being an enemy to the Deitie, could yet confesse, that the very great paine of such as sinned, was, that they had sinned: for the punishment of wickednesse, is wickednesse it selfe. The Man that is attainted with this great scruple in his Soule, is of no worth, neither can be valiant, or come any thing neere to that happy quality. For he that is a perfect knight indeed, ought not onely to win the Conquest of his Enemies: but must also triumphe ouer the Passions of his owne Soule, which must be cleane, and exempt from all vnlawfull desires, or absurde and base villainies. That which was presented to the Emperour *Theodosius*, is well worthy to be followed by him, in whom I would decypher perfect valiancie, as thus.

The confession of *Epicurus* concerning Sinners.

The Anatomy of a true and perfect Knight indeed

Though in rich *India*, or a further Land,
Thou art adorde, and dost o're men commaund,
Although the *Medes* and *Arabes* stoupe to thee:
Yet, if not iust, valiant thou canst not be.
Thou art no Man, if terror sway thy Soule,
Nor can be valiant, if weake thoughts controule.
Such follies leaue thee to thy selfe alone,
In torment, sadnesse, and despairing mone.
But when thou dost o're-maister fond desires:
Then thy faire Soule to her true pitch aspires,
And makes thee meet for Kingdomes, or all Nations;
Hauing once conquerd thine owne priuate passions.
,, Vertue doth neuer fight, but for successe.
If then base thoughts the Soule of Man possesse,
And be not trod downe, at their first rise:
In suffering them, the greatest peril lies.
Then boldly check thy inward dull conceaits,
Shun those deepe blames that on neglect awaites;
Let not the Lawes reproue thy care and heed:
So shalt thou be a Man, in name and deed.

The present, giuen to the Emperor *Theodosius*.

This other of *Claudian*, is very little different.

If that action, which is tearmed valiance,
Be not in vertue: then tis impudence.

Knights of greatest courtesie, Captaines most remarkable, and Kinges of highest fame, did euermore accompany their Armes, and strengthen them by a gentle and liberall knowledge in Vertue: whereby they could best decipher such about them, as were most or least apt for Warre seruices, making distinction of their valour, according to the circumstances and ordinary manner of Souldiours; were it in apparrelling themselues for fight, or in firming the breaches happening in their Field, or in exercising and applying themselues to some other seruice, conuenable to the time, place, and commaundement giuen them. By this meanes, Men of merit addressed themselues vnto the Prince, who made profession to be carefull and respective, of euery particular wise and hardy mans courage, and vpon good note thereof: to render double recompence, that is to say, by benefits, and by iust commendations. For hee must neuer hope to see vertuous Men flourish, or their actions in true apparance: if they be not recompenced, and someway satisfied.

Vertue hath alwayes bin the best ground to builde all actions on.

The eye of the Prince to be fixed vpon each mans due worth and merit.

The Prince that desireth to finde valiancy in his men of Warre, ought to imitate the discipline of *Alexander Seuerus*, the *Romaine* Emperor: who would haue his Souldiours to be well armed, wel enstructed, and continually to haue some Mony in their Purses, but (by no meanes) of that humour, as *Iphicrates* the

The Warre-discipline of *Alexander Seuerus*, Emperor of *Rome*.

Iphicrates of contrary mind to *Alexander Seuerus.*

the Captaine wished his Warre-followers to be, to wit; auaritious, amourous, and full of voluptuousnesse. For he was wont to say, that as they were persecuted by those three violent passions; euen so would they prostitute thē-selues, and forsake all perill, to satisfie their own desseignes, and the free compassing of their base desires.

Iulius Cæsar concerning his Souldiers.

True it is, that *Cæsar* wished his Souldiours, to haue faire and rich Armes, because they might haue the more occasion to be knowne, for auoyding the shame of flight; & not to fight so much for the worth of their Armes, as for their liues. But he was deceiued, considering as *Thucidides* saith. *The valiant Man is alwaies himselfe, and his vertue appeareth much more, when he is disaduantaged and afflicted: then when he strengthneth himselfe with some apparance, if it be not necessary.*

The saying of *Thucidides.*

The Great *Turke*, who continueth (euen at this day) the Military Arte of the *Romaines*, and causeth it to be much more obserued, then the *Spaniards* doe, (who are in very deede, but Apes of the *Turkes* conduct) hath so admirable an obseruation: that a troupe of an hundred thousand men, do resemble rather a peaceable Congregation of people, assembled together to heare a Sermon; then an Army to fight against the World. The Great Turke (I say) is euermore accompanied with an incredible multitude of valorous men, which he winneth out of *Tartaria*, and areat his Wages and endlesse pay; like as the *Switzers* are in *France*. He helpeth himselfe also with the Souldiours of *Mysia*; of *Europe*; of the *Albanians*, sometimes called *Epirotes*; of the *Thessalians*, now called *Fullaires*; and of the *Arabes*, that tearme themselues *Alarbes*. All these glorious Nations (for their Armes) are so cherished hy the *Othomans*, that there is no day ouer-passeth them: but they doe receiue some honourable and notable reward and respect, from the Generals of the Turkish Armies, who imploy them at euery moment, in verie great and perilous enterprises, wherein (neuertheless) all these Men do carrie themselues, with such prudence and iudgement, as is not to be a little wondred at.

The Great *Turkes* ordering of his Souldiours now adayes.

Tartarians continually in pay with the *Turke.*

The only encouragement of Souldiours, when they are well payed and respected.

New and fresh Armes is prouided them, vpon the quickest and suddainest returne, and albeit their successe hath not answered to the premeditated desseigne: yet, in the very least performance of well doing, they are not left vnacknowledged, but vsed, as if the attempt had beene happily ended. Hence ensued those great Stratagems at *Modon, Chaly, Siget, Schaffarin* in the *Georgie*, and at *Traueils*. In all which places, they surmounted the valour and fortune of the *Romaines*, the hardinesse of the *Parthians*, and the cunning and industry of the Christians; whose troups resembled Carauans of Goates, that make motion with their mouths on all thinges indifferently, how profitable or hurtfull soeuer they be.

Good will wanteth not though successe oftentimes faileth.

The *Persians*, who seeme to be more ciuillized then the *Turkes*, and yet (notwithstanding) are lesse prouident and capable of great matters, doe shut vp their Children of good Birth, in certain places of the Field-Countrey, which they call *Spitaf Kier Belti*, that is to say; *The entrance into the Signeury of vertue*, where they haue Maisters to enstruct them, according to their inclinations: but at the charges of their Parents, vntill such time as it may be known, whether the Youths wil afterward be beneficiall to the *Sophy*, or no. For thenceforward, they are taken and maintained at his expences, to the number of two thousand, and are then called, *Spiers Kiram Sophi*, that is to say; *Children of the Signior Sophy.*

Comparison of the *Persians* with the *Turkes*, and the education of their Children.

Children of the *Signior Sophy.*

These people, whom we tearme barbarous, and their Kings, called Tyrants by vs; I feare shall find (at the latter day) more grace in the grace of the Soueraigne Iudge: then the Princes and people of *Europe*, who make no account, or verie little (at the most) of the Youth that is vnder their Empire, or the order and discipline Oeconominall of the State, which is much lesse obserued with them, I will not I say then among the common people of *Asia*; but euen among the *Toupinanbous* & Magistrats, who doe enstruct their Children in the Historie of their Ancestours, the Father telling to his Sonne; what fights they haue had against their Neighbors; what victories were obtained; and the routes which they endured. All these thinges are deliuered with fatherly exhortations,

Christendom hath lesse care of youth, then Heathen Nations haue.

Enstructions of Pagane Fathers to their Sonnes.

hortations, to continue them in well doing, for publike benefit, and to shew themselues iealous imitaters of their fore-goers, who (they tell them) are in Heauen, full of Glory and Triumphe: becausse they continually maintained the cause of their Countrey, and defended their poore Cottages, from the inuasions of their ordinarie Enemies.

The care of the *Parthians* for their yong Nobility in former times.

In former times, the *Parthians* had such diligent care, for husbanding the Spirits of their young Nobility, that the more part of their Lawes discoursed on nothing else. By which meanes they were inuincible, and euermore equall to the Romaine Empire, yet there was more Soueraignety, and lesse Barbarisme, in the commaundes of the *Arsacides*, their Kinges: then in the Empire of the *Cæsars*, who were (almost all of them) so abhominable, as all the Vices of the World, did beget their most monstrous qualities, from the imperfections of those Tyrants of *Europe*.

Comparison of the *Parthian Arsacides* with the Romaine *Cæsars*.

Finallie, they lost Europe at length, yeilding it to the transport of the Mahometanes, who keepe it (at this day) more stronglie, then we doe the rest: And, if we obserue no better discipline, then that which now wee doe: it is to bee feared, that before many yeares passe ouer our heades, the *Rheine* will scarcely serue for Frontiers to the *Othomans* Monarchie, who extend the Threds of their ambitious couetousnesse, not onely vpon *Germanie*, which can hardlie defend it selfe; but on the rest of Christendomes happinesse; yea, ouer all that is further off from the East, then the East is from their felicitie, and the West from ours. Becausse it is impossible, yea, almost vniust, that the hand of God should bee succourable to such, as obserue no Equity; but contemne his Lawes, despise Soueraigne Magistracy, making themselues in all, and by al, vtterly vnworthy of his diuine blessings, which must be sought for with humble and lowly harts. The Paganes themselues do confesse.

The couetous ambition of the *Othomans*, for enlarging their Dominion.

The writing and confession of the Pagans.

The Goddes, by prayers are satisfied,
When some iust Soules are applied,
To satisfie their Deities:
For generall iniquities.

Ouer and beside all, the onely meanes to haue men valiant, is, to make no account of Cowards, and such as are but prating companions, nor to admit them (in any manner whatsoeuer) to any Offices and dignities of War: though (in these daies) the quite contrary is practised: for Regiments are giuen to simple Clearks, that surrender them againe the very same day; Treasurers places are bestowed on impudent persons, and the Princes lodging is kept by such, as scarsely are any found well-willers. All degrees are valued by Mony, buying & selling are openly allowed, so that there is no recompence or respect made of true valor; onely hee that hath wherewithall, may bee a Gouernour in some place, which he may likewise sel again, to the most-giuer. In all the Empire of the *Turk*, which is more (by halfe) then ỹ the *Romans* had: there are but 216. Forts or Holds, which also are seated on the Frontiers, as well of the Sea, as of the firme Land. At euery three yeares end, the Gouernors are changed, or receiue new power to bee longer continued. They can receiue no other dead-payes, then the Soldiers of the old bands, who being ouer-spent in war, or laden with wounds, or crazed by age: are to be receiued into the *Grand Signiors* fortresses, where an honorable pension is bestowed on them, which they tearme *Timar*. Hereby ensueth, that all men are made vse of in this bright Monarchy, for such as are aged people, gouty, or lame, do keep the walles, while the younger doe fortifie the Prince and his Lieutenants in the Fielde, hoping (one day) to haue entertainment in those Fortes. By this means, Souldiers are neuer in miserable quality in the great Turks iurisdictions, which maketh them the more hardy & valiant: knowing, that (in their retreat from seruice) they shall neuer want, by any discommodity (whatsoeuer) happening to them.

The onely meanes to be assured of such as are valiant men.

All degrees and Offices passe currant for mony by buying and selling.

The *Turkes* Fortresses, and Gouernours of thē.

All men are made vse of in the *Turkes* dominions, that no one may be seene in any miserable condition, for the discouraging of others.

For, beside those Fortresses on the Confines of *Asia*, and *Europe*, there are fiue *Mosquaes* in *Notalia*, some whereof were builded by the *Mahometane* Emperors, and others by their *Bashaes*, and the least reuenues belonging to any one of them, is forty thousand Ducats of annuall Rents. There is a publike Schoole, where the poore are enstructed, and beside, there is a verie goodly House, well fitted with most exquisite Bathes, where,

Fiue *Mosquaes* in *Natolia*, for young and old, that neine may be seene in pouerty.

where, all that are billeted by the *Aga*, Colonell of the Infantery; are nourished, maintained, and well tended, being sickly, weake, or aged, and al things are so well ordered, as no one can bee wearie, or dislike of their entertainement, or iudge it other then it ought to be.

The bestowing of honourable charges for the wars.

All honourable charges of men for the Warres, are imparted to such, as haue best reputation among the Souldiours. If at any time some offence be committed, vnworthy of the former opinion conceiued of mans valour, he is dismissed from his authority: yet without any infamous note, or desperate hope of being againe reintegrated, by course of time, which moderateth all thinges, and changeth the councels and humours of Princes, who appeare (by an indifferent chastisement) to haue satisfied both the Law and their owne lenity, in one selfe-same subiect.

Abra-Bashae, repealed frō his place, and *Sinan-Bashae* aduanced thereto.

Thence came it, that *Bashae-Abra*, hauing disordred himselfe in the *Georgie*, was repealed and disgraced, and *Sinan-Bashae* placed in his stead, who succeeding in the room, of a Man ill handled for his faults: stood bound (by all these considerations) to behaue himselfe so well, that the Great Signior could receiue no mislike in his cariage, for hee regained what his Predecessour had lost, beating and chasing the *Persians* with so large an vsury of vengeance; that his Military seruices performed in the vpper *Asia*, were little indebted to thē of *Alexander* the Great, although he was of no such temper. Long time after, returning home with triumphe and victory, in the Cittie of *Constantinople*: he was slaine by a Foole, that begd an Almes of him, and which *Sinan* made himselfe ready also to giue him. Wherein may bee obserued, that this great and fortunate Mirrour dyed, in doing the Office of a Christian, and not of a Turke, that is to say; in giuing an Almes, and rendring Iustice to the *Porta*. After his death, the other was admitted to his charge againe; and then he redeemed the iniuries formerly receiued, by such worthy actions of seruice, as surmounted the obliuion of his first defects.

Sinan-Bashae cōming with triumph and victory to *Constantinople* was slaine by a Foole.

Sinan-Bashae being dead, *Abra-Bashae* was readuanced.

I referre now to your owne iudgements, if these people (which we call barbarous) may not iustly (and in good earnest) make vs blush, considering, that the greater part of them, which hold great charges among vs in these daies: doe declare themselues vtterly vnworthy of them, and because there is no punishment for them, men are as little regarded, as a Varlet of the Chamber. Hence ensueth it, that the Prince is miserable, and confusion is so great among his Followers, that were it not for the huge throng and multitude of Noblemen, which ardently accost and company him, to couer this imperfection: within short while we should be buried in the State ruines, which in the end must needes fall out, if no better order be prescribed for Souldiours, and some endeuour vsed, for maintaining daily a sufficient number, that may serue as a bound or banke, against the tempestu ous billowes of Strangers, who doubtlesse will triumph ouer vs continuallie, vntill we haue prouided for this important necessity, wherof (notwithstanding) no account at all is made.

Barbarous Nations may iustly make vs Christians to blush at our behauiour.

Danger of Buriall in the ruines of the State.

By what meanes the Romain Empire began to confound it selfe.

Though it bee most true, that the Romaine Empire began to loose it selfe, from the day when Millitary pollicy was violated, for afterward, they that durst not so much as dreame of *Italie*: made no doubt at all to assault it, yea, and to force it, to the shame and confusion of them, that contemned the order religiously obserued by their Predecessours. The infamous corruption in State Councellours of Princes, was the only cause thereof: yet some others are perswaded, that the vniuersall generous ruine, ensued particularly to them; when they sold their Country to their enemies, as *Æneas* and *Antenor* did, of whom (I think) they are descended. For all was set to sale for Money, both the offices of Magistrats, and seats of Iudges.

The infamous corruption in Councellors of Estate to Princes.

Warre honours are bartered, bought and sold, euen as they were among the Romains.

And euen so is it in these daies, honours of Warre cannot be had, without such manner of commerce, so that (at length) publike commoditity wil be brought into a monstrous Caos, the first Sepulcher of the Elements. Armes will be made subiect to Mony, euen as they were among the Romaines, whose *Prætorian* troupes sold the Empire for good ready Mony, as bringing it to the common Out-cry, fairest offerer, and lateſt

latest Purchaser. So that, it may be said of *France*, as a Prince of *Affrica* was wont to do of *Rome*: *Oh goodly City to be sold, if any man had Mony enough to buy it.* And very certaine it is, that if the King of Spain had neuer so little intelligence in this Kingdome, as hee hath had too much: he should not neede to desire it. He can forme Creatures enow heere, to be buyers for him, and (it may bee) that haue long since bought the Pillers of the State, with Monies meete for so glorious an exploit. We are all carried thither, the Market beginneth to open, the Traffiques hope is not a little, neyther is there any danger in the deseign, for impunity raigneth generally. The wicked doe thrust good men out of all fauour, accounting them vnprofitable Members, and desertfull of no Name, among such a number of strange *Cabalists*, who thinke France to be no better then a Mart or Staple: where gaine is preferred before Honor; Mony before Merit; an Enemy before a Friend; a Seruant before the Son of the Family; and a Seruant, before a Domesticke borne.

The saying of an *Affricane* Prince, concerning *Rome*.

Bad men thrust better deseruers out of all fauour and respect.

Behold what may be said, on the behalfe of perfect valour, and the solid or necessary meanes, for the gaining of worthy men: to make Kinges triumph, perpetuate their estates, and leaue eternity to their Monarchies. My hearty wish and desire is, that some benefit may ensue by my poore trauaile (as infallibly will) to our *French* Nobility, if this may be communicated (how little soeuer) to the eyes of their soules, which hauing heretofore been eleuated to the honest search of vertue, and especially that which should be most familiar with them: will render them absolute in the perfection of this discourse, whereof I couet more to be the God-Father, then the true Father indeed. Because all the wonders of honor, grace, and valiancy therein alleaged, haue beene selected from the Oracles and Miracles of the onely renowned Princes in the World, of whom I haue figured the very fairest conditions. To the end, that ours of this Age, may commendably enny such glory, and go as far beyond theirs, as they did all other whatsoeuer.

The Authors Conclusion and wish, to the Nobilitie of *France*.

The vertues of other Princes, ought to be a spurre to ours in these dayes.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Wisedome, Prudence, and Pollicy; and what difference is betweene them. Also, a consideration of the difficulties & dangers, incident to matters of State.

BEcause our present intended discourse, may stand cleare from obloquy and detection: we wil first declare what Wisedome is, and wherein it consisteth. For Pollicie being but (as it were) a branch thereof; it shall therefore be conuenient, first to consider the nature of the root or Tree, that thereby we may know the property of the braunch. And to this end, it is to be considered, first whence wisedom is, and afterwards, what it is: whereby it will appeare, that true wisedome, and (consequently) true Pollicy, can no way stand with wickednesse.

Pollicy is but a Branch of wisedome.

For the first, it is euident, by the doctrine as wel of the best Philosophers, as of our holy Scriptures; that wisedom is the especiall guift of God, which *Plato* taught, not onely concerning absolute wisedom (consisting in the speculation and knowledge of diuine things) but also of ciuill or politicall Wisedome and Prudence: which he saith, *Is neither giuen to man by nature, nor taught by Philosophy, nor got by industry or experience.* And therefore in his Book of Politicall Lawes, he craueth it of Almighty God as his especiall guift, acknowledging: *That no humain wit can (without his perticuler inspiration and assistance) ordaine sufficient lawes for the gouernment of a Common-wealth*, as partly hath beene elsewhere approued.

Wisedom the especiall gift of God, according to *Plato*.

Plato in Lib. 4. de Legib. & in Minoe.

Wisedome not giuen by Nature, nor taught by Philosophy, nor got by industry.

This also our Scriptures doe aboundantly teach, deriuing al wisedom from Almighty God, as from the Fountaine thereof, saying. *Omnis sapientia à Domino Deo est, All Wisedome commeth of the Lord. Et à Deo profecta est sapientia, &c. Wisedome came from GOD, and it shall abound in the mouth of the faithful man, and the gouernor or Lord of all will giue it thee.* And againe, *Fons sapientiæ verbum Dei in excelsis. The Fountaine of wisedome*

Eccles. 1. 1. 6. God the only Authour and giuer of wisedome, according to the Scriptures. Eccles. 15. 3.

is the word of God on high. That is to say, the Son of God, who is therefore called *Sapientia Patris, The Wisedome of God the Father.* For this cause S. *Iames* aduiseth vs. *Si quis vestrum* (saith he) *indiget sapientia, postulet à Deo, & dabitur ei. If any of you lacke wisedom, let him aske it of God, and it shall be giuen him.* And *Salomon* craued it of Almighty God, and obtained it. And Iesus the Son of *Sirach* saith of himselfe. *Cum adhuc iunior sum, &c. When I was yet yong, or euer I went abroad, I desired wisedome openly in my prayer. And I profited by her, therefore will I ascribe the glory vnto him that giueth me wisedome.*

Seeing then true wisedom is (according to the opinion both of Philosophers and Diuines) and especiall gift of Almighty God: it must needes follow, that it haue no communication with sin and wickednesse, or with any thing offensiue to God. And therefore *Plato* (with all his followers) doe teach, that for as much as true wisedom is nothing else, but (as it were) *The light of the chiefe and true good* (that is to say, of Almighty God) *reflected vpon the soules of Men*: no Soule defiled with sinne, is any whit more capable of this light of true Wisedome, then the ayre (beeing ouer-cast with Clouds) is capable of the Sunne. And this Doctrine of *Plato* agreeth notably with our holy Scriptures, which teach, that *In maleuolam animam, &c. Wisedome wil not enter into a wicked soule, nor dwell in the body that is subiect to sin.* And therefore it is said, *That God giueth wisedome to such as feare him.*

This will be more euident, by the consideration of what Wisedome is, and wherein it principally consisteth. Therefore, first to speak of the Doctrin of our holy Scriptures, and after, of the opinion of Philosophers: *Iob* hauing asked, *Where is Wisedome found, and where is the place of vnderstanding?* Answereth himselfe, saying; *Ecce timor Domini, ipsa est sapientia; & recedere à malo intelligentia. Behold, the feare of God is wisedom it selfe, and to forsake euil is vnderstanding.* Thus saith *Iob*, which the Preacher confirmeth, saying. *Omnis sapientia timor Dei, et in omni sapientia dispositio legis. The fear of God is all Wisedome, and the performing of the Law is perfect wisedome.* That is to say (as we read in the Greeke Text) *Factio et operatio legis, The doing & working of the Law*, signifying: That all wisedom consisteth in the feare of God, and in the execution of his Law, which is as much to saie, as in the keeping of his Commaundements; whereof three reasons may well be giuen.

The first, because hee which feareth God, & fulfilleth his commandements, hath the ground and principall part of wisedome, for in all his actions he principally respecteth two things: the one, the glory of God (for which, Man and all other creatures were chiefely ordained) and the other, the eternall good of his owne soule, which most importeth him. For, as our Sauior saith; *What shall it profit a Man, though he should winne the whole world, if he loose his own soule.* Therfore the Preacher saith well, *Sapiens est animæ suæ sapiens: He which is wise, is wise for his Soule.* The second reason is, for that he which feareth God, and keepeth his commandements, doth therin work wisely, not onely for his eternall good, but also for his temporall and worldlie good: Seeing thereby hee conserueth himselfe, in the protection and fauor of him, who is the Authour and Giuer as well of the one as other, and hath an especial care of such as fear and serue him. For, as the Psalmist saith, *Oculi Domini super metuentes eum; The eyes of the Lord are vpon them that feare him. Et aures eius in preces eorum, And his eares are open to their prayers.* Such also is his loue towards them, and the regard he hath of them, that, as our Sauiour saith; *Hee numbreth the very haires of their heads. Et custodit* (saith the Psalmist) *omnia ossa eorum; He keepeth all their bones, to the end, that there shall not any one of them perish.*

Therefore, as no man is, or can bee counted wise or happy, who (by contempt of Almighty God, and breach of his Commaundements) exposeth himselfe to his indignation, whereby both he and his may vtterly perish: so he likewise, that by the feare of God, and obseruation of his law, obtained his continuall fauour and protection, is not only truly wise, but also truly happy. Which *Aristotle* himselfe acknowledged, who teaching, that true wisedome and felicity, doe chiefely consist, in the contemplation of God and heauenly things: affirmeth the wisest man to be the happiest of al other, because he is most grate-

full

Iames. 2, 5. 1 King. 3, 9.

Salomon and *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* obtained wisedome of God by Prayer. Eccles. 51, 13. 17.

Plato in Theage. et in Epist. ad Syracusan. What wisedome is, according to *Plato.*

A soule defiled with sinne not capable of wisedome. Wisd. 1. 4. Eccles. 43, 33.

What wisedome is, and wherein it consisteth, according to our sacred Scriptures. Iob. 28, 12, 13, et 28.

Eccles. 19, 20.

True wisedome consisteth in the feare of God, and the execution of his Law.

The principal part of wisedome, to respect in all things the glory of God, and our eternall good.

Mat. 16, 26.

Wisd. 37, 18.

He which truly feareth God, is wise, for his temporall good, and why.

Psalme 33, 17. Psalme. 34, 14

Math. 10, 30. Psalm. 34, 19.

No man is wise in exposing himselfe to Gods indignation.

Arist. in lib Ethic. 10 Cap. 7. Idē Ibid. cap. 8.

full to God, best beloued of him, and protected by him continually.

The third reason, why the fear of God, & the keeping of his commandements, is true wisedome, is: because the Law of God is the true rule, whereby al prudent actions are to bee measured, for it comprehendeth in it selfe, and teacheth all true vertue and goodnesse, without the which, there can be no true Prudence, as shall appeare by the circumstances due and requisite thereto, according to the Doctrine of Philosophers. Wherein is to bee noted, that though Wisedome and Prudence (in common speech) are commonly confounded: yet there is betwixt them this difference, that Wisedome hath for her obiect, not only humaine, but also Diuine things. And therefore is defined, both by Philosophers and Diuines, to be *Scientia diuinarum humanarumquæ rerum, et eorumquæ illarum rerum sunt causæ. The knowledge of things diuine and humaine, and of their other causes.* Whereas the office of Prudence, is duely to consider, and wel to direct humaine affaires, and is called by *Thomas Aquinas*, *Sapientia in humanis rebus, Wisedome in humaine things:* consisting, as *Cicero* and S. *Augustine* teach, in the knowledge of *Things good, bad, & indifferent*, and is defined, *Rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque scientia, The knowledge of things to be desired or fled.* Or as S. *Basile* saith, *Eorum quæ agenda et non agenda sunt cognitio; The knowledge of those things which are to be done, or not to be done*: whereto three circumstances are principally required.

The first is, that the end of euery action bee truely good, which *Aristotle* teacheth, to be the first & principal circumstance requisite to Prudence. And he affirmeth, that whosoeuer applieth his wit to worke for an euill end: although he haue neuer so good successe therein, yet he cannot bee called truelie wise or prudent, but crafty and subtile.

The second circumstance is, not onlie that the end of euery action bee good; but also, that the meanes to attaine to that end, be correspondent therto, that is to say, that they be all good and iust, yea, wel and iustly done. To which purpose, *Aristotle* prescribeth circumstances, of due time, place, and manner, to be considered in euery Prudent action.

Teaching withall, that whosoeuer fayleth in any one of the circumstances: is not vertuous, nor (by consequent) prudent, because Vertue & Prudence are so ioyned, that the one cannot possibly be without the other. *Macrobius* assigning (out of *Plato*) six parts of Prudence; accounteth circumspection for one, which (he saith) consisteth in consideration of the circumstances of euery action, that the same be most lawful good, and iust. Whereupon Saint *Basile* saith. *Quisquis prudentiam recte sectatus fuerit, &c. Whosoeuer followeth the rule of Prudence truly; he shal neuer swerue from vertue, nor fal into vice.* The third circumstance to bee considered in euery prudent action, is, that whereas there are certaine degrees of goodnes in things, some being good, others better, and one the best of all, (wherto all other things are to be referred, which is called by the Philosophers *Summũ bonũ, The chiefe good*; And also, *Finis bonorum, The end of al good things*) it is (I say) especially required in *Prudence*: to make a true estimate of the worth of euery thing, & not only to reiect things absolutely euil, or of euils, to chuse the least (as the *Lacedemonians* said, he had done, that married a very little wife) but also of good thinges to chuse the best: preferring those things which are absolutely good, before all other goods whatsoeuer, and making the chiefe good, the scope & end of al his actions.

Now then, seeing these three circumstances are requisite to true Prudence, to wit; to chuse a good end; to practise good & vertuous means; and to esteem euery good thing in the degree that it deserueth: it is euident, that he who feareth God, and keepeth his Commandements, performes all these three things, not only in euery particular action, but also throughout the whole course of his life, tending in al things to goodnes and vertue, vsing al iust & vertuous means, and esteeming euery thing according to the true worth thereof. For, he preferreth the Soule before the body; eternall things before temporall; the goods of the body, before the goods of Fortune; and the goods of the mind before them both. Finally, he referreth and directeth all his actions, and the whole course of his life, to the seruice and glory of God, whom both diuines and Philosophers

The law of God, is the rule of all prudent actions.

The difference betwixt wisedome and Prudence.

The obiect of wisedome.

The difinition of wisedome.

Cicero. in Lib. 2. de Offic.
August. in lib. 14. de Trinit. Cap. 2.

The Office of Prudence.

Basil. in princip. Prouer.
Arist. Moral. Nicom. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. & Ethic. Lib. 6.
Tho. Aquin. 22. q. 27. 2.
Cicero de nat. Deor. Lib. 2.
August. Lib. 83. quæst. 31.

The definition of Prudence.

Arist. in Lib. 6. Ethic. Cap. 4.

The end of euery action truely prudent, must needs bee good.

The meanes of euery prudent action, to be good and iust.

Arist. in Ethic, Idem li. 6. ca. 12.

Vertue and Prudence so ioyned, that they cannot be seperated.

Macrob. in somno Scip. Lib. 1.

Basil. in princip. Prouerb.

Cicero de finibus. Lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. & 5. Et Offic. Lib. 3.

Prudece preferreth the greater good before the lesse, and the chiefe good before all other.

Plutarch. de amore Frater.
Arist. Ethic. Lib. 6. Thom. Aquin. 2. 2. q. 27. ar. 1.

How he that feareth God, practiseth the three chiefe pointes of Prudence.

losophers do teach; *To bee the beginning and end of all Creatures*, as partly hath bin before declared.

Apoc. 1. 8. *Arist. Metaph. Lib.* 1. *Trismegist. in peman. Cap.* 3.

But here (perhaps) some will say, that there are necessarily required to Prudence, certain other parts, which I haue not yet mentioned: As sagacity of wit, a good memory, and a sound iudgment, whereby wise men do prudently consider, iudge, councell, ordaine, and execute, and that these partes (as *Aristotle* teacheth) proceede partly of a naturall hability, and partly of long experience. In which respect, he most approoueth the iudgement and councel of old men. Whereupon it followeth, that it sufficeth not to Prudence, to feare God, and keepe his Commaundements: except a Man haue (withall) the other partes aboue mentioned, which many good & holy men want, either in respect of som naturall defect of Wit, Memory, and Iudgement, or for lacke of experience.

A difficulty proposed concerning other parts of Prudence. *Arist. Ethic. lib.* 8. *Cap* 9, *et* 10.

For the better satisfaction hereof, one thing is to be considered, to wit, the naturall imbecility of mans wit, which is such in the wisest worldly man that liueth; that he knoweth not what is conuenint for himself, and much lesse for others, whereby he seeketh (many times) that which turneth to his owne ruine. Therefore, the most necessary part, for consummation & perfection of humain Prudence, is some supernaturall and diuine light, to illuminate the vnderstanding of men, to moue and encline their wils to make choice of that, which may be most conuenient for thē and others. Without which light, the wisest worldly men (I mean such as haue most excellent talents and parts of nature, and are wicked withall) are but like to blinde men, and go (as it were) groping in the dark. Wherefore the Preacher saith, *Error and darknesse are appointed for Sinners*: that is to say, ignorance and blindnesse are connaturall to wicked men. And againe. *The way of the wicked is as the darknesse, and they know not where they shal fal.* Whereas on the contrary side, *The way of the righteous* (that is to say, of those that feare God, and keep his commaunments) *shineth as the light, that shineth more and more vnto the perfit day.* And for this cause, the Psalmist saith of the Law of God; *That it is cleare and bright, and shineth light to the eies.* That is to say, the light of grace, whereby the naturall good abilities of Gods Seruants are encreased and perfited: doth also prosper their actions, so farre forth, as God Almighty thinketh it necessary for their good, his glory, and the execution of his will. Whereto I adde, that also the defects of nature may be, and many times are, supplyed by the light of Grace, in such sort, that Gods Seruants do many times, attaine to performe all the parts of Prudence, though they haue no natural ability for the same, such being the effectes of Grace, that it perfecteth humaine nature: which although it aspire and tend to perfection, yet it cannot possibly attaine thereto, without some supernaturall help. And for the better proose of the matter in hand, I will lay down some examples of Gods seruants, who, notwithstanding either their naturall defects & imperfections, or their want of experience: haue (by the conduct of Gods grace) most wisely behaued themselues, in most important matters. Who seemed more vnfit to vndertake the iudgement of great causes, then *Daniel*, whiles he was a child of 12. years old (as *Theodoret* testifieth) or, as other ancient Fathers affirm, not much older, and therefore no lesse vnripe in experience, then in yeares? And yet neuertheless, being assisted by the spirit of God, he confounded the adulterous Iudges in the cause of *Susanna*, which he most prudently determined. Besides, the Scripture witnesseth, that God gaue such profound knowledge and wisdom, not only to him, but also to *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*, while they were all Children: that they far surpassed all the wise and learned *Chaldeans*.

The satisfaction of the difficulty proposed.

No man is so wise, that he alwayes knoeth what is conueniens for himselfe.

The light of Gods grace necessary for the perfection of Prudence.

Eccles. 11, 16.

Prouer. 4, 18, 19.

The wisest worldly men are as it were blind-fold.

Psalme. 19, 8.

The good abilities of nature are encreased and perfected by Grace.

The defects of Nature may be, and often are supplied by the light of grace.

Examples of diuers, in whō grace supplyed naturall defects.

Daniell being but a Child of twelue yeares olde, iudged the cause of *Susanna*. Dan. 13. *Theod. in Cap.* 1 Ezech. *Ignat. Mart. in Epist. ad Magnes.* *Sulpicius Seuerus in Lib.* 2. *Sacræ Histor. August. in Ser.* 242. Dan. *Cap.* 1. *Ananias*, *Misaell* and *Azarias*.

And was there euer any glorious enterprise, more wisely continued, more couragiously attempted, or more heroycally performed, thē the ouerthrow of *Holofernes*: slaine by a holy Woman, no lesse timerous of nature, then weake of iudgement, and void of experience, through the infirmity of her Sexe?

Iudith heroycally and wisely perfourmed a glorious enterprise Iudith. Cap. 7, 8, 9, &c.

Againe, what sufficiency was there in *Moyses*, for the performance of so great a charge, as Almighty God laid on him; first, in his ambassage to *Pharao*, and afterward in the gouernment and conduct of his people, thorow so manie kind of daungers and difficulties? This was

Exod. 3, 10, 11. *Moses* acknowledged his insufficiency for the conduct of Gods people.

was acknowledged by *Moyses* himselfe, who confesseth his owne in-sufficiencie and weaknes, saying to Almighty God; *Quis sum ego, &c. Who am I ô Lord?* That is to say, what is there in mee? *That I should goe vnto Pharaoh, and that I should conduct the Children of Israell out of Egipt?* And againe afterwardes, being vtterlie discouraged, with the consideration of his want of eloquence and vtterance, & of his other infirmities; he desired to be excused, saying. *Obsecrò Domine, mitte quē missurus es, I beseech thee, ô Lord, send else whom it please thee.* Wherupon God did not only promise him his owne continuall assistance: but also appointed *Aaron* to help him, and to speak for him to the people in al occasions, promising withall, to be the mouths of them both. Besides, *Iethro*, Father in Law to *Moyses*, did also afterwardes (by Gods great prouidence) teach him a notable point of pollicy, for gouernment of the people. Wherin may be noted by the way, how sweetely Almighty God guideth his Seruants concurring with them, and moouing them sometimes immediatlie by secret inspiration, and sometimes by the help and meanes of others. Whereby, *Moyses* being (as it seemeth) altogether vnskilfull, and vnexpert in matters of State: did (neuertheless) many years most prudently and happily gouern the people of God, as well in warlike, as in other ciuill affaires.

Glossa interlin. How God supplyed the defects of *Moses.*

Exod. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. &c.

God concurreth with his seruants some times immediately, and sometimes by meanes of others.

In like manner, if we consider either the yeares of the education of *Dauid*; when (being very young) he was called from the Sheep-coat to the Court, and shortly after annointed King. If we weigh withall, his wise, victorious, and glorious gouernment for forty yeares together: we must needs confesse, that the same proceeded of Gods assistance, and not of his own sufficiency, whereof Almighty God admonished him by *Nathan* the Prophet, saying. *Ego tulite, &c. I tooke thee from the Pastures, when thou followedst thy flockes, and made thee King of my people of Israel. And I was with thee, and assisted thee in all things whersoeuer thou didst go. I kild all thine enemies before thy face, and haue magnified thy Name among the great ones of the earth.* Thus spake the Prophet *Nathan* in the person of Almighty God: and this *Dauid* himselfe, (who best knew himselfe, & the fauors which God had done him) gratefully acknowledged: calling almighty God *His Protector, his stay, his refuge, his buckler or shield, his strength, his hope, his glory*, and humbly beseeching him in all his occasions; *to illuminate him, to protect and defend him, to direct his course, & to guide his steps.* I omit diuers other examples for breuities sake, seeing by these it sufficiently appeareth, how true that is which the Psalmist saith *Lex Domini sapientiam præstat parua is, The Law of GOD giueth wisedome to Children.* That is to say, to simple and ignorant men, & the reason is, for that the Law of God containeth the precepts of all true Wisedome and Prudence: teaching vs, what is our duty to God, to our Neighbour, to our Superiors, Inferiors, & equals: how to commaund, how to obey; to what end to direct our intents and our actions; how to liue, how to die; and lastly, how to arriue (after the storms and tempests of this life) at the secure port of eternall felicity, whereto true wisedome directeth and addresseth her whole course.

1. Sam. 16, 11, 12. 2. Sam. 2, 4. *Dauid* directed and guided in all his Gouernment by Almighty God.

2. Sam. 7, 8, 9.

Dauid gratefully acknowledged Gods assistance.

Psalme. 17, et 143.

Psalme. 17, 16, 15, 24, 133.

Psalme. 19, 8. How the law of God giueth wisedome.

And this is not only to be vnderstood of the written Law of God, that is to say, the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament (in the which as Saint *Chrysostome* saith, *Non est syllaba vel apiculus, &c. There is not a syllable, nor so much as a tittle, wherein there is not hidden some great treasure*) but much more it is to be vnderstood, of the Law of God vnwritten, infused into the harts of Gods Seruants. Whereof Almighty God said by the Prophet: *Dabo legē meam, &c. I will giue them my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their harts.* Which vnwritten Law, is (as S. *Augustine* saith) nothing else, but *Ipsa præsentia Spiritus Sancti, &c The very presence of the Holy Ghost, &c. by whom Charity is spread and printed in our harts, which charity is the consummation of the Law, and end of the Commaundement.*

The written law of God full of all wisedome. *Chrisost. in Psal.* 14.

The infused law of God.

Ierem. 13, 12.

August. in Lib. despir. et litera. Cap. 28.

Thus saith S. *Augustine* of the infused law of God, which doth not only teach men true wisedome (as doth the written Law) but doth also giue it them: making them the temples of God, and habitacles of the Holy Ghost. By whose Grace, the good Talents of many Seruants of God are encreased and perfected, their defects supplied, their infirmities cured, the eies of their vnderstanding illuminated, and their iudgements

The infused Law both teacheth and giueth true wisedome.

directed. By meanes whereof, they are replenished with heauenly Wisedome, and enabled to performe all the parts of true Prudence, to wit; to deliberate maturely; to iudge soundly; to counsel securely; to ordaine and commaund exactly, and execute effectually. And so they work in al things, no lesse prudently then happily, being mooued and led by the onely Author of wisedome and happinesse: in whose hand are the harts of all men, and vpon whose wil, dependeth the successe of all actions whatsoeuer.

The parts of true Prudēce.

Therefore I will inferre heereupon certaine conclusions. The first, that, as the Preacher saith, the fear of God is not onely *Initium & radix*; *The beginning and roote*; but also *Plenitudo sapientiæ*; *The consummation and perfection of Wisedome.* For those that sincerely fear God, haue (consequently) the light and helpe of his grace, whereby they may, and many times do arriue to the perfection of Wisedome and Prudence: whereas otherwise, there is no possibilitie of attaining thereto, all humaine wisedome being (of it selfe) lame and imperfect, vncertaine, and subiect to infinite errors. So that, wicked men, though they haue neuer so good partes of wit and iudgement naturally, and may by the force and meanes thereof, doe many things prudently and wisely: yet, forasmuch as they alwaies play the Fooles notably, in that which importeth them most, to wit; in thinges pertaining to their eternall good or euill, and do also erre very blindly and absurdly (many times) in temporall affaires; they neuer haue any perfection of wisedome, nor can be counted truely wise.

The first conclusion.

Eccles. 1.15. 20. The feare of God is the beginning & perfection of Wisedome, and why,

All humaine wisedome is of it selfe lame and vnperfect.

The wisest worldly man is a foole in that which most imports him.

Whereas on the other side, the Seruants of God, who haue alwayes good naturall parts, and the light and help of grace withall, do not onely worke most prudently alwaies, in matters that concerne their eternall good or euill: but also deale in all things whatsoeuer, with farre more light, certaintie and securitie, then wicked Men, of like good parts and Talents naturall. And although the Seruants of God haue (sometimes) some naturall defects of wit and iudgement; yet forasmuch, as such also doe alwayes discharge the partes of true Prudence, in matters which import thē most, and may haue also, and many times haue (with the help of grace) such a supplement of their naturall imperfections, that all of them may, and many of them doe, performe the Office of prudent and Wise men in all affaires, which wicked men neither do, nor possibly can doe: I will therefore conclude, that the perfection of humaine Wisedome, consisteth in Gods grace, and that the very simplest Seruant of God, may more truely be accounted Wise, then the wisest, I meane the subtilest and craftiest wicked Man whatsoeuer.

How the seruants of God are wise.

The perfection of humane wisedome consisteth in Gods grace.

This the Royall Prophet acknowledged in himselfe, comparing the Wisedome and Prudence which God had giuen him, by the obseruation of his commandements; with the Wisedome and Prudence of his Enemies, and of the wisest Worldlings, saying. *Super inimicos meos, &c. Thou hast made me (ô Lord) wiser then mine enemies, through thy Commandement or Law, and I haue vnderstood more, then all they which taught me. I am wiser then the aged, because I haue sought to keepe thy Commaundements.*

Dauids acknoledgement in himselfe.

Psalme. 119. 2. 3.

The second Conclusion is, that (as the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus* signifieth.) *Non est sapientia nequitiæ disciplina, & non est cogitatus peccatorum prudentia. The knowledge of wickednesse is not wisedome, neither is there prudencie whereas the counsell of Sinners is.* For, seeing true Wisedome consisteth in the feare of God, & in the obseruation of his Commandements: nothing that is offensiue to God, or contrary to his Law, can stand with true Wisedome. And againe, seeing Prudence and Morall Vertue are so conioyned, that they cannot be separated; yea, and that not onely the end of euery prudent action, but also the meanes must necessarily bee good and vertuous: it must needes follow, that whatsoeuer is vicious, impious, or wicked, is excluded from true Prudence. In which respect, Prudence is called in the Scriptures, *Scientia Sanctorum*. And therefore *Salomon* saith. *Principium sapientiæ timor Domini, & scientia Sanctorum Prudentia. The fear of God is the beginning of Wisedome, and the knowledge of holie things is Prudence.* Hereupon also follow two other Conclusions, concerning policy. The one that no true pollicy can admit

The second conclusion.

Eccles. 19, 22. Nothing that is offensiue to God, can stand with true wisedome or Prudence.

Why the simplest seruant of God is wiser then the wisest wicked man.

Prouer. 9, 10. Prudence called in Scripture the knowledge of holy things.

The third Conclusion.

No true Policy admitteth any impiete.

admit any impiety, wickednesse, or offence of God. The other, that all policy humaine (without the light and help of Gods grace) is vncertaine and defectuous. And for the better vnderstanding heereof, it is to bee considered, that as Prudence is a part of wisedome: so Pollicy is a part of Prudence, and that Prudence also is diuided into three partes. The first, Personall; the second, Oeconomicall; and the third, Politicall. Personall Prudence, consisteth in the speculation and practise of such things, as belong onely to perticuler men. Oeconomicall prudence, respecteth all thinges belonging to housholde affayres. And Pollitical prudence is that, which considereth matters appertaining vnto commonwealth, and this kind of Prudence is properly called Policy.

Pollicy a part of Prudence.

Prudence deuided into three parts.

Personal Prudence.

Oeconomical Prudence.

Politicall Prudence.

Pollicie cannot disagree from Prudence.

Therfore, as Prudence (being a branch of Wisedome) cannot disagree from the Nature thereof, no more then the braunch from the Nature of the tree; so also, Pollicy being a part of Prudence, must needs bee conforme and agreeable together; in which respect, euerie Politicall Art must needs bee prudent, and euerie prudent act (concerning Commonwealth) must needes bee Politicall. Whereuppon it followeth, that seeing true Prudence excludeth all wickednesse and impiety, true Pollicy also dooth exclude the same.

The fourth Conclusion.

And againe, seeing true Wisedome and Prudence are the especiall guiftes of God (as I haue shewed) and that without the light and helpe of Gods grace, al humaine wisedome is full of imperfection, obscurity, vncertainty, and error, it followeth also by the like consequence, that the like iudgement is to be giuen of all humaine policy, to wit: that it is (of it selfe) imperfect, vncertaine, obscure, and erroneous; and to be perfected, assured, rectified, and guided by the light of grace, which is the point that I haue especialy laboured to proue throughout this whole discourse.

All humane pollicie is vnperfect and defectuous, without the light of grace.

The imprudence of those that presume to meddle in matters of State, without any regard of Gods assistance.

Therefore, to conclude this Chapter, I cannot but lament and wonder at the imprudence of two sorts of men. The one is of those, who make no doubt to deale in matters of Policy & State, without any care or regard of Gods help and assistance; yea, and with offence of god. Whereby they expose not only the matters (which they mannage) to dangerous errors, yea, and to all euill successe: but also, the Princes whom they Councell, and the Common-wealthes where they gouerne, to Gods indignation, and consequently to vtter ruine, as hath beene formerly proued.

The other sort of impudent men (in my fancy) are those, who are so far transported, eyther with conceit of their own wit and sufficiency, or with a desire to deale in great matters, that they aspire to nothing more, then to meddle in matters of State, yea, and boldly embarke themselues in the very greatest that doe occurre, before they haue any experience or practise thereof in the world, or haue so much as reflected vpon the Naturall imbecility of mans wit; and the weakenesse of humaine pollicy, or of the insuperable difficulties and dangers incident to matters of State, which are such, as do many times, ouerthrow & disgrace the most wise and experteſt Negotiators.

The imprudence of those that presume to meddle in the greatest matters of State, without experience.

And therefore it happeneth verie often to those, who so greedily and vnaduisedly seeke such employments, as it doth to man, that (in faire weather) putteth himselfe to Sea, in a little Boate or Frigot for his recreation; and vpon the sudden there ariseth a storme which carrieth him into the miane Sea, and so tosseth him too and fro: that he not onelie looseth all the pleasure which he expected, but also escapeth verie hardlye with life. And therefore, with many a sighe and heauy grone, he looketh back to the Land from whence he came; but neuertheles is forced to go whither the winds and tempest carry him, and perhaps perisheth in the ende, by violence of the storme. Euen so I say, it fareth manie times, with those that embarke themselues vnaduisedly in matters of State: for, within a while, they find themselues so perplexed, that they desire to returne to their former repose and quietnes. But yet they are forced to goe, whither the course, streame and current of theyr affaires doth carry them; yea, and sometimes perish amidst the manifolde dangers, which commonly doe accompany State-matters, the practise whereof may well be compared to the practise of Phisicke. For, althogh some Physitions exercise their Science, with more iudge-

What happeneth to those which vnaduisedly seeke great imployments.

Expectation of pleasure endeth often times in paine

The danger of dealing in matters of State.

The practise of matters of State like the practise of Phisick.

ment

ment and better successe then others: yet none is so skilfull and fortunate, that he can alwayes warrant the cure of his pacient, and young beginners many times kill three, before they saue one. Euen so, young Statists, how expert soeuer they be, can neuer warrant the good successe of their plots and designments: but (for the most part) at the first do marre many matters, before they make one. Insomuch, that I account him no lesse happy then wise, who can be the wiser not only by other mens errors, but also by his owne. And, as I hold him for the Wisest man, which erreth the least: so I take him for the happiest & best at ease, who meddleth the least, or not at all in matters of State, seeing there was neuer any that dealt in many, but he erred in some. And sometimes we see, that the least errour worketh both his ouerthrowe who committed it: and also, the ruine of whole Kingdomes and Commonweals. Wherefore, I conclude with the *Spanish* Prouerbe, *A quel es Rey, que nunca vio Rey, Hee is a King that neuer sawe King.* That is to say, hee is a happy man, who neuer had to deale with the affayres of Princes, or State-matters.

Young Statists marre many matters before they make one.

He is the wisest that erreth the least, but he the happiest, that medleth least in matters of State.

I speake not this, to dehort or diswade all men from the dealing with matters of State, which is a thing so necessary for the seruice of God and Princes, and for the good of a Commonwealth, that it is both honourable, yea, and highly deseruing, when it is done with circumstance conuenient and requisit thereto. But my meaning is to signifye with what great consideration and circumspection all men ought to vndertake such Negotiations, especially young men, who haue not had any experience or practise thereof, and therefore cannot haue the mature and ripe iudgement, which is necessary thereto. For which cause, the *Athenians* did ordaine, that no man (vnder fifty yeares of age) should bee called to giue aduise in the affaires of their Commonwealth. And although a man may be (as verie manie are no doubt) sooner ripe and able, to mannage anie matter whatsoeuer: yet reason and experience teach, that the yonger a man is, and the lesse practise he hath, the more he is like to erre. Wherefore I craue thy patience (gentle Reader) while I set downe heere a few general Rules for yong beginners, as well for their enstruction: as also, for the discouery of the difficulties, which occurre in the gouernement of a Commonwealth.

Dangerous for very yong men, to deale in matters of State.

Plutarch in his Treatise, whether an old man should deale in matters of State.

CHAP. V.

Certaine general Rules or Aduises, no lesse pious then Politicall, for the instruction of such as desire to manage matters of State, and haue no experience thereof, to the end, that they may deale therein with lesse danger and difficulty.

FIrst, hee that meaneth to apply himselfe to matters of State, must see that his intention be clear & pure, that is to say: that hee bee not moued thereto by vainglory, ambition, couetousnesse, or any vicious or vnlawfull desire, because they are ouerweake foundations to vpholde waightie affayres, being accompanied not onelie with the offence of God; but also, with passion; whereby mans iudgement is blinded, and many times drawn to error. And therefore, the chiefe and principall intention of a Statist ought to bee, the seruice of God and his Prince, and the publicke good of his Country, whereto euery man ought principally to direct & leuell all his actions, which otherwise, cannot be truly vertuous and wise, nor yet haue the assistaunce and blessing of Almighty God, which for the good successe of all mens affaires, is most exquisite. For, as the Royall Prophet sayeth: *Nisi Dominus ædificanerit domum in vanum laborauerunt qui edificant eam. Except the Lord do build the house, they labor in vaine which build the same.*

A pure and good intention most necessary for a Statist.

What the intention of a Statist ought to be.

Psalm. 127, 1.

This foundation being laide, any Negotiation, be it neuer so waighty and important, may be built thereon, for foure reasons. First, for that a mans reason and iudgement being free from passion and selfe loue, he shall the more clearlie and soundly both deliberate and worke in all occasions. Secondly, for that it is most likely, that Almighty God (seeing his good

The commodities of a good intention in vndertaking matters of State. Foure especiall Reasons.

good and holy intention) will concur & co-operate with him in all his Negotiations.

Thirdly, though it would not please Almighty God (for his secret iudgements) to blesse and prosper his actions: yet vndoubtedly, his good intentions shall not faile of their due recompence and reward.

Lastly, for that in case hee fall into the great difficulties and dangers, which are incident vnto dealing in matters of State, yet he shall haue the comfort and consolation of a good and cleare Conscience, which as the Poet could say, is *Murus ahaneus*, *A Brazen Wall*, and the most assured Anchor in all the stormes and tempests of this life. *Quæ etiam obruta delectat*, saith *Seneca*, *which euen when it is oppressed or ouerwhelmed, dooth then delight*. Thus much concerning the first rule.

Horat. in Lib. 1. Epist. ad Mecænat. A cleare conscience is a Brazen wall. *Seneca in lib. 4. de Benefic. Cap. 21.*

Secondly, it shall be conuenient for a young Statist, well to weigh and foresee the difficulties and daungers, which he may (by all likelyhood) incur by dealing in matters of State, either thorough the nature and condition of the matters which he is to handle, or thorough the treachery and perfidiousnesse of those, with whom he is to deale; or thorough the malice and emulations (either publicke or priuate) which in Courts neuer want; or thorough the iealousy of Princes, who (as *Comineus* well noteth) *Doe easily suspect and distrust their best Seruants, in matters concerning their State*. Or lastly, thorow the vncertaintie of the successe of businesse, which is in no mans hand to warrant, as hath bin sufficiently proued. By all which meanes, we see (many times) most important matters miscarry, to the great grief, disgrace, yea and vtter ouerthrow of the Negotiators, especially if they haue not foreseen the same. Whereas, by consideration and foresight, they might perhaps haue preuented inconuenience; or, at the lest, haue bin better armed, to beare theyr misfortune with patience.

The difficulties and dangers to be considered in matters of State.

Phil Com. Cron. Lodouic. 11. Cap. 26.

The benefit of fore-sight and prouidence in Statists.

Therefore, *Plutarch* worthily compareth improuident and vnaduised Negotiators, to one that shoulde fall (before he were aware) into a Coal-pit or Mine; where, though perhaps hee escape with life: yet commonly hee receyueth some hurt, or (at the lest) is wonderfully astonished and amazed, not onely with the fall, but also with the obscurity and horror of the place, which, to those that go in of purpose, and with resolution to indure it, is nothing so offensiue or noysome.

Plutarch in his Treatise of enstruction for Statists.

Thirdly, he ought alwayes to obserue three things. The first, is the imbecility and weakenesse of mans wit: the second, the vncertainty of the successe of al mens actions. The thirde, the prouidence of God, in the disposition of all humaine affaires. These three things I say, euerie Statist should haue continuallie before his eyes, to the end, that seeing his own infirmity, and vncertainty of the successe of all his designments, hee may consider his danger, as well of error in his determinations, as of euill hap in his actions; and consequently, haue recourse to the remedies ordained for the same, by the prouidence and mercy of God. According to the aduise which old *Tobias* gaue to his son, for the direction of his whole course of life, to whom (amongst manie other notable precepts) hee gaue this. *Aske Counsel alwayes of the wise, and dispise not any counsel that is profitable. Blesse thy Lord God alwayes, & desire of him that thy wayes may bee made strait, and that all thy purposes & councels may prosper.* Thus said *Tobias*, or rather the Holy-Ghost by his mouth, aduising notably two things, necessary to be practised of all men, for the remedy of their naturall imbecilitie, to wit; to aske councell of wise men, and to craue the assistance of God. Because we are neither so absolute of our selues, but that we neede (in all thinges) Gods helpe and assistance; neither yet so gouerned and guided by Almightie God, that we ought to contemne the helpe of man, such being the course of his diuine prouidence in humaine affaires, that hee doth his will not only in men, but also by them, and with their co-operations. In which respect, Saint *Paul* did not stick to call himselfe, and the other Apostles, *Adiutores Dei*, *The helpers of God*, in the conuersion of the Gentiles.

Three things to be considered of Statists.

The counsell of *Tobias* to his Sonne. Tob. 4, 18. 19.

Two things to be practised of all Statists.

1. Cor. 4, 9.

Thetfore, as it were great folly, pride, and presumption in man, so to trust in himselfe, or in humaine Wisedome or power, as to neglect the prouidence and assistance of God: so wer it on the other side, extreame negligence, yea, and a tempting of God, so to relie vpon him,

Extreame folly in man, to trust wholy in humane wisedome & power. A tempting of God, to contemne humaine helpe and councell.

as

as to contemne all humaine helpe and councell. Which we may learne by the example of *Moyses*, who though he was enstructed, inspired, and conducted by almighty God himselfe: yet refused not the good councell of *Iethro*, for the maner of his Gouernment, which almighty God also allowed in him.

1. *Reg* 20. 2. *Reg*. 19, *et* 16. 1. *Reg*. 21. 22. 22.

On the other side also, King *Dauid*, although hee tooke the councell of his Friends, Councellers, and Seruants, as of *Ionathan*, *Achitophel*, *Ioab*, and others; and vsed also his owne prudence, as well in the deliberations, as in the execution of his affaires: yet hee neuer omitted to consult with almighty God by his Prophets and Priests, when he might conueniently do it, yea, and as I haue signified elsewhere, continually craued the assistance, illumination, and direction of almighty God in all his actions whatsoeuer.

Concurrence of humaine diligence with diuine helpe necessarie. Iudg. 7, 18, 20.

And this concurrence of Diuine help with humaine diligence, is notablie expressed in the Scriptures, where it is signified, that *Gedeon* gaue order vnto his Soldiers, to crie in their conflict with the *Madianites*, *Domino & Gedeoni*, *For the Lord, and for Gedeon*. And *Gladius Domini, & Gedeonis*, *The sword of God & of Gedeon*. And againe, in the relation of the great victorie, which *Asa* K. of *Iuda* had against the *Ethyopians*, the Scripture saith: *Cadente Domino contriti sunt, et exercitus illius præliante*, *They were vtterly ouerthrowne, the Lord God smiting them, and the Army of* Asa *fighting*, which is as much to say, as man doing his endeuor, and God giuing the successe. This also the very Paynims knew, and obserued so well, that *Plutarch* noteth it seriously, in the battaile betwixt *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, and *Paulus Æmilius* the Romaine.

Paralip. 14, 12, 13.

Plutach in vit. Paul Æmil.

Presumption is no way permitted by God.

For, whereas *Perseus* when hee should haue fought, withdrew himselfe from the fielde, vnder colour of Sacrificing to *Hercules*, he saith; *That God doth not fauour such idle fellowes, as presume on his helpe, and wil do nothing themselues. For God* (saith hee) *hath so ordained, that he which wil hit the marke, must shoote, & hee which will winne the Goale, must run, and hee which wil haue the victorie, must fight*. And therefore, God fauoured and helped *Paulus Emilius*, who craued force & victory with his weapons in his hands:

Gods assistance blessing mans endeauour.

A Dios rogando (as the *Spanish* Prouerbe saith) *y con la maça dando*, *Praying to God, and laying on load with his Club*.

But to say somewhat heere perticulerlie of an especiall meanes to winne the helpe and assistance of GOD, nothing behoueth a Statist more, then daylye to re-commend his actions vnto his Diuine Maiesty, by feruent and deuoute Prayer, the force and benefit whereof, is vnspeakeable, no lesse in all kind of temporall matters, then in spirituall. For the which, wee haue not onely our Sauiours Doctrine and warrant: but also, infinite examples of holie and wise men, both in Diuine and humaine Histories. While *Iosuah* fought with *Amalek*, *Moyses* prayed vpron the Mountaine, and obtained of God the Victory. The two *Annaes* beeing barren, were by Prayer made Mothers; the one of the Prophet *Samuel*, and the other, of the Virgine *Mary*.

The benefit and necessity of prayer, for the good successe of matters of State.

Math. 6, & 7. Marke. 11. Luke. 11. Exod. 17. 12. 1 Sam. 1 12. Luke. 1, 13.

Examples of the great force of deuoute prayer. *Ioan. Damasc in Orat. de nat. B. virg.* *Aug in Lib. 5. de Ciuit. Dei. Cap. 26.* *Procop de bel. Goth. Euagrius in lib. 4. cap. 23.*

Salomon, by Prayer obtained Wisedome. King *Hezekias* recouered health, and had victorye against the Assyrians. The three Children also (by praier) were deliuered from fire. And to speake of later times, *Theodosius* the Emperor, sirnamed the Great (as Saint *Augustine* witnesseth) preuailed against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, more by Praier, then by force. And the like also is testifieth by Graue Writers, as of *Narses* the Eunuch, Lieutenant to *Iustinus* the Emperour, whose great victories were attributed vnto his zealous prayers, and manly endeuours exercised in armes.

In like manner, the famous victories which *Heraclius* the Emperor gaue vnto *Cosroes*, King of *Persia* (of whom hee recouered *Ierusalem* and all the East parts) are ascribed by the best historiographers that write thereof, to the earnest Deuotions and Prayers which hee dailie vsed; and commaunded also to be performed, for his good successe in that warre. We read in our English Histories, that King *Ethe'red*, elder Brother to the famous *Alfred* or *Alured*, founder of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, beeing encamped against the *Danes*, and aduertised by his Captaines (when he was going to heare Diuine Seruice, and to perfourme his duty to God, as dayly hee was accustomed to doo) that his Brother *Alfred*, with the residue of his Captaines, had ioyned

Paul. Diacon. L. b. 18. Cedren. Theophan. Naucler. Baron. Anno. 621. 622 623. Guiliel. Malmesb de gest. reg. Angl. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. Roger. de Houeden. Annal. par. 1. An 871. Baron. An. eodem.

ioyned battail with the enemy, and were in great daunger to be ouerthrowne: he had no sooner ended his Diuine Orisons, but he came himselfe in person, and finding his Soldiers ready for flight, recalled them backe to the battel, thrusting himselfe into the middest thereof. *Cum virtute* (saith the Historie) *& Dei miraculo*: By whose valour, and the myraculous helpe of God, the *Danes* were put to flight, and their King slaine, with diuers of their Nobility, and manie thousands of the Soldiers.

Guliel. Malmes. vbi supra.

To this purpose also may serue, those examples of the famous victories of *Edward* the third, King of *England*, against the French, at *Cressie* in *Piccardie*, and of the Christians against the Turkes, at *Lepanto* in our dayes; as also, of manie other admirable victories which I refer the Reader vnto. And will end concerning Prayer, with this sentence of Saint *Chrysostome*. *Vis orationis* (saith he) *Vim migmis extinguit, &c. The power of praier hath extinguished the force of fire, shut vp the mouthes of Lyons, giuen victories in warre, appeased stormes and tempests, expelled Deuils, opened the gates of Heauen, broken the bands of death, cured diseases, reconciled enemies, deliuered Cities from Earth-quakes, and defended them as well from the punishments of God, as from the Treasons and attempts of men. Finallie, it hath ouercome al sorts of euils.* Thus saith Saint *Chrysostome*, of the wonderfull efficacy of prayer, and thus much concerning Prayer and Diuine helpe.

Chrysost. de nat. Dei Hom. 5. The testimony of Saint *Chrisostome* concerning the force of Prayer.

Now, to speake a word or two more, concerning humaine councell, the Holyghost giueth a notable aduice, saying: *Fili, sine consilio nihil facias, & post factū non pœnitebis. My Son, do nothing without aduice and councell, so shall it not repent thee after the deed.* And againe, *Qui agunt omnia cum consilio, reguntur sapientia. They which do all things with Councel, are gouerned with wisedome.* And this point I hold to be absolutely necessarie, not onely for young men, or others of small experience: but also for the eldest and most expert. For, *Nemo omnibus horis sapit, No man is wise at all houres.* And as the Prouerbe saith, *Two eyes see more then one.*

The necessity of humaine counsell. Eccles. 32, 20.

Prouer. 15, 31.

Therefore the famous *Scipio Africanus*, did euer consult all his affaires with *Caius Lælius*. And *Cicero* confesseth, that in his Consulship, hee did nothing without the aduise of the Phylosopher, *Publius Nigidius*. And for this cause, Princes haue diuers Councellors, to the end, that matters being pondered by diuers, all circumstances may be duly examined and considered. For as *Salomon* saith, *Vbi sunt plures consiliarij, confirmatur cogitationes. Plots and designments are confirmed and established, where there are many Councellors.* For some find out one inconuenience, and some another; some one remedy, and some another; whereof I shall haue occasion to say more heereafter.

Plutarch in his Treatise intituled, whether an olde man should deale with matters of State.

Prouer. 15, 22 Many Councellors necessary for Princes.

Therfore, I conclude for the present, that a young Statist following the rule and councell of *Tobias*, that is to say, fixing his heart and hopes vpon Almightie God, adding the continual vse of deuout and feruent Prayer, to humaine councel and diligence; and ioyning thereby, *The Wisedome of the Serpent, with the simplicity of the Doue*, Piety with Pollicy, guiftes of Grace, with ability of Nature; and finally, the Wisedome of God, with the Prudence of Man, shall deliberate and worke in all occasions, no lesse happilye then wisely. And this shall suffice for the third rule.

The conclusion concerning the concurrence of deuoute praiers and humane councell. Mat. 10, 16.

Fourthly, it importeth greatly, that after mature consultation of any matter of State, and serious re-commendation thereof, to Almighty God, no time of action be fore-slowed with needlesse delayes, after the matter determined. For time may so alter the state of any affaire, be it neuer so well and wiselie resolued: that the opportunity of execution may be vtterly lost, and the businesse it selfe withall: And therefore, the common Prouerbe aduiseth, *To strike vvhile the Iron is hot.* For the Poet could say, *Nocuit differre paratis, Delay is alwayes hartfull, to those who are ready to execute.* But especially in matters, wherein there is any competence of enemies, who euer watch diligently to take all opportunities: and do often helpe themselues very greatly, by the negligence and delayes of their aduersaries.

Time not to be fore-slowed or lost.

Lucan. in lib. 1. The danger of needlesse delay.

And although this aduise is necessary in all matters of State, yet is most behouefull and requisit in warlick affairs, wherein we see many times, that speede and diligence is more important, then great force. For speed being commonly accom-

Speedy execution is most necessary in matters of Warre.

accompanied with sudden terrour and feare: doth open the way to small force, and enable the same to woorke great effects. And therefore *Agathocles*, one of the Tyrants of *Sicily*, hauing but a few Soldiers, and exhorting them vnto the speedie and sudden inuasion of *Carthage*, said: *In repentino metu non modicum victoriæ momentum. Sudden feare will be of no smal moment and importance, for obtaining of the victory*. Which was proued to be true by the euent, and is dailie seene by the experience of surprizes, camisadoes, and all other sudden enterprises of warre.

The force of sudden feare.

Iustin. in lib. 22.

To conclude this aduise, one generall rule is to be held, that to temporize or delay time is neuer good, but in three cases. The first, when matters are not maturely consulted, and well digested: wherein (neuertheless) al due diligence is to be vsed, least time and opportunitie of action, bee lost and spent in consultation.

In what cases delay is necessary.

The first case.

The second case is, when there is som iust and important impediment of the execution. The third, is in cases of extreamitie, which surpasse a mans power and wisedome to helpe; for then the only remedy is to temporize and win time, which produceth many accidents, that could neuer be foreseen or immagined, and discouereth soueraigne remedies, for the most desperate diseases. And therefore *Pericles* was wont to say, *Time is the wisest Councellor that is.* Thus much for the fourth aduise.

The 2. case.

The 3. case.

Plutarch in Pericle.

Time the best Councellour that is.

Fiftly, let euery young Statist consider, and measure his owne ability, to the end, that he do not vndertake anie matter aboue his reach or capacity: for no man (how excellent soeuer he bee) is so perfect, that he excelleth in all thinges. And therefore the Poets faigned, that the Goddes themselues had not al giftes alike; but that some excelled in one, and some in another. And the Apostle saith, that God distributeth his gifts vnto men, diuersly. *Diuidens singulis prout vult. Diuiding them to euery one as pleaseth him*, to the end we may haue need one of another. And this also, common experience teacheth; for some excell in depth of iudgement; others, in sharpenesse of wit; others, in eloquence; others in memory; others, in Science and learning; and of them, some in one kind, and some in another.

A mans owne abilitie well to be weighed

1 Cor. 12, 11.

Now then, it is conuenient for euery one, as well to weigh his owne Talents, and how they sort with the businesse in which he is to be employed. As if he be to perswade, whether hee haue the guift of vtterance and eloquence. If he bee to passe Couenants and Conuentions of Leagues or Marriages; whether he be a Lawyer. And if he be to treat on matters of warre, whether hee be a Soldier, and so in like cases. For otherwise, hee shall prooue, *Asinus ad Liram*, *An Asse at an Harpe*, as the Prouerbe saieth, and not only disgrace himself, and them that sent him: but also, loose his labour and businesse.

A Statist ought to measure the matters he vndertaketh, with his owne ability.

They that erre in this point, are those (commonly) which either haue such an inordinate desire to be medling in great matters, that they care not what they vndertake, so they be doing; or else haue an extraordinary conceit of their owne wit and sufficiency. And therefore, it shall be good for euery one, to moderate in himselfe, as for the first, the desire of dealing; so for a remedy to the later, it shall be secure for any man in my fancy, not to relie wholly vppon his owne opinion, concerning his sufficiency, but partly vpon the iudgement of others, receyuing rather imployment from his Prince, or other superiours, then offering or intruding himselfe thereto, til he haue made some good triall of himselfe. For by that meanes, if the busines speed well, hee shall haue the thankes and honor of it: and if it succeede otherwise, hee shall auoyde a verie great part of the blame.

Who they are commonly that vndertake greater matters, then they can perfourme.

A young Statist should not make himself Iudge of his owne sufficiency.

But if he find, that his superiors know him not so well as he doth himselfe, and yet would employ him in matters, wherin hee hath neither experience nor abilitie, it shal be lesse shame for him to confesse his defect, and either to refuse the Commission, or to craue an associate, furnished with the parts that he wanteth then to accept the charge, and so faile in the performance.

Better for a Statist to acknowledge his owne defect, then to accept a charge which he cannot perfourme.

Moses being commanded by almightie God, to go in Embassage to *Pharaoh* King of Egypt, for the deliuerie of the Children of *Israel*, humbly excused him selfe, as vnfit for such a waighty charge, by reason of the impediment of his speech: for the remedy whereof, God gaue

Exod. 3, 10, 11 12.

gaue him an assistant, to wit; his brother *Aaron*, who being verie eloquent, might speake for them both. Whereby, not onely Subiects, which are to be employed, may learne to consider and acknowledge their owne defectes: but Princes also may learne so to employ their Subiects, that one may haue the partes another wanteth, and supply each one the defects of another.

Instruction both for Princes and Subiects.

Sixtly, it shall not be amisse (in mine opinion) for a young beginner to enter into his first practise, with matters of small importance, and to proceede vnto greater by degrees, as his experience and ability shall growe and encrease. Like vnto the wise Physition, who when hee beginneth to practise, taketh easie cures in hand, and medleth not with inueterat and dangerous diseases, vntill hee hath got both experience and credit. And so woulde I wish a young beginner in matters of State, to flye businesse of great weight and difficulty; and rather to procure at first, some honorable Commission or Embassage of congratulation, or condoling, including some ouerture of an important treaty, rather then to deale in the treatie it selfe, which requireth great practise, Experience, and Wisedome.

A yong Statist ought to begin his practise with small matters.

A yong Statist like to a Phisition.

And, if hee be imployed in any such treaty, I wold wish him to be contented, rather to be a second or an assistant, then chiefe in Commission, and so to growe (for a while) like the Vine or Iuy, by the support of another tree. Or, if his dignity be such, as cannot admit a seconde place; then, to procure (so much as may be) to haue such assistants, as are not only men of sounde iudgement and Wisedome, but also his sincere friends. Such being commonly the emulation and ambition in Courts, that he may otherwise make account, that his owne associates and Companions, will curiously obserue euery little errour of his, and take aduantage thereof for their owne better credits.

A yong Statist compared to the Iuie Tree.

The assistance of wise & sincere friends, most necessary in great imployments.

To which purpose is to be considered that the *Lacedemonians* vsed to choose such to send on their Embassages, as wer eyther publicke, or at least of secret enemies: to the end that one of them might serue as a spie ouer the others actions. And the like may still be vsed, and is (no doubt) many times. And *Phillip de Commines* noteth of *Lewes* the eleuenth King of *France*, that he was woont sometimes when hee sent a great Ambassadour, to giue secret Commission (apart) to some meaner man in his company, vsing the other for a shew, and for matters of complement; or perhaps to the end, that he should beare the greatest part of the embassage charges, as commonly great men do, rather then for the dispatch of important affaires. And the like of both these examples may well be practised by Princes, when they send great Ambassadors, and especially when he that is chief in commission, is raw & vnexpert. And therefore, it shalbe conuenient for such a one, to consider the same, to the end, that hee may the better looke and regard his owne carriage, and procure (as I haue alreadie said before, to haue about him, wise and assured Friendes: least otherwise, his owne assistants, may let him commit some grosse and absurd errors; and so handle the matter, that all the Negotiation. shall turne to their owne Honour, by the discouerie of his imbecility.

The practise of the *Lacedemonians* in great imploying Ambassadeur. *Aristot. in Lib. Polit. 2. Cap. 7.*

Phillip. Com. in Cron du Roy Louis. Cap. 16.

The practise of King *Lewes* 11. of *France*, when he imploied a great Ambassadour.

The danger of associates in Commission, when they are not sincere friends.

And this hee may feare, not onely in his associates and fellowes in Commission, but also in his followers and Seruants: among whom, some one of more spirit and talent then the rest, may seeke to make aduantage of his maisters weakenesse. As chanced to an Ambassador (whom I knew) whose Secretary noting in him some negligence in the dispatch of aduises; when occasion required, preuented commonly his Maisters Letters with his owne. Besides, being imploied by his Maister, to procure aduises and intelligences, he concealed the most important matters from him, and VVrote them himselfe to some principall Councellours, whose good grace hee gayned so farre thereby, that they procured his aduancement at his home return: whereas, the Ambassadour himselfe, was helde altogether vnworthy of further honor and preferment, and liued euer after in disgrace.

The treachery of seruants to be feared in weighty imployments.

Seauenthly, I would aduise a young beginner, not to charge himselfe with many matters at once, as some do; that that cannot endure to see any man employed, but themselues. Whereon it followeth, that some one or two businesses succeeding il (as comonly among many

Many matters not to be vndertaken at once, by a yong Statist.

A yong Statist like to a man of a weak Stomack.

do) they receiue more disgrace thereby, then reputation or thankes for all the rest, though they succeede neuer so well. Therefore, it is wisedome for anie man (especially for such as be Nouices in affayres of State) to take but fewe matters in hand, and to dispatch them well. Like to a man that hath but a weake stomack, who is to take heede, that he neuer ouerlay it with quantitie: nor yet to pester it with diuersitie of meates, because one thing will let and hinder the digestion of another.

An aduertisement to the Fauourites of Princes.

And this I wish to bee considered especially, by such as are the fauourites of Princes, who (manie times) desiring to haue al in their owne hands, do not stick to charge themselues with much more, then they can attend to dispatch in due manner and season, to the exceeding great detriment, as well of perticuler men, as of the State ingenerall. Whereby also, they expose not onely themselues, but their Princes likewise, to such hatred of the Nobilitie and people, that thereon doth follow (manie times) commotions, and rebellions, insomuch, that their Princes are either forced to abandon them to their enemies, or else to perish with them. As to omit forraigne examples, we haue seene by experience in England, in the times of King *Edward* the second, and King *Richard* the second against whom, the Nobilitie and Commons did take Armes, for the hatred they bare to their fauourites, *Pierce Gaueston*, the two *Spencers*, *Robert de la Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and others theyr Adherents: vpon whose persons they discharged their fury, euercising all kind of cruelty on them, except vpon the Earle of *Oxford*, who saued his life by flight into *Holland*, and ended his dayes in banishment. And heereto also may partly bee ascribed, the vnfortunate endes of both those Kinges, who were afterwards deposed, and cruelly and Treacherously murthered.

The danger that the Fauourites of Princes doe incurre by hatred of the people.

Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl.

Secrecy in matters of State, most necessary.

Eightly, nothing is more necessary in handling matters of State, then Secrecy, I meane matters intended and consulted, before they come to execution: for, they are like to a Mine, which hauing any vent, is wholly frustrate, and of no effect. Therefore, *Peter* King of *Arragon*, being demanded of Pope *Martine* the fourth, what hee meant to do with the great Fleete, wherewith hee afterward recouerd *Sicily* from the *French*, made this aunswere vnto him: *That if he thought his Shirt did know it, hee would burne it.*

A generall rule to bee held concerning Secrecy.

But, because I am to speake of this point of Secrecie heereafter, I wil heere onely giue a generall rule to bee helde and practised by young Statistes: which is, not to communicate anie important matter of State, to any man whatsoeuer; except he is to be imployed, or his councell to bee vsed therein. For, whosoeuer fayleth in this point, is not fit to handle any matter of importance, nor shall euer haue credit with Princes, who esteeme nothing more in their Seruants, then Secrecy. Insomuch, that a Prince in these dayes (whom for some respects I forbeare to name) caused a faithfull seruant of his (whom he also loued dearly) to be killed, for feare he should reueale a secret, which (by chaunce) hee came to know: whereby we may perceiue, howe dangerous a thing it is, to bee pertakers of Princes secrets. And therefore, *Philippides* the Comedian, beingwilled by king *Lysimachus* to aske some fauour of him, beseeched him to doo him what fauour else he pleased, so that he imparted none of his secrets vnto him. And thus much for this point.

Princes esteeme nothing more in their seruants then Secrecy.

Dangerous to be pertakers of Princes Secrets.

Plutarch in his Treatise of talking too much.

Ninthly, a young Statist is to haue especiall care, to auoyde all kinde of vnlawfull employments, as to be an Instrument of any wickednesse for his Princes seruice: for, beside the offence to God, (who will assuredly punish the same sooner or later) he may well thinke, that his Prince also will neuer after trust him, howsoeuer hee bee satisfied with the seruice for the present. For, Princes manie times are contented, to take the benefit of a seruice done by euill meanes, and yet (euer after) holde suspected, and hate the enuious and mallicious nature and disposition of him that did it: for, they make vse of such men, no otherwise then as of poyson, onely to serue theyr turne, though they detest the malignitie of it. And therefore, *Augustus Cæsar* was woont to say, *I loue the Treason, but I hate the Traytor.* And allwise Princes hold it for a rule, that where there is no bridle of Conscience, and feare of God, there is no fidelity towardes man to bee expected.

Vnlawfull imployments by Prinees to be auoyded.

Plutarch in his Apotheg. of Kings and Captaines.

Princes loue the Treason but hate the Traitor.

We

He that is false to God, will not be true to man.

We read, that *Constantius Cæsar*, father vnto the Emperour *Constantine* the Great, hauing commanded, that al such christians as would not adore his Gods, should depart from his seruice: did (neuertheleſſe banish all those that denyed their Faith, and retained the others in his seruice and fauour. Whereof hee gaue this reason: *That those who had so little Conscience as to bee false vnto their GOD, could not be true to him.* And *Henrie* the fift, King of *England*, presently after his Fathers death, banished from the court all such as had beene Councellours, Instruments, or Companions of his ryots before, perswading himselfe, that they were not to bee trusted about his person. And so it commonly falleth out, when Princes are wise, and enter into due consideration of themselues, and of their consciences.

Polidorus Virgil. in Henry. 5.

When Princes are wise and learne to know themselues.

But such other Princes, as giue themselues ouer vnto detestable Vices and sinnes, and maketh no Conscience of anie thing, do not onely disauowe theyr owne Commissions, after that some Wicked acte is committed by their order: but also vse to picke quarrelles, or to take verie small occasions, whereby to make away the Instruments of their owne Wickednesse, eyther to rid themselues of the suspition, reproach, or infamy thereof, or for the iealousie which they haue of the maligne Natures of their Instruments; or for feare they may discouer their practises if they liue; or sometimes for some other respects, God so disposing (by his most iust Iudgements) to make them onely serue for the Executors of his Iustice vppon those, who preferred their owne seruice before his.

Princes sometimes disauow their commissions after the fact.

Gods iustice vpon euill instruments.

So did *Alexander* the Great at his fathers Obsequies, commaund publicke Iustice to be done vppon those, whom hee himselfe had secretly employed for to kil him. So did *Tiberius* the Emperour, disauow his Commission giuen vnto a Soldiour, to kill *Agrippa*, telling him, that hee should aunswere the matter before the Senate: As hee did also put to death *Scianus* his great fauourite, and Instrument of much mischiefe. And in the like sorte, dealt *Cæsar Borgia* with a fauourite of his. And so also haue some in these our dayes, by diuers and sundrie deuises, beene made awaie in many

Iustin. in lib. 12.

Cornel. Tacitus. in Lib. 1. Annal.

seuerall Courtes and Countreyes, when they had serued the appetites of some great personages, whome (for iust respects) I will heere forbeare to Name. Which may serue for an aduertisement and warning vnto all men, to take heed how they suffer themselues to be imploied by any man, in matters which are vnlawfull and offensiue vnto GOD, *Et fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum; Happie is hee, who can take heede by other mens harmes.*

Happy is he that taketh heed by another mans harmes.

The tenth aduise which I giue vnto a young Statist, is, that if his Prince doo him the honour, to make him of his Councell, to consider well, what is the dutie of a Councellour, to which purpose, I will also set downe some Rules. Wherein neuertheleſſe, I meane not to frame an exact Councellour, as *Cicero* did an Orator, and *Xenophon* a Prince, and *Castiglione* a Courtier; neyther yet do I take vppon me, to aduise old Councellours, whose experience must needes surpasse mine. But onely to giue some aduertisements, vnto such as haue not anie great experience or practise in matters of State. And forasmuch, as it requireth some larger discourse, then were fit and conuenient to prosecute in this Chapter, it shall serue for the subiect of the next.

Of the dutie of a Councellor, more at large to bee handled in the following Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Other Generall Rules for a young Statist, aduanced by his Princes fauour to bee of his Councell. What hee is to consider in himselfe, in his Prince, and in the matters that are to bee consulted. And first, concerning the Councellour himselfe.

THE poyntes which (in my fancy) are principally to be considered by a young Councellor, though they might be diuided

The points that are to be considered in a yong Councellor, reduced to three heads.

into manie members, yet may be well reduced to three heads. The first, concerning himselfe; the second, concerning his Prince, and the third, touching the matters that are to be consulted. Of all which I will say somwhat, with such perspicuity and breuity that conueniently I may.

Eight points to be considered in the Councellor himselfe.

A Councellor ought to be truely vertuous and Religious.

As for that which toucheth himselfe, he is to regard chiefely eight points. The first, that he procure by all good means, not onelie to haue the reputation of vertue and religion: but also to be (indeed) truely vertuous and Religious, for two causes. The first, to obtain thereby the assistance of Gods grace, which howe necessarie it is, for the illumination of mans vnderstanding: appeareth in our former Chapter of true Wisedome, Prudence, and Pollicie, to bee the especiall guiftes and graces of Almightie GOD, and no otherwaies to bee obtayned, but by the obseruation of his commandements.

God doth assist and illuminate good men in matters of Councell.

Numb. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, &c.

The other cause, why it behoueth a Councellour to bee truely Religious and Vertuous, is, for that such is the force of Vertue, that it giueth credite to the possessors thereof, and dooth make them more easily to bee beleeued: and their councell the better accepted. And therefore we see, that all men of discretion and iudgement, do demaund Councell rather of those that are reputed wise and vertuous, then of wicked men, who onely haue a reputation of Wisedome. For, as Saint *Ambrose* sayeth; *Where Wisedome and Vertue are conioyned, Magna erit consiliorum salubritas, There is all good and vvholesome councell to bee had. And all men* (saith he) *are willing to heare the wise and vertuous man, as well for the admiration of his wisedome, as for the loue of his vertue.* In which respect also he saith, that men addresse themselus commonly for Councell, to those who are more vertuous then themselues. *For no man* (saith he) *hath reason to thinke him who is inferiour vnto himselfe in manners, to bee his superiour in Wisedome and councell.*

Vertue giueth reputation to the possessors thereof.

Ambros. de Offic. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Where vertue and wisedom concurre all good councell is to be expected.

Ambros. Ibid.

Furthermore, such is the dignitie and authoritie of Vertue, that euill men bear a reuerend respect thereto, and stand (as it were) in awe of good men. Whereof we haue an example in *Herod*, who although he held Saint *Iohn* Baptist in prison, and would not followe his councell in the matter of his Diuorce: yet, for the reuerence which hee bare vnto his Vertue, hee consulted many other thinges with him, and followed his aduice therein. And, as the Holye Scripture sayth also, *Metuebat eum*, *Hee feared him.*

The dignity of vertue is such, that euil men beare respect thereto.

Marke. 6. 20.

And no doubt but wise and Vertuous Princes, much more esteeme and respect the councell of wise men that are vertuous; then of others, of equall wit and iudgement, that are vicious and wicked; knowing that, as *Salomon* sayth, *Consilia impiorum fraudulenta, The Councelles of the wicked are fraudulent.* And that hee who hath no care of his Conscience, and dutie towardes God, will haue no lesse care of his dutie towardes men.

Prouer. 12, 19. The counsell of wicked men is euermore fradulent.

The second point, is, that hee also giue satisfaction vnto the worlde of his wisedome, by the good and wise gouernment of his family. For no wise Prince can thinke him a fitte man to Councell him, or to gouerne vnder him, that cannot gouerne himselfe and his owne Family. And therefore, *Basilius* the Emperour aduised his Sonne, to choose those for his Councellours, who hadde giuen proofe and experience of theyr Wisedome, in the good conducte and direction of theyr owne priuate affayres.

A Councellor ought to haue great regard to the gouernment of his Family, and priuate affayres.

Ambros. in Lib 2. de Offic. Cap. 112.

Whereuppon also, Saint *Ambrose* sayeth, *An idoneum putabo, qui mihi & consilium, qui non dat sibi? Can I thinke him fit to councel me, that cannot Councell himselfe?* For, hee that is a Foole in his owne businesse, can neuer bee wise in the businesse of other men. And therfore Saint *Paule* declaring the dutie of a Byshop, requireth, that hee bee such a one, as gouerneth well his owne family. For, *Si quis* (saith he) *domui suæ præesse nescit, quomodo Ecclesia Dei diligentiam habebit. If a man cannot gouerne his owne house, how shal hee gouerne the Church of God.*

No man fit to counsell another, that cannot counsell himselfe. 1 Tim. 3, 4, 5.

The third point is, that in all his speeches and Conference with his Prince, hee vse all sincerity, trueth, and playnesse, without Flatterie. For, although the common Prouerbe say; *Obsequium amicos, Veritas odium parit, Flattery gayneth*

A Councellor ought to auoide all flattery *Terent. in Andr.*

neth friendes, and Truth hatred: yet, as there is nothing more pernitious to Princes thē flattery; so (by consequent) there is nothing more vnfit to bee vsed of Councellors. Whose office is, and especiall care should bee, to vndeceiue their Prince in all things, wherein he is any way deceiued, and to labour therein so much the more, by how much the lesse other men do it. Seeing one of the greatest infelicities of Princes, is, that all, or most Men flatter and sooth them in all things, and few or none dare deale sincerely or plainely with them. In which respect *Seneca* saith; *Quid omnia possidentibus deest? Ille qui verum dicat. What wants he that hath all? A Man to tell him the truth*. Which therefore the faithfull Councellour should doe, for otherwise, the Prince shall liue in continuall errour and ignorance of his owne Estate, and especiallie of his imperfections, yea, and in great perrill of ruine. For, as *Quintus Curtius* saith. *Regum opes, &c. The States of Princes are oftener ouerthrowne by flattery, then by force.*

Princes that haue all, want one to tell them the truth.

Flattery the ruine of Princes States. *Quint. Curtius. in Lib.* 8.

Neuertheless, if the Councellour haue occasion to admonish his Prince, in any error or fault of his: he ought to doe it with great discreation and moderation. Vsing (as *Parisatis*, Mother to *Cyrus*, was wont to say) words of Silke; and launcing the sore (like a good Chirurgion) with such dexteritie: that hee may cure it, and not exasperate his Prince, and make him lesse capable of his good councell. Those that offend in this kind, are commonly such, as presume ouer-much, either on their owne wits and power; or on their Princes weakenesse; or on his ouer-great fauour and familiarity; or on the neede that he hath of them: or else perhaps, are of nature seuere, insolent, and passionate, for such sometimes doe forget themselues, yea, and take a pride in contradicting or admonishing their Princes, with lesse duty and respect, then were conuenient.

How a Councellor ought to admonish his Prince of his error. *Plutarch* in his Treatise of Flattery.

Who they are that commonly ouer-shoot themselues in admonishing or contradicting their Princes.

Such a one was *Calisthenes*, of whom *Arrianus* Writeth, that he made himselfe odious to *Alexander* the Great: *Tum ob intempestiuam liberatem, tum ob superbam stultitiam: Both for his vnseasonable libertie of speech, as also for his proud follie.*

Arrian. in Lib. 8. *de rebus Alexand.* Vnseasonable liberty of speech odious to Princes

Such a one also was a Philosopher, that liued in the Court of *Dionysius* the elder, a Tyrant of *Sicilie*. For, whereas the Tyrant (being delighted with his own Poems) was wont to impart them publiquely to certaine Philosophers, which liued in his Court, to haue their opinions: there was one among the rest, who could not flatter, nor endure the vanitie of the Tyrants humour; but told him plainely, that his Verses were nothing worth, and that it was a shame to beare them. Where-with the Tyrant was so offended, that he commanded his Guard to take him presentlie away, and to carry him to the Mines, to worke there among other condemned persons.

Plutarch.

A pleasant example of a rude Philosopher, and the Tyrant *Dionisius* of *Sicily*.

Afterward, the same Philosopher being released, & returned to the Court, at the suite of his Friends: it chanced, that the Tyrant caused a certaine Poeme of his owne, to bee read againe in the presence of him, and all the other Philosophers, commaunding them to speake their opinions thereof. All the rest extolled the worke to the Skies; some praysing the inuention, and others the vaine and grace of the Verse, euery one striuing who should commend them most: vntill it came to the turne of this Philospher, who, in stead of giuing his censure, called suddenlie to the Guards of the Tyrant, saying; *Come Maisters, carry me away to the Mines, for I cannot endure this extreame folly*. The Tyrant being (as it chanced) in a good humour, tooke it not ill: but was content to put it off to a iest, and laughed well at it.

A bold, plaine and resolute Philosopher.

But this Philosopher seeking to auoyd *Silla*, fell into *Charibdis*, for, by flying base flattery, he fell into another extremity, to wit, impudent insolency, which is no lesse vnfit and absurd for Councellors: who are to imitate the discreet & prudent modesty of *Hæphestion*, Councellor to *Alexander* the Great. For, although he alwaies admonished *Alexander* discreetly and freely, as occasion serued: yet he euer did it in such sort, that it seemed rather to be *Alexanders* will and pleasure he should so do, then that hee challenged any such right to himselfe.

The discreete modesty of *Hæphestion* Councellor to *Alexander*. *Quint. Curtius. de reb. gestis Alexand.*

The like stile ought a Councellour to vse, in contradicting or admonishing his

In what manner Princes are to be spoken too and admonished.

Prince, obseruing exactly his disposition and humor, because no man is alwayes disposed alike, either to receiue contradiction, or to heare of his faults, especially in the presence of others. And therefore, fit time and place is alwayes to bee chosen for that purpose, and some plausible preamble to be vsed of the Princes praises, for some good parts of his: which (in such case) is no flattery, but a spurre to Vertue, and may serue for a preparatiue to the pill of admonition, which hee meaneth to giue him. So that hee deliuer it in so good tearmes, and with such dutifull respect, that the Prince may perceiue, it proceedeth not of pasion, or of a spirit of contradiction, or of audacious insolencie, or of contempt (al which are to Princes most odious, but of intyre loue and affection, for so will hee (if hee be wise) take the admonition in good part, and say with *Salomon*, *A wound at a Friends hand, is better then the Kisse of an enemy.*

All speech proceeding of passion, insolency, or contempt, are odious to Princes.

A wound at a friends hand better then the kisse of an enemy. Prouer. 27. 6.

To conclude, a Counsellor may hold this rule, to speake alwayes in this manner freely vnto the Prince himselfe, although it be of his errours, but neuer to others of him, otherwise then in his honour and commendation. And though the Prince bee neuer a whit the better, for the admonition, yet it may suffice his Councellor, to haue done his dutie, and not to be pertaker of his Princes faultes, as otherwise he should be, if he shoulde not (in all dutifull maner) aduise and admonish him, as occasion should require. And therefore, though he should feare to incurre his displeasure for his plainnesse, yet he ought to discharge his conscience, and to say as *Themistocles* did to *Eurybyades*, who took vp a staffe to strike him from his free speech: *Strike mee so, that you heare me heereafter.*

How a Councellour ought to speake to his Prince, and of his Prince.

Councellours by conuiuency, are pertakers of their Princes faults.

Plutarh in Themistoc.

Finally, a Councellor should not expect, that his Prince should alwayes follow his aduise, nor afflict himselfe much if he do not. For, though Princes giue vnto their Councellors great libertie, to say what they will: yet they do reserue a greater to themselues, that is to do what they list. And thus much for the third part.

A Councellour ought to be constant in his opinions.

The fourth point that a Councellour is to consider in himselfe, is, that it behoueth him to be graue and constant in his opinions, for lenity and inconstancie is a most euident signe of folly. And to this end, it shall be necessarie for him, maturely to deliberate, and fully to consider the matter propounded, before hee deliuer his opinion. For, as *Seneca* saith, *Sunt duo contraria consilio, festinatio et ira, Two thinges are contrarie to Councell, Hast, and Anger.* And againe, *Deliberandum est diu* (saith he) *quod statuendum est semel. The thing that is once to be determined, is to be deliberated by leysure.* And to the same purpose *Aristotle* saith, *That a Wiseman ought to councel slowly, and to execute speedily.* Therefore, he excludeth verie young men from councell in matters of State. *For that* (saith he) *their naturall heate maketh them ouer-hastie and headlong, in giuing their opinions.* Besides, by reason of their want of experience, there doth not occure vnto them many reasons or difficulties to be considered: in which respect, they resolue easily and speedily, and with lesse iudgement. Whereas ancient men, both by reason of their colder humour, and also of their greater experience (which ministreth vnto them more matter of discourse, and more doubts to be resolued) do determine slowly, and with far more iudgement. So that speedy resolutions, are arguments of weakenesse of witte, or want of iudgement; and therefore, to bee shunned of all Councellors, as one farre more proper vnto Women: whose Councell (men commonly say) is neuer to bee taken, but vppon a suddaine, whereof I shall declare the reason heereafter.

Lenity and inconstancy, an euident signe of folly.

Seneca in Prouerbijs. Ibidem. Arist. in Ethic. Lib. 6.

Why young men are not fit to giue councell.

Why old men resolue slowly and maturely

Weomens councell to be taken on the sudden.

The fifte point, is, to auoyde the other extreamitie opposite to lenitie, to wit; Obstinacie and Wilfulnesse, which is no lesse vnfit for a Wise Councellour, then the other. For, obstinancie is euermore accompanied with contempte of others mens Opinions, and contention, and is therefore a verie great Enemie vnto Resolution, which can neuer bee taken, where Obstinate and Contentious men, do meete together in a Councell.

Obstinacy in opinion vnfit for Councellours.

This Defect, proceedeth commonlie, either thorough great Pride and Presumption of a mans owne witte, or else, of a false conceite, that manie men haue, that it is a shame for a Wise man to chaunge his opinion, which is farre otherwise. For althogh a wise man ought not

From whence obstinacy in opinion proceedeth.

Folly for a wise man not to change his opinion, when there is iust cause.

not to doe it lightly, and without great reason; yet, when there is sufficient cause, it were great shame and folly not to do it. And therfore *Seneca* the *Stoick*, who, according to the opinion of those of his Sect, held; *That a wise man neuer changeth his opinion*: expoundeth it in such sort, that he includeth in the opinion of a Wise Man, a necessary exception, to wit; if nothing happen that may alter the case. And therefore hee also saith, that, *It is the property of fooles, to assure themselues (ouer-much) of their counsels and determinations. And that a wise Man knoweth, what sway errour beareth in the affaires of Men; How vncertain all humaine things are; And how many accidents hinder good and wise designements.* Whereupon he concludeth; *That it is no shame for wise men to alter their opinions when occasion requireth.* And *Plato* compareth a wise man to a good Gamester, *Who doth accommodate his play to the chances of the Dice. And so* (saith he) *should a wise Man accommodate his counsels and course of life to the occasions, which changing and varying with the time, doe often require new deliberation.*

Seneca in lib. 4. de Benefi. Cap. 34.

A necessary exception to be vnderstood in the opinion of a wise man. Idem. Ibid.

Plato in Lib. 10. de Rep. Cap. 9.

A wise man compared to a good Gamester by *Plato*.

Neuertheless, it is heerein to be considered, that this change (with the occasions) is conuenient only, when the occasions change the fundamentall and chiefe reason of the first resolution. For whereas in all matters of councell many reasons may concurre to one end, whereof some may be more important then other, and some one (perhaps) the ground and foundation of the rest: it falleth out other-whiles, that chaunge of times and variety of occasions, doe alter some considerations and circumstances, and not the grounds and fundamentall reasons of the matter, in which case, the resolution is not to bee changed. For otherwise, men should be like Weather-cockes, which change with euery winde: seeing time alwaies produceth some new difficulties, and changeth some part of the reasons in all matters, that require any long time for the execution. Whereupon, there may follow some alteration of circumstance in the designement; though the resolution may stand good for the principall.

In what case a wise man may change his opinion.

While the chiefe and fundamentall reasons of the designement doe stand good, the councell is not to be changed.

Time alwaies affordeth new difficulties.

Wherefore, it were great temeritie and lenity in any Man, to condemne other mens councels, because some of the Motiues that induced them thereto, haue failed, or because the successe hath not (in the beginning) answered their expectations. As may appeare by the wise *Phocion* of *Athens* who hauing disswaded the *Athenians*, from a certain enterprise which succeeded well, and beeing reproached therewith by some of his Aduersaries, said: *I am right glad of the good successe, yet nothing repenteth me of mine opinion.* This he said, partly, because he fore-saw a bad sequell of their good beginning (as after it fel out) and partly, because a wise man dischargeth his part and duty, if his councell be wel grounded vpon good and sound reasons, although the successe bee not so good as he expected. Considering, that the euent of all mens councels is onely in the hands of God, and cannot assuredly be fore-seene; but much lesse warranted by the wisedome of Man.

A Councell not to be condemned, because some of the motiues haue failed.

Plutarch in Timoleon, et in Phocio.

A good beginning hath many times a bad sequell.

To conclude this point, a Wise man ought alwaies so to ground his opinions and councels vpon reason, conscience, and Iustice: that whatsoeuer succeedeth, he shall haue no iust cause to repent or retract the same. And therefore *Aristides*, hauing said to *Dionysius* the Tyrant (who demaunded one of his Daughters in marriage) *That he had rather see her burned, then married to a Tyrant:* would neuer retract or recall his words againe, although it did cost him the life of his Sonne. For, when the Tyrant had slaine his Sonne, and asked him, whether he was still of the same minde, concerning the marriage of his Daughter? He answered. *Although I am sorry for that which hath happened to my Sonne; yet I doe not repent me of that which I haue said.* Which constancy of *Aristides*, *Plutarch* greatly commendeth: *As proceeding* (saith he) *of a notable and compleat vertue.* And thus much for this fift point.

Councelles grounded vpon reason, conscience, and Iustice, neuer to be repented.

Plutarch in Timoleon.

The constancy of *Aristides*.

The sixt point necessary in a Councellour, is Secrecy, whereof I haue said somewhat before, and heere adde: That Councellours must vnderstand, that their mouths are sealed vp by their Princes, as *Hephestions* mouth was by *Alexander* the Great, who hauing shewn him a secret Letter, said nothing else to him, but tooke off his sealing Ring, and put it to his lippes. This (I say)

Secrecy most requisite in a Councellor.

Plutarch. in Alexandrio.

say) a young Councellour must vnderstand, to passe betweene his Prince and him, when his Prince doth him the honour, to make him of his Councell, or to treat with him of matters of State. Whereof secrecy is (as *Valerius Maximus* saith.) *Optimum & tutissimum vinculum, The best and surest bond.* And therefore it was so much esteemed among the *Persians*, that they honoured *Silence* for a God. And such was the care and respect that the *Romaines* had thereto, that when King *Eumenes* came into the Senate, to demaund assistance against King *Perseus*: it was neuer vnderstood, (as *Liuie* witnesseth) either what he said, or what any answered, vntill the warre (which the *Romans* made at his request) was ended. Such being the secrecie of the Romaine Senatours (though verie many in number) that, as *Valerius* saith, it seemed, that *Not so much as one Man heard, that which was committed to the eares of so many.*

Secrecy the best and surest bond of matters of State. *Valer. Max. in Lib. 2. Cap. 2.*

The *Persians* honoured Silence as a God. *Amian. Marcellin. in Lib. 21.*

Tit. Liuius. in Lib. 42.

The admirable secresie of the Romaine Senate. *Valer. Max. in Lib. 2. Cap. 2.*

Neuertheless, great discretion is to be vsed herein: for a Man may as wel be ouer-secret in some cases, as too open. I haue noted sometimes, that some great Princes and Councellors, for fear of discouering their designements, haue either for-borne to take sufficient information and enstruction, of such as could best informe them, and might haue beene trusted, whereby they haue gone blindly to work: or else they haue sought to inform themselues in clouds, by such darke and obscure questions, that they haue beene falsly and ill informed. For the parties with whom they conferred, making a false coniecture of their drift, and answering them according to their owne sense (far otherwise then they would haue done, if they had knowne their meaning) haue abused them against their wils.

Some men are ouer-secret, and some too open.

The danger of taking information by obscure questions.

Again, some there are, who intending to be very secret, play, as a man may say, wily beguile themselues. I knew a Councellor, who being commaunded by his Prince, to giue him his opinion in a matter of exceeding great importance and secrecy: thought to informe himselfe of some circumstances so cunningly, that his meaning should not bee so much as guessed at. But the party with whom he treated, being of an excellent iudgment, presently vnderstood it, and though he answered him to his great satisfaction: yet, not thinking himselfe any way bound to secrecy (because the Councellor neither had taken his oath, nor his word, nor had shewne any confidence in him for that matter) wrote it to a great personage, with whom he had correspondence, by which meanes, it was (within a month) so publike, that it came into the *Gazetta* of *Rome*, & from thence was published throughout Christendome, as the Councellour himselfe hath sithence told me. So that, in seeking information by Riddles, & obscure questions, two inconueniences may be feared: the one, to receiue a false information; and the other, to discouer the designement against a mans will.

Some intending to be secret, do thereby discouer their secrets.

An example to very good purpose in this case.

Information by Riddles.

Therefore, to preuent these inconueniences, that when information must needs be taken (as in some cases it is absolutely necessary, especially for enterprises to be made in forraign countries, vnknowne to him who would lay the plot) it shall be conuenient, if a sufficient enformer may bee found, who is knowne to be of sincere conscience: to deale plainly with him, & to shew confidence in him, taking (neuertheless) his oath for secrecy, to binde him the more, and to vse other meanes of courtesie and benefits to oblige him; yet to do this with the leaue of the Prince, for the Councellors better discharge. But when such a confident and sincere enformer cannot bee had; my opinion is, that although it shall be good, to vse all possible meanes, to vnderstand what may be learned, without discouering the intention: yet neuertheless, no great foundation is to be made of an information taken by such a meanes, except it be of a matter of fact, wherein, no man (that knoweth the truth) can falsly enforme, except he will wilfullie lye. For, in matters of discourse, depending vpon the iudgement of the enformer, be hee neuer so wise: small reckoning is to be made, whē he doth not fully vnderstand the intention of the propounder. Thus much concerning the sixt point.

How informations are to be taken in important matters.

When a confident informer is not to be found.

An information little to be esteemed, when the Informer doth not fully vnderstand the drift of the propounder.

The seauenth point, which a Councellor should consider in himselfe, is, that in the deliberation of all matters whatsoeuer: he be cleare and free from all passion and perticuler affection, that is

A Councellour ought to be free from passion and perticuler affection.

is to say, from all respects, eyther of loue, hatred, or enuy to any. And this I say, for wise Princes are wont, exactly to obserue the humours and dispositions of their Councellors, & to make small account of the aduise or persons of such, as they finde to be subiect to any of the foresaid imperfections. And with very great reason, for, as *Salust* saith. *Non facile animus, &c. The minde doth not easily see the truth, where passion and affection beareth sway.* Beside, passion not only blindeth the vnderstanding of Man, but also dooth so corrupt his will: that although he see the truth, yet he will not embrace it. Which *Iustine* obserued very well in King *Antiochus*, for, when *Hannibal* had councelled him to inuade *Italie*: his Councell (saith *Iustine*) was reiected, partly, because the chiefe Councellors and Fauourites of *Antiochus* feared, that if it were admitted, *Hannibal* might grow in more credite and fauour with *Antiochus*, then they; and partly, because *Antiochus* himselfe doubted, least his owne glorie might (in some part) be obscured, if he should be thought to doe any thing by *Hannibals* aduise. So pestilent is the passion of enuy and emulation; that it maketh a Man (sometimes) Enemie to his owne good, no lesse then of the publique.

Salust. in Catelin. Passion and affection doe blinde the iudgement.

Iustin. in lib. 19.

Enuy maketh a man sometimes enemy to his owne good.

Therefore *Aristides* of *Athens*, being sent Ambassadour with *Themistocles*, who was his Enemy, willed him at their departure out of the Cittie: that they might leaue all their emulations behinde them at the Gates, least their priuate passions might hinder the publique good of the Common-wealth. And so in like manner, all Councellors that haue any perticular quarrels, or disgusts among themselues: should leaue them at the Councell Chamber doore, when they enter in. And the like may also be said, of the respects of priuate friendship, or of other mens greatnesse and fauour with the Prince: which respects are (many times) no lesse hurtfull in Councels, then Enuie or Hatred. For they make men conceale their owne iudgements, because they will not disgust some Friend or great Man, that holdeth a contrary opinion. In so much, that it falleth out many times, that some fauourite of the Prince, hauing once vttered his conceit, albeit none of the wisest: carryeth after him all the rest without contradiction, and so the best opinions are either concealed, or not so well debated as were conuenient.

Plutorch in his *Apotheg* of Kings and Princes.

Councellors should leaue their quarrels at the Councell-Chamber doore.

Respects of other mens greatnesse pernitious in Councels.

For the preuention and remedy of this inconuenience, the wise *Cosmo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, and *Phillip* the second, last King of *Spaine*, vsed to propound their most important matters to their Councellors, first by Writing, commaunding them: to set down their opinions also in Writing, with their reasons, and not to communicate the same with any other. Afterward, if they thought it needfull, they assembled them in their presence, to heare them debate and defend their owne opinions; which proceeding (in my fancy) was very prudent. For so, euery Councellour gaue his opinion freely, without passion, or respect to any other & (for his owne honour and reputation) defended it so far as reason would beare him, whereby, matters were thorowlie debated and discussed.

A prudent practise of the wise *Cosmo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, & of *Phillip* the second, last king of *Spaine*.

The freedom of euery Councellors opinion to be giuen

To conclude this point, Councellors must say of all perticuler respects, as *Popilius* the *Romaine* (being sent Ambassadour to King *Antiochus*, his old friend) saide vnto him, of their former amity: *Facessat priuata amicitia, &c. Farewell priuate friendship, when publique matters are in hand.* This (I say) should Councellors, when they come to the Councell-Table, both say and practise, laying aside all priuate and perticular respects, eyther to one or other, or vnto themselues. As hauing nothing else befor their eyes, in all their deliberations: but the publique good; to wit, the the seruice of God, their Prince, and their Countrey.

Iustin. in lib 24. Priuate friendship not to be respected, when publike matters are in hand.

What Councellors ought to haue alwayes before their eyes.

The eight and last point, which I would wish a young Councellour to consider, concerning himselfe, is: the daunger of punishment, both humane and Diuine, which he shall incurre, if he seduce or corrupt his Prince by euill Councell. Because the Prince himselfe, if euer he haue the grace to see his own errour: cannot but hate and detest the Authour and Councellour thereof. As did King *Henrie* the fift, who repenting the riotous course of his youth: banished from the Court, all those which had

The dangers that Councellors incurre, by giuing euill councell to their Princes.

Euill Councellors hateful sometimes to their Princes.

had misled and seduced him, as I haue partly noted before. And though he escape the disgrace and punishment of his Prince: yet he may iustly feare the hatred of the people, and his owne destruction to ensue thereof, as I haue also signified before (vpon another occasion) in *Pierce Gaueſtone*, the *Spencers*, and other Councellours of King *Edward* the second, and King *Richard* the second.

Polid. Virgil. and Iohn. Stowe in Hen. 5.

To whom I may adde *Emſon* and *Dudley*, put to death by King *Henry* the eight, in the beginning of his raigne, to satisfie the importunity of the people: who demaunded Iustice against them, for the euill councell they had giuen to King *Henrie* the seauenth, in matters of exactions, impositions, and pecuniarie penalties.

Euill Councellors hatefull to the people, and punished by them. *Io. Stowe. in Henry. 8.*

And *Plutarch* also noteth, that the Councellours and Fauourites of *Apollodorus*, *Phalaris*, *Dionyſius*, *Nero*, and other Tyrants, were racked, flayed, burned, and other-wise most cruelly tormented by the people. *And iustlie* (saith he) *for that he which corrupteth or ſeduceth a Prince, deſerueth no leſſe to bee abhorred of all Men: then one that ſhould poyſon a publique Fountaine, whereof all Men muſt drinke.* Seeing, that vppon the Princes example and authority, dependeth on the good or euill estate of all his Subiects. And therefore, hee which misleadeth the Prince, doth notable iniurie to the Common-wealth: and oweth the penaltie thereof, as well to the people, as to the Prince himselfe. In which respect, *Plutarch* also noteth of *Tigellinus*, a wicked Councellour and Corrupter of *Nero*, that the people (after the death of *Nero*) made continuall instance for his punishment: as for publique debt due to the Common-wealth, which at length they obtained of *Otho*, Successour to *Galba*.

Plutarch in his Treatiſe that Philoſophers ſhould conuerſe with Princes.

The wicked Councellors of diuers Tyrants notably punnished.

A wicked Councellor like to one that poyſoneth a publique Fountaine.

Plutarch in Otho.

The punishment of a wicked Councellor, is a debt due to the Common-wealth.

But though neither the Prince nor the people, doe exact this debt of a wicked Councellour: yet hee shall be sure to pay it eternally to Almighty God, if he respect not, and satisfie his Iustice otherwise. For, if *Not onely they which doe euill, are worthy of death* (as the Apostle saith) *but alſo thoſe, Qui conſentiunt facientibus, which conſent thereto:* much more guiltie are the Councellors of euill, who are either the principall Authours thereof, if they inuent it; or abettors and associates in the highest degree, if they approue and ratifie it. And therefore, how hatefull such are to Almighty God, it appeareth by the examples of *Achitophell* and *Haman*, the one Councellour to *Abſolon*, and the other to *Ahaſuerus*, whose wicked councels God did not onely *Fruſtrate* and *Infatuate*, as the Scripture speaketh: but also punnish most exemplarely in this life, making the one of them his Instrument, to execute Iustice vpon himselfe, and turning the wicked councell of the other, to his owne destruction. Also the like may bee obserued in Gods iust punishment, vpon Cardinall *Wolſey*, and some other Councellours of latter times.

2 Sam. 7, 23. Hester. 7, 10.

Haman and *Achitophell* punished by Almighty God in this life for their wicked councell.

And *Phillip de Commines* seriously noteth, how a Councellor vnto the Duke of *Bourgundie*, called *Monſieur Contay*, hauing giuen cruell Councell vnto the Duke (to put to death certaine Hostages of *Liege*) liued not long after. Which some (who were present, and heard him) did in a manner prognosticate, saying; *That they would warrant him, he would not liue a yeare to an end.* Which (saith he) fell out to be true, for he dyed within a short while after. Thus then it appeareth, how true the Latine Prouerbe is: *Conſilium malum conſultori peſſimum, Euill Councell is worſt to the Councellor.* This shall suffice for those points which a young Councellour ought to consider in himselfe.

Phil. Com in Cron du Roy. Louis 11. Ca. 28.

What *Comineus* noateth of a Councellor to the Duke of *Bourgundy*.

Hoſiodus. Euill Councel wurst to the Councellor.

CHAP. VII.

What a Councellour ought to conſider in his Prince: Namely; his Conſcience; his Commodity; and his Reputation.

A Councellor is to consider in his Prince, (principally) three thinges: his Conscience, his Commondity, and his Reputation. Of which three, I place a Commodity in the midst, because it is to bee ballanced and weighed with both the other:

A Councellor is to consider in his Prince, his conscience commodity, and reputation.

other: seeing, nothing can bee truelie commodious, which is not agreeable to both, and no temporall commoditie can recompence the losse of eyther of them.

What the word Conscience signifieth.

And first, to speake of Conscience. The word *Conscience* is diuersly vnderstood, and commonly taken for an Act, consisting in the application of our knowledge to our actions. For that, *Conscientia* is *Scientia cum alio, Knowledge with another thing.* In which sense, Conscience may erre, when we erre in Knowledge, or apply our true Knowledge erroniously to our actions. And therefore I will not treat of Conscience heere in this sense; but onely as it is the first natural habite in the Soule of man, which neuer erreth. And so *Conscience is the surest and highest part of reason, whereby we doe naturally discerne betwixt good and euill, reiecting the euill, and approouing the good.* Whereupon groweth remorse and repentance in our Soules, after an euill act; and contentment, after a good. In which respect, *Origen* saith, that Conscience, is *Rector & pædagogus animæ, &c. The Gouernour and pedagogue of the Soule, whereby it is diuerted from euill, moued to good, admonished, reproued, and chastised.*

Thom. Aquin. 2. P. 24. Q. 2. Ar. Cap. 4.

Idem. 1. P. 79. Q. 79. Ar. 13. in Cor.

The definition of Conscience.

Remorse of Conscience.

Origen. in Lib. 2 in Epist. ad Rom. Cap. 2.

Saint *Basile*, as *Thomas Aquinas* noteth called it *Naturale iudicatorium, The Naturall facultie of iudgement.* Whereof S. *Augustine* speaketh, when he saith, that there are in the Soule of Man, *Certaine infallible rules, true and incommutable lights of vertue*, wherby euery one conceiueth and iudgeth truely, of the generall principles of the office and dutie of Man. S. *Chrisostome*, speaking of Conscience, saith. *Almighty God hath placed it in the Soule of man, as a Iudge, which is euer vigilant, and attentiue to his actions, incorruptible, inexorable, inflexible, and searching into his very cogitations and intentions.* Whereupon it followeth, that after any sinne or offence is committed, a mans owne Conscience iustly iudgeth and condemneth him, without any other Accuser or Witnesse, then himselfe.

S. Basil. apud D. Thom. 1. P. Q. 79. Ar. 13. Ca.

August. in lib. 2. de Lib. arbit. Cap. 10.

Chrisost. To. 2. concio 4. de Lazaro.

Conscience placed in the soule of man as a Iudge of his actions.

Lastly, *Thomas Aquinas* calleth it *Lex naturalis, A naturall Law*, or the Law of Nature, by the light whereof, the verie *Painims* know those thinges which are commaunded by the Law of God, as the Apostle testifieth, saying: *The Gentiles who haue not the Law* (that is to say, the written Law of God) *doe by nature the thinges contained in the Law, they hauing not the Law, are a Law vnto themselues. Which shew the effectes of the Law written in their Hearts, their Conscience also bearing witnes, and their thoughts accusing one another, or excusing, in the day of Iudgement.* Thus saith the Apostle. Whereby it appeareth, that those which liue according to the rule of reason, the Law of God, and the Law of Nature (which are alwaies conforme one to another) do according to Conscience: and and on the contrary side, those which decline and swerue from any of them, do against conscience.

D. Tho. quod li. 3. Ar. 6. 1. Conscience is a natural law, alwayes agreeable to the Law of God. Rom. 2. 14, 15, 16.

Who doe according to Conscience, or against Conscience.

Now then, forasmuch as eternall felicitie dependeth, vpon the integritie & puritie of Conscience, in which respect our Sauior saith; *Beati mundo corde, &c. Blessed are the cleane in heart, for they shall see God:* it followeth, that nothing can be truly commodious, which is contrary to Conscience. For, whatsoeuer hindreth our greatest good & commodity, that is say; our Saluation, and draweth vs also to the greatest miserie that can be, to wit; to eternall damnation: the same is not good and profitable, but mischieuous and pernitious. For, as I noted (else-where) out of our Sauiors words; *What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, if he loose his soule?* And therefore Saint *Augustine* saith very well, that hee which councelleth a Man contrary to his Saluation, hath *Pallium consulentis, & venenum perimentis; The Cloake of a Councellor, and the Poyson of a Killer.*

Math. 5, 8. Nothing truly commodious that is against Conscience.

Mat. 16, 26.

August. in Psalme. 119.

Whereupon it followeth, that the first and principall thing, which euerie Councellour ought to regard, is, that his counsell be so grounded vpon Conscience: that God be not offended, nor his Princes conscience wounded therewith, which latter were (of it selfe) no small infelicity, though God should not otherwise punish the euill act. For, as on the one side; *There can be no greater happinesse in the life of Man, then the tranquility and quietnesse of Conscience*, as S. *Augustine* saith: So, on the other side, there can bee no greater miserie or torment, then *Nocte, dieque suum gestare in pectore testem, To carrie day and night the Testimony*

The principall thing that a Councellor ought to regard.

No greater happinesse in this life, then tranquility of Conscience.

August. de Ciuit. Dei. in Lib. 21.

Iuuenall.

Testimonie of a Mans wickednesse in his owne breast.

No greater misery, then a tormented Conscience.

The worme of conscience byteth at one time or other.

Chrisо. in 16. Luc. Concio. 4. Why the sting of Conscience is frequent, and not continual.

And although Princes do not alwaies (at the first) feele the pricke of Conscience, while the pleasure or commodity of wicked councell is yet fresh: neuertheless, afterward they are stung, and vexed there-with at one time or other. Such beeing the Nature of the Worme of Conscience, that though sometimes it seem to sleepe: yet otherwhiles it gnaweth and biteth bitterlie, as Saint *Chrysostome* witnesseth. *Least if it were continuall, it should not bee supported, and if it were not frequent, it might quickly be contemned or forgotten.* But howsoeuer it may seem to sleep in prosperity, it neuer faileth to prick and sting in aduersity, giuing testimony to wicked men, of Gods iust iudgement vpon them. For, as S. *Gregorie* saith; *Culpa claudit oculos, & pena aperit; Offence, or sin shuts the eyes, and punnishment openeth them.* To which purpose also, *Iob* saith; *Cum reddiderit Deus, tunc scient; When God shall reward him, according to his deserts, then he shall know it, that he hath sinned.* The Children of *Iacob*, being taken for spies, and detained in *Ægipt*: fel presently into acount of their sin; in selling their Brother *Ioseph*, saying; *Merito hoc patimur, &c. We suffer this worthily.* And *Mauritius* the Emperor, seeing his Children slaine before his face, and himselfe also designed for the slaughter, acknowledged Gods Iustice, saying; *Iustus es Domine, &c. Thou art iust ô Lord, and thy iudgement is right, and full of equity.* The like may be noted in *Alphonsus* King of *Naples*, of whom I haue formerly spoken, and infinite others, whom I omit for breuities sake.

Gregor. in Iob. 21. Sinne shuttes the eyes, and punnishment openeth the. Iob. 21, 19.

Gen. 42, 21.

Nicephorus. in Lib. 8. Cap. 40.

Guicciard. in Lib. 1. Cap. 22. Num. 6, 7, 8.

Remorse of Conscience breedeth hatred of the euill councell and of the Councellor.

Gulicl. Malmesb. in Lib. 2. Cap. 6. Matth. westmonast. 28. 934.

And this al wicked Councellors ought well to consider and feare, in respect of the hurt that may ensue thereby, as wel to themselues, as to their Princes: because the worm of conscience breedeth not onely remorse, & repentance of the euill act; but also hatred, both of the councell and the Councellor. As it did King *Adelstane*, the first Monark of *England*, after the entrie of the *Saxons*, who being seduced by the bad councell, and false suggestions of one of his fauorites: banished his Brother *Edwin* vniustly, commaunding him to bee sent to Sea, with onely one Seruant, and in a Boat without Oare or saile, wherein he perished. Which when King *Adelstane* vnderstood, he fell into the account of his owne offence, and so much repented it, that he not only tooke vpon him seuen yeares harty contrition: but also grew by little and little, to detest and abhorre his fauourite, who had councelled him thereto, insomuch, that in the end, he did cut off his head, taking occasion vpon certaine words of his. For he beeing his Cup-bearer, and cõming one day to giue him drinke, in a sollemne publique Feast: chaunced to stumble with one foote, and yet to recouer himselfe with the other, saying; *So one Brother helps another.* Whereupon, the King remembring the losse of his Brother, was so moued therewith: that hee caused him presently to be taken and executed.

A memorable example of K. *Adelstane*, and his Cup-Bearer.

Furthermore, a Councellor is to consider, that counceling his Prince against his conscience: he endangereth not only his Princes Soule, but also his temporall state, exposing him and it to the iust punishment of Almighty God, vpon whose will dependeth the States of all Princes, as I haue largly prooued already. Beside, no man knoweth, for how small an offence, in the sight of man; God may punish a Prince in his person or State. *Moyses*, for a litle distrust in the promise of God, dyed before he entred into the Land of promise. King *Saule* was reiected of Almighty God, and dispossessed of his kingdom; for reseruing some part of the spoile of *Amalecke*, at the request of the people, contrary to the commaundement of the Prophet. *Dauid* was punnished with the losse of 70000. of his Subiects, for numbring them. And *Ezechias* for his vaine glory, in shewing his treasure to the Ambassadors of the King of *Babylon*: was threatned by the Prophet, with the spoile of his Pallace, and captiuity of his posterity, which afterward was fulfilled.

How a wicked Councellor endangereth the State of his Prince. No man knoweth for how small an offence, God will punnish a Prince in his person or State.

Num. 20, 14. 1 *Reg.* 15, 11. Deut. 1, 33.

Example of *Moses*, *Dauid*, *Saul*, and *Ezechias*.

4. *Reg.* 20, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

But of al other acts against conscience, for which God punnisheth Princes and their States, none are more pernitious to State: then such as are committed, with intention and hope to benefit the State. For, how little soeuer some of them may seeme to be in their owne nature: yet they haue one circumstance, which doth greatly agrauate them, and maketh them very haynous in the sight of

No wicked councel more pernitious to State, then that which is giuen for the benefit of State, and why.

of God, seeing that wicked pollicies do commonly proceed, of distrust or lacke of beleef in the prouidence of God. For no man, who sincerely belieueth, that all States depend vpon Gods will and prouidence, can with any reason perswade himselfe: that any thing which is offensiue to god, may be good for state. And therfore no maruaile, if Almightie God, who of his Iustice punisheth sins many times, euen by the same meanes whereby they offend him: doth often turne the wicked pollicies of *Machiuillians* to their owne ouerthrow, ordayning that (as *Salomon* saith.) *Quod timet impius veniat supereum*; *That which the wicked man feareth, may fall vpon him.*

God doth iustly turne *Machiauillian* pollicies to the ouerthrow of the contriuers.

Prouer. 10, 24

So it fell out to *Pharaoh*, who fearing least the Children of *Israel* might multiply ouer-much, to the daunger of his State: oppressed them wrongfully, and commaunding that their Male children should be cast into the Riuer, as soone as they were borne. Neuertheless, the more they were oppressed, the more they encreased and multiplyed: and, thorow the special prouidence of God, *Moyses* was saued drowning, and nourished by *Pharaohs* owne Daughter. And by his ministry, the Children of *Israell* wer deliuered, Ægypt spoyled, and *Pharaoh* himselfe with all his Army drowned. So it also fell out to the *Iewes*, who fearing least Christ (if he should liue any time) would draw so many to belieue in him, that the *Romains* might easily destroy their Nation and Temple, for want of people to defend the same: resolued to kill him, and so drew vppon themselues & their Temple, the destruction which they sought to prevent. God so disposing, for punishment of their wickednesse, that the *Romaines* did afterward vtterly destroy their Temple and Countrey, as I haue amply related before. And Herevpon S. *Augustine* notably saith; *That while for feare of loosing their temporall State; they contemned the eternall; they iustly lost both.*

An example of *Pharaoh*. Exod. 1, 16.

Exod. 12, 36. Exod. 14, 28.

An example of the *Iewes*. Iohn. 11, 57.

August Tract. 40. *in Ioan.*

Also, the like Iustice and iudgement of Almighty God, may bee noted in King *Astiages*, who fearing that his Daughters issue might depriue him of the Kingdome: thought to preuent it, by the murther of her Sonne *Cyrus*, commaunding *Harpagus* to destroy him as soone as he was borne. But God so disposed, that the Child was saued, contrary to the expectation of them both, and that afterward, he dispossessed *Astiages* of his Kingdome, with the assistance of *Harpagus*, whom *Astiages* had made the Instrument of his wickednesse. So also it happened to *Amulius*, who thinking to assure his owne State, by the murder of his two Nephewes, *Romulus* and *Remus*: caused them to be layed foorth in the Woods, when they were new borne, to the end, that they might be deuoured of wilde beastes, or perish other-waies. Whom (neuertheless) it pleased God to preserue them, and by the meanes of *Romulus*, to dispossesse *Amulus* of his Kingdome.

Iustin in Lib. 1. An example of King *Astiages*.

Iustin. 3, 4. *in Lib.*

Plutarch in Romulo An example of King *Amulius*.

But to speake of Christians. In the time of the Emperour *Valentinian* the third, *Attila*, the *Scythian*, and King of the *Hunnes* (who called himselfe *Flagellum Dei*; *The Scourge of God*) inuaded the Romaine Empire, with an Armie of eleauen hundred thousand Men, and hauing alreadie possessed himselfe of all *Pannonia*, (called *Hungaria* euer since) passed thorough *Germany* into *Fraunce*, vsing all kindes of cruelties vppon all sortes of Christian people, threatning vtter ruine and destruction, as well to Christian Religion, as to the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, the famous Captaine *Ætius*, beeing assisted with *Theodoricke*, King of the *Gothes*, and diuers other Princes; presented him battaile in *France*, not farre from *Orleans*. In which battaile, there were slaine an hundred fourescore thousand on both sides, and *Attila* ouerthrowne in such sort; that he had no meanes to saue his owne person, but by retyring himselfe into his Campe, where hee fortified himselfe. Neuertheless, hee might haue beene eyther slaine or taken, and Christendome thereby deliuered of a most potent Enemie, if *Ætius* would haue done his endeuour thereto. But he preferring reason of State, before true Christian zeale, and Gods seruice, spared him, fearing lest if he were vtterly ouerthrown: the *Gothes* (who had already conquered all *Spaine*, and a great part of *France*) would be far more daungerous to the *Romaine* Empire, beeing then free from the feare of *Attila*, who was cõmon enemy to both. For which respect, he suffered him to escape with

Paul. Diac. in Lib. 15; *Attila*, King of the *Hunnes*, that tearmed himselfe the scourge of God.

An hundred and foure score thousand men, slaine in one battaile.

The famous Captaine *Aetius*, preferring reason of State before conscience destroyed himselfe, and endangered the Romaine Empire.

the Reliques of his Army into *Hungary*: which (by the iuſt iudgement of God) turned as well to the deſtruction of *Ætius*, as to the great daunger of the Empire. For *Ætius* being returned moſt triumphant to *Rome*, fell ſhortly after into the diſgrace of the Emperor, who ſuſpected; that he had ſpared *Ætius*, to the end, to make himſelfe Emperour by his aſſiſtance, whereupon he ſlew *Ætius* with his owne hand. And *Attila* hauing (within a while) repaired his Army: was more terrible and noiſome to the *Roman* Empire, then he had bin before. For he came into *Italy*, putting all to Fire and ſword: he razed *Aquilleia* to the ground, tooke *Pauia*, ſacked and deſtroyed *Millaine*, and marched towards *Rome* to beſiedge it. Which he had done, if he had not beene diuerted from it by Pope *Leo* the great: who going himſelfe in perſon to him, perſwaded him to deſiſt from his enterpriſe, and to retire himſelfe into *Hungary*, which he did preſently. But to return to *Ætius*; we ſee herein the bad ſucceſſe of his policy, & how it turned to his owne deſtruction, when he preferred reaſon of ſtate, before conſcience, and the ſeruice of Almighty God.

Attila more hurtful to the Romaine Empire, then before his ſparing by. *Aetius.*

Blondus in Decad. 1. Lib 2. Sabellic. Ennead. 8. Lib. 1. Baron. An. 452.

Here to I may adde ſome others of later time, of whom I haue alſo ſpoken before, vpon other occaſions; as *Cæſar Borgia*, the Mirror of *Machiauels* Prince: who determining to poyſon Cardinall *Cornetti*, poyſoned his own Father and himſelfe. In like manner, the Queen of *Hungarie*, thinking to maintain her ſelfe and her Son, in the vniuſt poſſeſſion of that kingdome, againſt *Ferdinand*, then King of the *Romains*, and afterward Emperor: craued ayde of *Solyman* the great Turke, by whom, both ſhe and her Son were depriued thereof. Hereby it may appeare, how daungerous and pernitious all Councelles or attemps againſt conſcience, are to State, in reſpect of the offence of him, on whoſe will depend all States, and who, as *Iob* ſaith; *Apprehendit ſapientes in aſtutia eorum, &c. Ouertaketh the wiſe Men of the World in their owne craft and ſubtilty, and the counſell of the wicked is made fooliſh.* Therefore it may be truely ſaid of *Machiauillian* Princes, and their wicked Councellors, as the Prophet ſaid of the King and Councellors of Ægypt, *Stulti Principes, &c. The Princes are Fooles, and their wiſe Councellours haue giuen fooliſh Councell; the Lord hath caſt among them the Spirit of giddineſſe, and hath made them ſtagger and erre in all their works, like a reeling and vomiting drunken Man.*

Cæſar Borgia the mirrour of *Machiauels* Prince. *Guicciard. in Lib. 6. Hiſt.*

The Queene of *Hungary*. *Surius in Commen. An. 1542.*

Iob. 5, 13.

Eſay. 16, 9, 10

As for reputation, which is alſo called *Honour*, *Eſtimation*, *Fame*, *Good-Name*, or *Credit*, no ſmall regard is to be had thereto, when there is any queſtion of the Princes commodity: conſidering, that of all externall goods, it is the principall and moſt precious, and (as *Thomas Aquinas* affirmeth) *Moſt like to the goods of the minde.* Wherevpon *Salomon* ſaith: *Melius eſt bonum nomen, quam diuitiæ multæ, A good Name is better then great Riches.* Which is moſt euident in matter of State, for that reputation conſerueth the States of Princes many times, no leſſe (or rather more) then wealth and force.

The reputation of the Prince greatly to be regarded of a Councellor, and why.

D. Thom. 22. 9. 73. Ar. 2 & 3. Prouer. 22, 1.

In which reſpect, *Tiberius Cæſar* was wont to ſay, as *Tacitus* noteth. *That although the deliberations of all other men, doe commonly conſiſt in the conſideration of vtility and profit: yet the State of a Prince is ſuch, that he ought principallie to reſpect Fame and Reputation.* And the reaſon is, for that the loſſe of reputation, is not onely the ſigne, and (as I may ſay) the preamble of a Princes fall: but alſo the occaſion thereof many times. Becauſe, therewith decayeth and falleth (commonly) the affection of frends, and the reſpect, feare, and obedience of Subiects, whereuppon followeth the ſubuerſion of States.

Cornel. Tacitus. Lib. 4. Annal.

The danger of the loſſe of a Princes reputation.

Now then, whereas the reputation of Princes conſiſteth eſpecially in foure things, to wit; Wiſedome, Valor, Vertue, and Power: all councell (tending to commodity) is to bee weighed with the eſtimation thereof, for nothing that may impaire the honour of the Prince in any of theſe, can be accounted truelie commodious for him. Therefore *Phillip de Comines* aduiſeth, touching the Princes Wiſedome, that if he bee not verie wiſe, and of good partes: great care be had, that Strangers be not admitted to his preſence, eſpeciallie to treat with him, leaſt the diſcouerie of his imperfection in that behalfe, may blemiſh his Reputation, and animate his Enemies to contemne him. For the French Hiſtoriographers affirme, that

Wherein the reputation of a Prince conſiſteth.

Phillip. de Com. Cap. 57.

Du Haillan in Charles le ſage.

that the opinion which men had, of the Wisedome of *Charles* the fift, King of Fraunce, called the *Wise*: auayled him more against the English, then his force, in so much, that the dispatches which he made in his Chamber, were more feared then his Armies in the Fielde.

The reputation of valour in a Prince.

The like also is to be said, of the opinion of Valour in a Prince, which maketh him no lesse redoubtable vnto his Enemies, then beloued of his Friends and Subiects. Whereas the opinion of his effeminacy or basenesse of mind, maketh him contemptible to all men, and often causeth the deposition and destruction of Princes: as it did to *Sardanapalus*, the great *Assirian* King; to *Chilperick*, King of *Fraunce*; to *Wenceslaus* the Emperour, and to many others beside.

Iustin. in Lib. 1. Paulus Aemilius in Chilper. Naucler. Chron. 1400.

And as for vertue (wherein I include Religion also) *Aristotle* teacheth, that the onely reputation and opinion therof: is a notable stay and prop to a Princes State. In respect, that all Men commonly conceiue, that a vertuous and religious Prince, is in the fauour and protection of Almightie GOD. And therefore *Achior*, chiefe Captaine of the *Ammonites*, councelled *Holophernes*, when hee made Warre vpon the Children of *Israell*: *To informe himself, whether they had committed any great offences towardes their God, whereby they might loose his fauour. Assuring him, that otherwise it would bee in vaine to assaile them, because their God would defend them.* And the like conceit it seemeth, that *Leolin*, Prince of Wales, had of *Henrie* the third, King of England, for, when certaine Byshops (who were sent to treat with him, to reduce him to his obedience) threatned him with the Kings great power and forces: he answered. *That he feared more his Prayers and Almes-giuing, then his Armies.* Meaning, that hee doubted, least in respect of his Piety and Charity, God would protect and assist him: and that otherwise, he would little esteeme his force and power. So much it importeth a Prince, to haue the reputation of vertue and Religion, which serueth for a Bridle to his Enemies, both Domesticall and Forraigne, to with-hold them from all attemps against him. Beside, it causeth that his faults and errors are eyther not beleeued; or more easily excused, and the blame thereof laid vpon his Councellors.

Aristot. in Lib. 5. Polit. The reputation of vertue and Religion.

Iudith. 5, 20, 21.

Matthaeus Paris. in Henric. 3

Piety and Charity great beauties in a Prince.

And for these causes, *Machiauell* also councelleth his Prince, to procure (by all meanes) to haue the reputation of a religious, iust, and vertuous Prince: though he teach him withall, to bee a most wicked Tyrant. Wherein I cannot omit by the way, to note the absurditie of his doctrine, notably repugning and contradicting it selfe. Seeing, he will haue his Prince to seeme a Lambe, and be a Wolfe, and to make shew of a Saint, and yet to be a Deuill indeede. Which is more possible, then, as the Comicall Poet saith; *Cum ratione insanire; To bee madde with reason. For all feigned thinges* (saith *Cicero*) *fade and fall away like Flowers, and nothing that is dissembled, can long last.* Where our Sauiour himselfe also confirmeth, saying expressely of Hypocrisie. *Attendite, &c. Beware of the Leauen of the Pharises*, That is to say; *of Hypocrisie. For nothing is secret that shall not be reuealed, nor any thing hidde that shall not bee knowne.*

Machi. in Prince. Machiauell teacheth his Prince, to seeke to haue the reputation of Religion and Vertue.

The absurditie of *Machiauels* Doctrine.

Terent. in Eunuch.

Cicero de Offic. Nothing that is dissembled, can last long.

Math. 16, 6.

And this is more euident in dissembling and hypocriticall Tyrants, then in any other sort of Men. Because, so violent is the flame of tyranny; that it breaketh through the weake and clouen Walles of Hypocrisie, and discouereth it selfe to the World. Such being the State of publique persons, and especiallie of Princes (whose actions are subiect to the eyes and censures of all Men) that their least faultes cannot passe, eyther vnknowne, or vncontrouled of the people.

Tyrannie cannot be hid or concealed.

The least defects of Princes are commonly noted and knowne to their Subiects.

As *Plutarch* affirmeth, notably aduising Princes, to haue an especiall regard vnto all their actions: because their very least defects or imperfections are noted. Which he confirmeth with examples of diuers Princes; as of *Pompey* the Great, noted of singularity, for scratching his Head with one Finger; *Lucullus*, censured to be ouer-delicate in his Dyet; the famous *Scipio*, blamed for much sleeping; and *Cæsar*, for going ill girded. What shall wee say of tyrannicall Actes, such as *Machiauill* commendeth in his Prince: I meane Murthers, breach of promises, and

Plutarch in his Instructions for those that manage matters of State.

No hypocrisie can suffise to couer Tyrranny.

oaths, frauds and deceipt, and all kind of in-Iustice? can any man of reason think, that the same can be couered with any Cloak of Hypocrisie? Or can a people be so simple or sensleſſe, as not to know and see a tyranny, when they behold the manifest effects, and see too heauie a weight thereof in themselues? Therfore, what else can follow of Hypocrisy in a Tyrant, but that his Subiects shall hate him much more, and the sooner conspire his ouerthrow, as of one no lesse odious to God then to man? wher by the Scripture shal be fulfilled, which saith; *The heauens shall reueale the iniquity of the Hypocrite, and the Earth shall rise against him.*

Hypocrisie encreaseth the hatred of God and man against a Tyrant. Iob. 20, 27.

Now, concerning the reputation of Vertue, which is necessary for the conseruation of a Prince: it must be grounded vpon true vertue, and not vpon vain shewes, & hypocriticall dissimulations. For, as true Religion, Iustice, & Vertue (ioyned with princely power) do engender in the Subiects admiration, respect, reuerence, & loue towards their Prince: euen so impiety, in-iustice, and intemperance in him, do breed in the subiects either hatred, or cõtempt of his person. For of the crimes of impiety and in-Iustice (as periury, deceipt, and crueltie) proceedeth hatred; and of the vices of intemperance (as lasciuiousnesse, drunkennesse, and such like) is engendred contempt, whereof I purpose to discourse more at large hereafter. Neuertheleſſe, I think good to say somewhat more in this place, concerning one speciall vertue, very requisite in a Prince for his reputation: to wit, truth, fidelity, and constancy, in the exact obseruation of his oaths, promises, and word. Wherof I am the more willing to treat, because *Machiauill* alloweth and commendeth all maner of falshood, deceipt, treachery, and periury in a Prince, when he may hope to gaine, or to benefit his state thereby. But how impious and absurd his doctrine is in that behalfe, yea, and how pernitious to Princes & their States: it will the more euidentlie appeare, if we consider, how dangerous and damnable all falshood and deceipt is to any Common-wealth, for the conseruation whereof, nothing is more necessary then truth and fidelity, as well in the Prince, as in the people.

The reputation of true & not of feigned vertue requisite in any Prince.

What true vertue in the Prince worketh in the subiects.

What are the effects of vice in a Prince.

Concerning truth and fidelity in any Prince, in his Oaths, promises and word.

Falshood and deceipt, dangerous and damnable.

Therefore *Cicero* teacheth, that *Fides*, which we may call *Fidelitie* (consisting, as he saith, in *Veritie, and constant performance of vvordes, Promises, and Couenants*) is *Fundamentum Iustitiæ*, *The Foundation of Iustice*, which is the especiall prop and stay of State. In which respect, he calleth it; *Commune omnium præsidium*; *The common defence or refuge of all Men.* And also saith, that *Nullares vehementius rempuplicam continet, quam fides. Nothing doth more firmelie vnite and hold together the Common-wealth, then Fidelitie.* And *Valerius Maximus* calleth it; *Venerabile numen, & certissimum humanæ salutis pignus*; *A venerable and Diuine power, and the most sure pledge of humane securitie.* And the Romaines so much esteemed it, that they builded and dedicated a Temple to it, as to a Goddesse, in which Temple, all Leagues, Truces, Couenants, and important Bargaines, were publiquely made and sworne: which were so religiously obserued, that whosoeuer brake them, was held for a cursſed and damned Creature, and vnworthy to liue in humaine societie. And with great reason, for, if falshood and fraud were permiteed to haue course in common-wealths: what Traffique or Commerce with Straungers or Frienides? What assurance in Leagues with Forraigne Princes, in Contracts and Marriages, in Promises and Bargaines, and in buying and selling? What Loue? What Society? What Common-wealth? Which consisteth in the communication of Commodities one with another; and flourish so much the more, by how much euery one tendereth, and desireth the publique good, more then his owne: in which respect, it is called *Respublica*, that is to say, *Weale-publique.* And therefore, if trustie and faithfull dealing should faile among Men: there wold be no more ciuill society amongst men, then amongst Tygers and Beares, Foxes and Wolues, Cats and Dogges. Which the Apostle insinuateth notably, when hee exhorteth the *Ephesians*, and (in them) all other Christians, to vse all Sincerity and truth one with another, because wee are all combined in one Mysticall Bodie. *Propter quod* (saith hee) *deponentes mendacium, &c. Therefore, laying aside all lies, let euery*

Cicero in Lib. 1 de Offic. Wherein Fidelity consisteth.

Idem. pro Sext. Ros.

Idem. Lib. 2. de Offic.

Valer. Max. in Lib. 6. Cap. 6. Dionis. Halicar. in Lib. 2. Tit. Liui. in Lib. 2. et 3.

If falshood & fraude were permitted amongst men, no Common-wealth could stand.

Respublica, the Common-weale or publique good.

euerie one speake the truth to his Neighbour; Quoniam sumus inuicem membra; Because wee are all Members one of another.

Fidelitie most necessary in the Prince for conseruation of the Common wealth.

Heerevpon it followeth, that fidelity is not only necessary in the Subiects, but also in the Prince, for the conseruation of the Common-wealth. For, seeing nothing is more requisite, for maintenance of the Politicall body, the vnion of the head with the members thereof, that is to say; of the Prince with the people, and nothing more necessary thereto, then their trust and confidence one in another, which cannot be, where there is no fidelity: It followeth, that nothing is more requisite, for conseruation both of the Prince and people, then fidelity in both; without the which, neither can the subiects assure themselues of their Princes protection, nor the Prince be satisfied of his Subiects Loyalty.

Truſt & confidence one in another most requisite

The force of the Princes good or bad example in the Common-wealth.

And to speake heere particularly of the Prince, it is to bee considered, that the want of fidelity and sincerity in him, is most dangerous: not onely vnto the Common-wealth, but also to himselfe. As it will be euident, if wee weigh the force and effect, of the good or bad example of the Prince, and how potent a Motiue it is, to induce his Subiects to vertue or vice. Seeing, as *Salomon* saith, *Qualis est Rector Ciuitatis, tales sunt habitantes in ea; What manner of Man the Ruler of the Cittie is, such are they that dwel therein.* Therefore (I say) that as the example of the Princes fidelity, dooth redound both to the good of the Common-wealth, and also to his owne security (because the people doe learne thereby, to be not onely faithfull vnto one another, but also dutifull and loyal towardes him:) euen so, the example of perfidious and double dealing in him, dooth worke the contrary effect, and teacheth his Subiects to be no lesse faithlesse and treacherous toward him, then fraudulent and treacherous one to another, which may turne as wel to his destruction, as to the hurt of the Common-wealth.

Ecclesi. 10, 2.

How the fidelitie of the Prince redoundeth to his owne good.

A perfidious Prince teacheth his subiects to be traiterous to himselfe.

But perhaps some *Machiauillian* will say, that although the Prince (for his owne commodity) do vse sometimes to violate his faith: yet he may so seuerely punnish it in his Subiects, that no inconuenience shall followe of his example, eyther to the Commonwealth, or to himselfe. Whereto I answer, that the Prince cannot (with reason) expect, that the seuerity of Lawes, or other politike meanes, shall represse any vice in his Commonwealth: which shall bee anie way Authorized by the example of his owne practise. For as the Poet saith:

The Princes bad example ouer-weigheth good Lawes.

Totus componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent, vt vita regentis.

Claudian.

That is to say, *All the world is framed after the model of the King, and no Lawes or Edicts can so much moone the mindes of men, as dooth the life of the Gouernour.* Which *Plutarke* confirmeth notablye, saying: *That euen as a Squire or rule must be straight in it selfe, before it can make other thinges straite: So the Prince, who is (as it were) the rule of his Subiectes, ought first to rectifie himselfe, before hee go about (by Lawes or other meanes) to rectifie his Commonwealth. For, he that is falling* (saith Plutarch) *is not fit to vpholde others, nor hee that is ignorant, to Teach; nor he that is incorrigible, to Correct; nor he that is himselfe disordered, to put others in order.*

Plutarch de doctrina principum.

The Prince is the rule of his subiects.

Thus saith he, giuing to vnderstand, that a vicious Prince, who seeketh to make his Subiects vertuous by rigor of Lawes, laboureth in vaine, like to one, that buildeth with one hand, and pulleth downe with the other; and so destroyeth more in one day, then he can builde in many. For so do the bad example of the Prince, corrupt more in a day, then his Lawes can correct or amend in a yeare.

A bad Prince who maketh good lawes, buildeth with one hand, and pulleth down with the other.

This the ancient *Romans* so well considered, that their Magistrats & Senate were most exact and punctuall, in the obseruation of Oaths and promises euē to their very enemies: for the regarde they had, not onely to Iustice, and to their own reputation: but also the consequence of their good example in the Commonwealth, as vpon other occasions, I haue formerly proued, by the examples of *Marcus Attilius Regulus, T. Veturius & Spurius Posthumus*, Consuls, and of *T. Mutius* and *Q. Emilius*, Tribunes of the Temple.

The Romaine Senate and Magistrates most exact in the obseruation of Oaths and promises.

Sextus Pompeius would not breake his Oath, to be Emperor of all the world. *Plutarch in Anton.*

The like notable examples of perticuler men among Paganes, may also be alledged, whereof I will onely relate one or two, for breuities sake. *Sextus Pompeius*, Sonne to *Pompey* the Great, hauing warres with *Antonius* the *Triumuir*, and meeting with him at the Sea side, vpon a treatie of peace: inuited him to Supper in his Gally, giuing him his oath for his assurance. And beeing secretly demaunded by *Metrodorus*, the Pyrate, whether he should weigh Anker, and set saile, and so make himselfe Lord of all the World? Aunswered. *That it was not his custome or condition to forsweare himselfe*: esteeming it neither honourable nor profitable for him, to gaine the Empire of the World by periurie.

The care which *Licurgus* had of his fidelity. *Plutarch in Licur.*

No lesse care of fidelity had *Licurgus*, Brother to *Polidectes*, King of *Lacedemonia*. For, hauing taken vpon him the gouernment, of the Kingdome after his Brothers death, at the instance of the people, vntill his Brothers Wife (who was great with Childe) should be brought to Bed, and the Child of years to gouerne. And being sollicited by her, to marrie with her, vpon her promise to kill the Child in her Womb, thereby to assure his State: he not onelie refused it, but also proclaimed her Sonne King, as soone as he was borne, taking only the tuition of him, vntill he came to age, as partly hath been before declared.

An vnnatural motion of a Mother.

I needе not adde heereunto any examples of Christian Princes, whose Religion both teacheth and bindeth them, to be more exact and precise then Painims in this case. Neuertheless, I cannot forbeare to speake of a notable act in this kind, of the most Christian and vertuous Prince *Ferdinand*, Brother to *Henry* the third of that Name, King of *Castile*. This *Ferdinand*, being left by his Brothers Testament, Tutour to his Sonne King *Iohn* the second (an Infant of eight moneths old) and being vrged greatly by the three States of *Castile*, to take the Crowne to himselfe: he would by (no means) consent thereto, saying. *That he would neuer be false, eyther to his Brother dead, or to his Nephew liuing, to whom he had promised his fidelity*. For which faithfulnesse (no doubt) God blessed him, and (within

Ferdinand, Brother to *Henry*, King of *Castile*.

Lucas Marin. Siculus, de Reb. Hisp. Lib. 11.

sixe yeares after) gaue him the Kingdome of *Arragon*, whereto he was chosen by the free election of the Nobility and Commons of the Realme. Behold then, how great respect, not onelie this Christian Prince, but also the Paganes before named, had to sincerity and fidelitie, as well for the causes before mentioned: as also for the verie detestation and hatred of perfidiousnesse, being a vice (of it selfe) most odious, and vnworthy of Princelie Dignitie.

The care of sincerity and fidelity manifested.

For whereas all other vices and sinnes (for the most part) are, or may bee attributed either to frailtie or errour, whereby they seeme (many times) the more woorthy of pardon: perfidiousnesse is euer presumed, to proceed from a treacherous, maligne, vile and base nature, and therefore not excusable in Princes, whose proceedings ought to be (in al thinges) Reall, Generous, Noble and Heroycall. In which respect, one false and trecherous acte, may suffise to ecclipse, and obscure the glory of many great vertues in a Prince. As *Plutarke* noteth in *Alexander* the Great; who causing certaine *Indian* Souldiours to bee slaine, after they had rendered themselues vnto him vpon his worde: *Spotted and stained* (saith he) *the renowne of all his glorious Conquests and Royall vertues, with the ignominie of that one Acte.* And the reason is, because so delicate is mans credite and reputation, in matter of trust and confidence: that it is like vnto a Glasse, which beeing once broken, is not repayrable. And therefore, he that is once knowne for a Lyer, is not beleeued when he saith true: and he that is once reputed to bee false, is euer after held in suspition. And according vnto the generall rule of the Law; *Semper presumitur malus in eodem genere mali*; *Is euer presumed to be wicked in the same kind of wickednesse*. Wherevpon it followeth, that a faithlesse Prince is hated of his Subiects; suspected of his best Friends; irreconciliable with his Enemies; beloued and trusted of none; and betrayed or forsaken of all Men in his greatest necessities. And that worthily, seeing hee himselfe giueth the euill example, which other Men follow to his own vtter ouerthrow and destruction.

Perfidiousnes is a signe of a base and vile nature.

Plutarch in Alexandro.

Once false, euer after is suspected.

L. 1. Si cuiff. de accusat. Bart. in li. Cassius de Sena.

The dangers, which accompany perfidiousnesse in a Prince.

But

The Pollitick or *Machiauillians* obiectiõ.

But the Pollitick or *Machiauillian* wil say, that a wise Prince hath sufficient remedies against these inconueniences, to wit; strong Gards, Garrisons, Forts, and Fortresses, besides his owne policy, assisted with the prudence of faithfull and vigilant Councellors, whereby hee may securely make his commoditie in all occasions, without feare of anie damage that may ensue thereof to his person or state.

The insufficiency of *Machiauillian* remedies.

Thus saith the *Machiauillian*, most absurdly, as it will appeare, if wee consider whence groweth the daunger that the Prince incurreth, by perfidious and deceitfull dealing, which being most hatefull, not only to man, but also to God, doth draw vpon him both Diuine and humain punishment, against the which, neither these, nor any other *Machiauillian* remedies can warrant him.

Falshood hatefull to God and man.

Prouer. 8, 13.

And first to speake of the offence of God, and diuine punnishment ensuing thereon. We finde in holy Scriptures, that nothing is more detestable vnto almighty God, then a deceitfull or double man. And therefore, the Holyghost saith in the Parables, *Os bilingue detestor, I do detest a double tongued mouth*. And

Prouer. 3, 32.

againe in the same Booke; *Abominatio Domini est omnis illusor, Euery deceyuer is abhominable before God*. And the Royall

Psalme. 52, 9.

Prophet, coupling the deceyuer with the blood-sucker, saith of them both. *Viram sanguinum & dolosum abominator Dominus, God dooth abhorre the bloudie and deceitful man*. And speaking of the

Psalme. 11, 8.

guilefull tongue of *Doeg*, hee threatneth the vengeaunce of God to him, and all such, saying: *Lingua dolosa, propterea, &c. A deceiptful tongue, God will therefore destroy thee eternally, he will plucke thee vp, and remoue from thee from thy Tabernacle, and root thee out of the Land of the liuing*. Lo thē, how odious fraudulent and double dealing is to Almightie God, who being *Ipsa veritas, Truth it self*; exacteth nothing more of man (created in his Image) then verity and truth. But much more of a Prince, then of any other priuate person, because the Prince is his Image, not only by reason of the naturall guifts of his soule, as all other men are: but also in respect of his Office, whereby he representeth his person (as his Lieutenant) in the administration of Iustice, whereof Fidelitie and truth is the Foundation, as I haue sufficiently declared before.

God exacteth nothing more of man, then Truth.

A Prince is the Image of God in two respects.

Wherein (neuertheless) it is to bee vnderstood, that although all real, plaine and true dealing bee most requisite in a Prince: yet hee is to vse great discretion and prudence therein, because infinite occasions do occurre, wherein Princes ought to conceale and couer their intentions, with more care and circumspection then all other men, especially in matters to be executed. Wherefore, great difference is to bee noted, betwixt telling a lye, and concealing the trueth, which the Latines do signify in two proper words, to wit; *Simulatio* and *Dissimulatio*. Whereof the first, which we may tearme *Simulation* or fiction, is euer vnlawfull, and therefore neuer to bee vsed. But the latter which we may call discreet dissimulation, is both lawfull & commendable; yea, and so necessarie sometimes in Princes, that it may well and truly be said: *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare: He which knowes not how to dissemble*, that is to say, discreetly to couer and cloake his intentions when occasion requireth, *knoweth not howe to raigne*. But I say with *Salomon* who was himselfe a most wise and potent Prince; that, *Non decet principem labium mentiens: A lying lip or mouth, dooth not beseeme a Prince*. In which respect, he also prayeth to Almighty God; *Verba mendacia longè fac à me, O Lord preserue and keepe me far from lying words*. And againe in another Parable, he saith; *Qui nititur mendacijs, pascit ventus; He which trusts to lies, feeds the winde*. That is to say, as Saint *Augustin* expoundeth it, *Fit esca spiritibus malis, He becomes the meat or prey of euill spirits*, or of the Deuill, whose immitator, or rather whose childe hee maketh himselfe. For, as our Sauiour saith, the Deuill is *Mendax & pater eius, A Lyer, and the Father of lyes*; and is therefore called *Diabolus*, which signifieth a deceiuer.

Great prudence to be vsed of Princes in plainenesse.

Great difference to be noated, betwixt telling a lye, and concealing the Truth.

The difference betwixt fixion and discreete dissimulation.

Discreete dissimulation commendable in a Prince.

Prouer. 17, 7. A lye most vnseemely in a Princes mouth.

Prouer. 30, 8. Prouer. 10, 25.

August. cont. Cresc. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

A lyer the Child of the Deuill. Iohn. 8, 44.

What then shall wee say of such a Prince as *Machiaul* frameth, to witte; a most treacherous, perfidious, and periured person? Can he deserue to be called the Image, Lieutenant, or Minister of God, whose similitude and likenesse he defaceth in himselfe; whose Commission he abuseth, & whose holy name he shamefully prophaneth? What else can he expect at the hands of God, but seuere

Machiauels Prince perfidious and periured.

A heauy and fearefull expectation.

seuere punnishment, not onelie in the world to come, but also in this life, if he repent not?

This may appeare by manifold examples, whereof I will alledge some out of approoued Authors, both auncient and Moderne, to shew the impious absurditie of *Machiauels* doctrine, allowing perfidiousnesse and periury in a Prince, as necessary sometimes for the benefite of his State.

Gen. 49, 7, 8. *Simeon* and *Leui* curssed by their Father *Iacob*, for violating their league with *Sichem* and *Hemor*.

But first, to speake of our holy Scriptures. We read in *Genesis*, that *Simeon* and *Leui*, the Children of *Iacob*, wer cursed by their Father at his death, because they had violated their league made with *Sichem* and *Hemor*, whom they destroied with all their Citty, contrary vnto theyr promise and couenant. *Maledictus* (saith *Iacob*) *furor eorum, quia pertinax, &c. Curssed be their furie, because it was obstinate.* And propheſying further of the temporall punishment, which God woulde inflict vpon their posterity for the same, he added. *Diuidam eos in Iacob, & dispergam in Israel. I will diuide them in Iaacob, and disperse them among the Children of Israel.* Which was fulfilled afterward, as Saint *Hierom* witnesseth, for that their Tribes had not their habitation apart, as the others had: for the Tribe of *Leui* was distributed in diuers Cirties, amongst the other Tribes, to bee their Leuites and Priests. And the Tribe of *Simeon*, had their dwelling with the Tribes of *Iuda*, & (as the Hebrewes affirme) serued for School-Maisters in all the other Tribes, and got their liuing onely by teaching Children.

Hierom in Tradition. Hebraicis in Genesim.

Pererius in Genes Cap. 49.

2. *Reg.* 21, 17. Iosuah. 9, 12. *Sauls* posterity punnished for his breach of league with the *Gabaonites*.

In like manner, the punnishment of God was notable vppon King *Saules* posterity, for his breach of League which *Iosuah* made with the *Gabaonites*. Wherein it is to bee noted, that although the *Gabaonites* craftily circumuented *Iosuah*, and induced him by fraud and deceipt to make league with them, putting on their olde shooes, and torne cloaths, and affirming, that they were a people dwelling in a farre Countrey, and that being mooued with the fame of his victories: they were come so many dayes iourney to meete him, that they had worne out their shooes and cloaths in their voyage; whereas, they dwelt not farre off, and in the very Land of promise, which GOD had giuen to the Children of *Israel*. Nertheleſſe, when *Iosuah* discouerd their deceipt, he had such regard to his Oath, that hee would by no meanes violate it. But answered to the Children of *Israel*, when they murmured against him. *Iurauimus eis* (saith hee) *We haue sworne vnto them, in the name of the Lord God of Israel; and therefore wee may not touch them, least the wrath of God fal vpon vs, if vve breake our Oath.*

Iosuah. 9, 19.

The great regard that *Iosuah* had of his Oath and league with the *Gabaonites*.

Thus saith *Ioshuah*: whereby we may learne, how great is the Obligation of al iust and lawful Leagues, or other Couenants passed by Oath, and how daungerous is the breach thereof, in respecte of Gods iust and seuere iudgements, vpon the offenders in that behalfe. Whereof the experience was seene, aboue three hundred yeares after *Iosuahs* time, in the breach of that league by *Saule*. For the which, the Children of *Israel* were afflicted with three yeares famine in *Dauids* time, and seauen of *Saules* Children and family, were deliuered into the handes of the *Gabaonites*, and hanged by them in punishment of *Saules* offence.

The obligation of lawfull leagues.

The iudgement happened 300. yeares after, in *Sauls* time.

2. *Reg.* 21. 9.

Furthermore, we read in the Booke of *Machabees*, that *Andronicus* a Fauourite of King *Antiochus*, was by the iust iudgement of God, and the commaundement of *Antiochus* himselfe, shamefully put to death: euen in the verie same place, wher he had killed *Onias* the Highpriest, who had rendred himselfe vnto him vpon his promise of security. Also the examples heereof, are verie notable amongest the *Ethnicks*, who obserued (dilligently) the iudgements of God, vpon traiterous and perfidious persons. And therefore when *Tissaphernes* the *Persian*, made war against the *Grecians*, and brake Truce, which he had made with them for three months, *Agesilaus* reioyced greatly, saying; *We are beholding to Tissaphernes, for making the Goddes his enemies, and our friends, therefore let vs boldly giue him battell.* And so he did, and gaue him a great ouerthrow.

2. *Mac.* 4, 38. *Andronicus* punished for his Treachery towards *Onias*.

How the *Paynims* obserued Gods iudgements vpon perfidious persons.

Polien. in Lib. 2.

Plutarch also recounteth a notable historie, of *Cleomines* King of *Lacedemonia*, who hauing made truce with the *Argians* for seauen dayes: set vpon their camp in the night, and taking them vnprouided by reason of the truce, made great slaughter of them. But being reproched with his breach of promise and oath, he iested at it, saying; *That hee sware Truce for*

Plutarch in Apoph. Lacedem. Gods notable iudgement vpon *Cleomines*, for his periury.

A shamefull repulse giuen by women.

for the dayes, but not for the nights. But so it fell out (saith *Plutarch*) in punishment of his fallhood and periury, that it serued him to no purpose. For whereas, he assailed the Cittie presently, hoping for to take it with all facility, hee had a shamefull repulse by the women which dwelt therein. And afterward falling furiously mad, he tooke a Knife, and ript vp his owne body, from the very heele to the heart, and so dyed laughing.

Plutarch in Dione. *Calippus* punnished by Almighty God for his periurie.

The same Author also signifyeth, that one *Calippus*, being iustly charged with a conspiracie against *Dion* of *Sicilie*, and hauing denyed it with manie solemne Oaths) in the Temple of *Ceres*, was (by Gods iust iudgement) slaine with the same Dagger wherewith *Dion* was killed before by his consent. I omit diuers other examples, which might be alleadged out of prophane Historiographers, to adde a few out of Christian & more Moderne Authors.

Matters in controuersie decided by Oaths at the Tombes of Martires in the primitiue Church.

The seuere iudgements of God vpon men, for the sinne of periury, haue been alwayes so incident among Christians: that the custome was in the Primitiue Church, to discide matters in Controuersie by Oaths, at certaine holy places, and the Tombes of Martyrs, where Almighty God did ordinarily extend his Iustice vpon periured persons. Which Custom (as Saint *Augustine* witnesseth) was in vre in his time, at *Millain*, whereof he saith, *Nos nominus Mediolani, &c. I my selfe haue knowne in Millaine, at the Mommories of Saints, a certaine Theefe, who went thither with intention to deceiue by periury, was compelled to confesse his Theft, and to restore that which hee had stolne.*

Augustl. Epist. 137. What Saint *Augustine* affirmeth of his knowledge.

A notable example of a Noble man of England, iustly punnished for his periurie.

But of this matter, we haue a most famous and autenticall example in our owne Histories. *Elfred* or *Alfred*, a Nobleman of England, in the time of King *Adelstane*, conspired against him with certaine others: and beeing accused thereof, stood vpon the denial, and because the prouers were not sufficient to conuince him, he was sent to *Rome* (as the Custome was then) to make his purgation by Oath, at the Altar of S. *Peter*, where he swore contrary to his Conscience, and presently fell down before the Altar, and dyed within three daies after. Vpon aduertisement whereof, King *Adelstane* gaue all the Lands of *Elfred*, to the Church of Saint *Peter* in the Abbey of *Malmesbury*, by his Letters Patents; wherein, after the graunt of the sayde Lands, he declared the whole matter as it passed.

Guliel. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. Lib 2. cap. 6.

Also some yeares after, in the same age, *Lotharius* King of *Austrasia* (which contained all *Lorraine*, *Flanders*, & some part of *Germany*, *Burgundy*, and *France*) came to *Rome*, accompanied with his Nobility, in the time of *Adrian* the second, because he had bin excommunicated, for his diuorce frō his lawful wife *Theutperga*, and married with *Walterada* his Concubine. Now he was content, for his purgation thereof, to receiue the blessed Sacrament at the hands of Pope *Adrian*, together with his Nobility, whiche he did, protesting for his part, that he stood cleare of those things wherwith he was accused, which also his Nobility affirmed. But, as they departed from *Rome* homewards, there hapned such a strange disease among them, that *Lotharius* (hauing seene the death of most of his Noblemen) before he came to *Luca*, fell sicke there himselfe, and died within a few dayes after at *Placentia*, so that of all those that receyued the Sacrament with him, there liued not any one to the yeares end.

Regino. Chron. Agnonius. Sigon. de Reg. Ital. An. 859. Naucler. Chron. An. 867. Baron. An. 868.

And nowe to returne vnto our owne Countrey. Earle *Godwin*, Father to K. *Harold*, hauing procured the vntimelie death of *Alfred*, Brother to King *Edward* the Confessor, denied it continualy with solemne Oathes; and especiallie once, when he dined with the King. At what time, occasion beeing offered to speake of that matter, he took a piece of bread, and prayed to God, that the same might be his last, if he were any way consenting or priuy therto. And so eating the bread was choaked therewith, and died there in the Kings presence.

Henry Huntend in Hist. Lib. 6. Iugulphus Hist. Angl. 153. Polidor. Hist. Angl. Periury notably punnished in Earle *Godwine*, Father to King *Harold.*

It is also obserued and testified by most of the old Historiographers of our country, that the ouerthrow of King *Harolde* by *William* the Conqueror, was a iust punishment of God vpon him for his periury, the Story is briefely thus. *Harold* being in *Normandy* with Duke *William*, in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, promised for to assist him after the Kings death, in his pretence to the crown of *England*, which he also confirmed by solemne Oath. Whereupon, Duke *William*

King *Harold* slaine by Duke *William* the Conqueror, in punishment of his periury.

liam affianced his Daughter to him, and becauſe ſhe was not then of yeares to be married: he tooke *Harolds* oath, to perform the mariage within a certain time after. But when the time appointed for the mariage came, and *Harold* ſhewed no care to perform any part of his promiſes, the Duke ſent Meſſengers vnto him, to requeſt of him the accompliſhment thereof. But he, in ſtead of giuing ſatisfaction to the Duke: derided his Meſſengers, cauſing ſome of their Horſes tailes to be cut off, and others to be lamed. Alſo, afterward, when King *Edward* dyed, he practiſed not onely to exclude the Duke from the Crowne: but alſo procured it for himſelf, pretending that his promiſe to the Duke, was made for feare, & therefore it could not binde him.

Regard of Oath and promiſes vtterly forgotten by *Harold*.

When the Duke was entred into *England* with his Army, and ſollicited him by Meſſengers, to haue care of his conſcience, repreſenting vnto him the ſeuere iudgements of God on periured perſons, offering to come to ſome reaſonable compoſition with him: he made no account therof, neither yet of the admonition of his owne Brother *Gurth* or *Girth*. Who aduiſed him ſeriouſly before the battaile, to retire himſelfe, and leaue the conduct of the Army to him and others, who were not bound to the Duke vpon any oath or promiſe: leaſt otherwiſe, GOD might ſuffer them all to bee quite ouerthrowne for his cauſe.

Duke *Williams* honourable proceeding with *Harold*, at his entrāce into England.

Whereto hee aunſwered; *That he would put it in venter, and that God ſhold be the Iudge thereof.* And ſo giuing the battaile, was ſlaine himſelfe, and all his Army ouerthrowne. And although the ſaid Conqueſt might ſeeme to be a puniſhment of God vpon the whol Realm, for the peoples ſins: yet the perticuler diſgrace, which happened to King *Harolds* perſon, may well bee thought to haue proceeded (by Gods iuſt iudgment) for his periurie, and ſo the Engliſh Chroniclers, which wrote in that age, doe ſignifie: As *Iugulphus*, *William* of *Malmſburie*, *Henry Huntendon*, *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter*, *Matthew Paris*, and *Roger Houedon*, who ſpeaking of the victory, ſaith. *Vere & abſq; dubio, Dei iudicio à ſcribenda eſt, qui puniendo, ſcelus periurij, oſtendit ſe Deum nolentem iniquitatem. Truely and without doubt, it is to bee aſcribed to the iudgement of God, who puniſhing the ſin of periurie, declared thereby, that hee is a GOD, who doth not like nor allow of iniquity.*

The vnaduiſed anſwere of *Harold* to his kind Brother *Girth*.

The ancient Antiquaries that auouch this Hiſtory.

The words of *Roger Houeden*, an ancient Chronicler.

But to come neerer to our time, *Phillip de Comines* noteth the manifeſt Iuſtice of God, in the diſgracefull death of *Charles*, the laſt Duke of *Bourgundy*, thorow the treaſon of *Compobachio*, an *Italian*, ſhortly after that the ſaide *Charles* had betraied the *Count S. Paule*, and ſent him Priſoner to *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*; notwithſtanding, that he had giuen him ſafe conduct to come into his Country.

Phil. de Com. Chron. du Roy Louis. Cap. 83. & 91.

Charles Duke of *Bourgundy* worthily betrayed.

Furthermore, I cannot omit *Cæſar Borgia*, though I haue ſpoken of him diuers times before. For, as *Machiauill* worthily maketh him a Mirrour for his Tyrany, in reſpect of his manifold vices: ſo he may as worthily be propoſed for an example of Gods Iuſtice, in regard of the manifold iudgements of God diuerſly extended vpon him. And perticularly, in the puniſhment of his perfidiouſneſſe and periury, whereby hee had deceiued and ruined diuers other principall perſonages: As *Liuerotto*, *Vitellozzo*, *Pagolo Vrſino*, and the duke of *Grauina*, whom he cauſed to be ſtrangled; after they had rendred themſelues to him vpon compoſition, and employed themſelues faithfully in his ſeruice. Wherein Gods Iuſtice may bee noted, (by the way) in *Liuerotto*, who (a little before) had cruelly and trayterouſly murdered his owne Vnckle, and diuers other principall Cittizens of *Fermo*; hauing inuited them to a banquet in his owne houſe.

Cæſar Borgia punniſhed iuſtly for his perfidious Treachery.

Guicciardin in Lib. 8. Hiſt.

Liuerotto hauing traiterouſly murdered his Vnckle, was traiterouſly murdered himſelfe.

Which perfidious treachery of his, God puniſhed (as it ſeemed) by the treachery and perfidiouſneſſe of *Cæſar Borgia*: who alſo receiued the like meaſure himſelfe, by others. For, whereas he had taken an oath of fortie principall perſonages, to aſſiſt him after his Fathers death: he was forſaken of them all, and putting himſelfe (afterward) into the handes of *Henando Gonçales*, Gouernour of *Naples*, vppon his ſafe conduct; he was alſo betrayed by him, and ſent Priſoner into Spaine, as elſe-where is ſignified.

Idem Ibid.

The

Surius An. 1517 Another example of *Christiern*, King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

The like Iustice of God may bee noted also in *Christern*, King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*, who maried a Sister of the Emperor *Charles* the fift, in the time of *Henry* the eight, King of *England*. This *Christiern* besiedging *Stoekholme* in *Swetia*, tooke it by composition, binding himselfe to certaine conditions, not only by Oath, but also by receyuing the blessed Sacrament. Which conditions, he obserued for some few dayes, till hee had the Castle, and all the strongest places of the towne in his owne hands, and that hee had furnished them with men and munition. But then, inuiting all the Noblemen and Magistrates to a Banquet, to the number of ninety foure persons: he imprisoned and after kild them, with a great number of the Cittizens. And finding, that verie manie escaped him, by hiding themselues, he promised (by Proclamation) life and libertie to all those which were left aliue, whereupon they all shewed themselues, and were all miserably slaine. But within a while after, he was driuen out of his kingdom by his owne subiects; and when he hadde wandered from Countrey to Countrey in all pouerty and misery for the space of ten yeares, he was receiued again by som of the chiefest Nobility, who although they promised him obedience and assistance vnto their handes and seales, yet they tooke him prisoner vppon his enterance, and (within a while) poysoned him in prison: thus was his perfidious falshood iustly repayed with the like. After whose deposition and death, his Vnkle *Fredericke* a worthy Prince, was chosen King of *Denmark*.

Olaus. Mag. in Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

Christiern expulsed from his kingdome by his owne subiects, and after-ward poysoned in Prison.

Munster. Geograph. Lib. 4.

About the same time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, being fled from *Frances* the first King of *France*, to the seruice of the Emperour *Charles* the fift, Emperour, and made by him Gouernour of *Millayne*: he so exasperated the people by his exactions and crueltie, that they rose against him.

Martin du Belley. An. 1527. The Duke of *Bourbon* slaine at the siedge of *Rome* in punnishment of his periury.

Insomuch, that to pacifye them, he bound himselfe by Oath to certaine conditions, praying withall to Almightie God, that in case he did not exactly performe them, he might be slaine by a bullet, in the first occasion of warre which he offered. Neuertheless, hee fell afterward againe to his former course, without regard of his Oath, and being (within a while after) made Generall of the Emperors Army in *Italy*, he was tumultuously carried by his Souldiers (against his will) to the siedge of *Rome*, where he was presently slaine with a piece of Artillery of his owne, negligently discharged by his Soldiers, and so payed the penaltie of his periury, according vnto the iudgement and sentence which hee had (prophetically as it were) giuen against himselfe.

Paulus Iouius de expug. vrbis Romæ.

Now then, I wish all *Machiuillians* to consider heere three thinges, which are euident by these alledged examples. The first, how detestable all periury and perfidiousnesse is in the sight of God. The second, how dangerous it is to Princes, in respect of Gods wrath, which may fal vpon them and their states for the same, through the seuerity of Gods Iustice; against which, no humaine policy or power is able to defend them. The third, is a necessary consequent of these two, to wit; that all *Machiuillian* remedies (consisting partly in humaine prudence and diligence, and partly in force, and strength of Guards, Garrisons, Fortresses, and such like) are most friuolous and vaine when God is offended, and will punish for sinne. Whereupon it followeth also, that the aforesaid remedies are (in like manner) insufficient, to protect a perfidious Prince from the danger of humaine punishment, which is comly but a sequel and effect of the iust iudgments of God. In whose hand, are the hearts and willes of all men, and who vseth the same as his Instruments, to execute his Iustice vpon Princes, when they deserue it.

Three things to be considered and noated of *Machiauillians* in the premises.

The insufficiency and vanity of *Machiauillian* pollicie, for the defence of a wicked Prince

Besides, it is euident enough in true reason of state, that although there were no danger at all of Gods wrath: yet these and such other *Machiuillian* pollicies, are not only insufficient to preuent or remedy the inconueniences, which Wicked Princes incurre by the hatred of Men, but also do (many times) encrease theyr dangers, and helpe to præcipitate them to the vtter destruction, whereof I shall haue better occasion to speake heereafter.

Concerning the danger of mens hatred, that may be a meanes to further detriment.

In the meane time, this shall suffice, for so much as concerneth the Vertue of fidelity in a Prince, with this conclusion. That becaus the danger which groweth vnto Princes by fraud and deceite, proceedeth

ceedeth principally from the iust Iudgements of God; therefore, the yong Statist and Councellor (whom I labour to informe) ought to vnderstand concerning this, as well as all other Vertues, that the reputation thereof, which he is to desire and procure in his Prince, is to be grounded not vpon vaine shewes and apparances of counterfeit vertue (which God of his Iustice will discouer, and punish sooner or later) but vpon the solide Foundation of all sinceritie and trueth, which is the surest piller and stay of all humain actions, and most grateful both to God and man. And therefore, the Wiseman sayeth; *Qui ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter. He that walketh simply and plainly, walketh boldly and surely. Et qui deprauat vias suas, manifestus erit. And he which runneth an indirect course, shalbe made manifest.*

Al reputation or vertue ought to be grounded vpon sincerity and truth.

Prouer. 10, 9, 10.

It resteth now, that I saie some-what, (though verie briefely) of the reputation of a Princes power and greatnesse, the losse and decay whereof, emboldneth his enemies, discourageth his friends, and layeth open his person to the contempt of all men, yea, and his state to infinite daungers. For, as the reputation of a Princes greatnesse, wealth, and power, striketh a feare and terror into the hearts as well of his owne subiects, as strangers, and withholdeth them from conspiring against him: euen so, the opinion of his weakenesse, worketh the contrary effect, and is the verie Mother and Nursse of Rebellions, Conspiracies, and all hostile attempts. And no man knoweth howe small an enterprize may ouerthrow the greatest State in the world, seeing it dependeth vppon the successe which no man can warrant, and many times is such that it deceyueth all mens expectations. Therefore, the surest and wisest way is, to vse all preuentions, that nothing bee attempted against the State.

The reputation of the Princes power and greatnesse.

Opinion of the Princes weakenesse is the Mother of conspiracies.

To which purpose, the reputation of a Princes power, force, and greatnesse, is highly auaileable, the which *Augustus Cæsar* knew so well, that hauing lost an Army in *Germany*, of 40000. men: yet he continued the warre for no other reason or necessity (as *Tacitus* noteth) then to maintaine the opinion and reputation of his power, least otherwise, thee might grow to be contemned as the great *Xerxes* was, who hauing terrified all *Greece*, with his huge Armie of a Million of men, was (vpon his ouerthrowe and returne into *Persia*) so despised, that he was slaine by one of his owne subiectes. So dangerous it is, and damageable vnto a Prince, to loose reputation, how great soeuer it be. Whereupon I conclude, that it importeth a wise Councellour to measure and waigh all the commoditie and benefite of his Prince: as well with his reputation, as with his Conscience, though not in the like degree.

Augustus Cæsar laboured greatly to conserue the reputation of his greatnesse *Cor. Tacit in Lib. 1. Annal. Iustin. in Lib. 3.*

Great *Xerxes* ruined by the losse of reputation.

All benefit of the Prince to be weighed with his reputation & conscience, but not in like degree.

For, although reputation be the chief externall good of man: yet it is inferior to the internall, that is to say, vnto the goods of the mind, whereof a pure conscience is the principall, because therein consisteth the chiefe felicity of man, as Saint *Ambrose* saith. Beside, the benefite which redoundeth to Princes, by clearnesse of Conscience, is the fauour and protection of Almighty God, to them and their States heere in this world, and eternall saluation of their soules in the next. And the damage that ensueth of a corrupt and sinfull Conscience, is Gods indignation in this life (whereby the greatest Monarkes and their Monarkies, haue perished) and euerlasting damnation, in the world to come. Whereas (on the other side) all the benefit or damage which the gaine or losse of reputation, can yeild (beeing considered in it selfe) extendeth no further then the fauour or disfauour of men: who can neither vphold him whom GOD ouerthroweth, nor ouerthrow the man whom God protecteth. For, as the Apostle saieth, *Si Deus pro nobis, &c. If God be for vs, what matter makes it who is against vs?*

Reputation, though it be the chiefe externall good, is inferiour to Conscience. *Ambr. in Lib. 1. de Offic. Cap. 12*

The damage that ensueth to the Prince, by a bad Conscience.

How farre the gaine or losse of reputation may hurt or auaile. Rom. 8, 31.

Whereupon it followeth, that whether we regard the dignity and benefit of Conscience and Reputation, or else the damage that ensueth by the blemish of either of them: the respect of conscience is farre to be preferred before the other, and the losse of reputation is then principally to be feared, when Conscience is fouly stained and polluted. For then the Prince lying open to the contempte and hatred, as well of God as man, hath no defence, but may well feare and expect punishment from both. And so much the rather, because the losse and want of reputation, is one especiall meanes whereby God vseth to execute his iust iudgement on wicked Princes: it being

The losse of reputation is chiefely to be feared when Conscience is stained.

ing moſt conſonant to Iuſtice and Reaſon, that they who contemn and diſobey their Soueraigne Lord, King and Creator, ſhould be ruined by the contempt, hatred, and diſobedience of their owne ſubiects. And this danger (I ſay) is iuſtlie to be feared, when both reputation and conſcience are ſtained.

They that contemne God, ſhall iuſtly be contemned by men.

But when Conſcience is pure and entire, the loſſe and reputation is nothing ſo dangerous. For, although the iuſteſt and beſt men, are ſometimes ſo calumniated, that they incurre great infamie and diſgrace through the practiſes of the wicked: yet foraſmuch as the ſame hath no ground at all, it vaniſheth away like ſmoak, and is euer through Gods iuſtice) diſcouered & cleared in the end, to their greater reputation and honour. In the meane time, they haue the comfort, not only of Gods protection, as I haue formerly ſaid: but alſo of their owne Conſciences, the good reputation whereof, giueth (in ſuch caſes) ineſtimable conſolation. And therefore, the bleſſed Apoſtle, ſaith; *Gloria noſtra hæc eſt teſtimonium conſcientiæ noſtræ: The Teſtimonie of our Conſcience is our glory.* In which reſpect, Wiſe, and Vertuous Princes, though they haue due care of their reputation, yet doe not ſo much regarde falſe rumors when their Conſcience is cleare, as to forbeare the execution of any good and neceſſary deſignment, for the feare thereof. But rather follow the Councell and example of the Wiſe and valiant Conſull, *Fabius Maximus*, *Qui non penebat rumores ante ſalutem*; *Who preferred not rumours, before the good of the Commonwealth.* For, although his delayes againſt *Hannibal*, were (through the malice of his enemies) much calumniated and generally condemned by the common people, as proceeding of Cowardiſe, yet hee was nothing mooued therewith, holding it, as he ſaid, *A greater Cowardiſe to leaue a good purpoſe, for feare of mens tongues, then to leaue the field, for feare of an enemy.* In which reſpect he continued his courſe, vntill hee had thereby, waſted and conſumed the forces of *Hannibal*, with ſecuritie to the Romain State. For which, he was afterward highly commended, becauſe (as *Ennius* ſaieth) *Cunctando reſtituit rem: By delayes, hee repaired and reſtored the ſtate of the Romaines.*

The loſſe of reputation is nothing ſo dangerous when conſcience is cleare.

The comfort of a good Conſcience.

2 Cor. 1, 12.

A good deſignement is not to be left off, for feare of falſe Rumours.

Plutarch in Fabio. Cicero in Lib. 1. de Offic.

The noble ſaying of *Fabius Maximus.*

Ennius apud Cicero. Lib. 1. de Offic.

Neuertheleſſe, in ſuch caſes alſo, al diligence is to be vſed by Princes and their Councellors, to take away the ſcandali and aſperſions, that may growe by erroneous conceit of their actions, although their Conſciences bee neuer ſo cleare. Whereupon S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *That he which neglecteth his fame or good, truſting to his Conſcience, is cruel.* And thereof he yeildeth a reaſon: *Becauſe* (ſaith hee) *he killeth the ſoules of others.* For, although he do not the euill that is ſuppoſed, yet the very ſuſpition thereof, ſerueth as a ſtumbling blocke, to ouerthrow ſuch as are weak and il diſpoſed. And therefore, S. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *That conſcience & fame being two thinges, the one of them is neceſſary for vs, & the other for our neighbor.* And, *that he which keepeth his conſcience cleare, doth good to himſelfe: but hee which preſerueth his fame, doth good to others.*

Good fame not to be contemned, vpon confidence of a good Conſcience. *Auguſt Ser. 49. Cap. 1 et de bono vidititatis. Cap. 21.*

The preſeruation of a mans good name, is neceſſary for his Neighbour. *Auguſt. ibid.*

For this cauſe alſo, *Plato* requireth in euery good and vertuous man, that hee haue eſpeciall care, to leaue behind him an eternall reputation and fame of his vertues, to the end, to ſtirre vp not onely men of his time, but all poſterity alſo, to the imitation therof. Which is moſt neceſſarie in publick perſons, and eſpecially in Princes, becauſe their example inciteth to vertue or vice, much more then the example of priuat men. And therfore not only by reaſon of ſtate, but alſo conſcience bindeth them to be moſt careful of their reputation and good name, and not to permit the leaſt blemiſh thereof, (though it be neuer ſo vniuſt) if it may be conueniently remedied. But when it cānot be holpen, without ſome greater detriment to themſelues, or to the Commonwealth, then it is to be endured with patience. For, both reaſon and equity require, that the publicke and common good be preferred before any mans perticuler benefit, and that of two inconueniences the leſſe is to bee preferred and choſen, wherof Conſcience alſo is to be Iudge.

Plutarch. Epiſt. ad Dionyſium. Why a man ſhould ſeeke to leaue an euerlaſting Fame.

In what caſe an vniuſt blemiſh of reputation is to be tollerated.

Publique good alwayes to be preferred before perticuler benefite.

Therefore I conclude, that whereas Commoditie, Conſcience, and Reputation are to bee reſpected in all Deliberations concerning Princes affayres, Conſcience ought to predominate, and to ſerue for the touchſtone and rule, as well of reputation, as of all Temporall commodities. And therin a Councellor

Conſcience is the Touchſtone of all reputation & commodity.

shall well discharge his dutie, if in al consultations, he hold the knowne Axiome of *Cicero* for his ground, to wit: *Nihil est vtile quod non sit honestum*, *Nothing is profitable, that is not honest*. Which point *Cicero* discourseth, and teacheth notably in his Offices.

Cicero in Lib. 1. de Offic. A Councellor should holde for a ground, that nothing is profitable, that is not honest.

CHAP. VIII.

What a Councellor is to consider in the matters which are to be consulted.

Concerning matters to be consulted.

AND now to com to the last point of my diuision, that is, what a Councellor is to regard, in the matter it selfe that is to be consulted: it is to be vnderstood, that although the affaires of state are infinit, and therefore, cannot sufficiently bee reduced to perticuler rules, yet some things are generally to be considered in all matters, whereof I wil touch some few.

It is necessary for a Councellor to know the state of forreigne Princes.

First, for a necessary preamble and preparatiue to all deliberations in matters of State, it is to be considered, that in respect of the connexion, which perticuler affairs of State either haue, or may haue, with the general state of forrain Princes it is conuenient for a councellor to haue bin a traueller, or els to procure by all means to haue an exact knowledge, not only of his own Princes state and afairs, but also of the estates and affaires of other Princes, especially of such as are his Princes neighbors, enemies or confederates. To this end, two things are requisit, that he be affable and courteous to al men, and willing to hear them, and confer with them, especially straungers, because he may learn by them many things more, then otherwise he can attayne to know, concerning the state of forraigne Princes and countries. For as the *Spanish* Prouerb saith, *Mas sabe el necio en su casa, que el cuerdo en la ageno*, *A foole knoweth more in his owne house, then a wiseman doth in another mans*. And although a Councellor may be many times trobled with impertinent matters, yet hee shall withall vnderstand many thinges, which may import him much to know. And there is no man so wise, but he may sometimes heare of a simple man, somewhat that may serue him to verie good purpose: therefore the trouble (in this case is to bee borne with patience, in respect of the benefit that he may reap thereby.

A Councellor should bee courteous and affable to strangers, and why.

A Spanish Prouerbe to good purpose.

The wisest man may learne something of the simplest.

The other thing necessary for a councellors better information, is to procure frequent aduises and intelligences, by Letters from all parts, of the State, humors, and disposition of forraign Princes; of all changes and innouations in their Courts and Countreyes: Of the Marriages and Alliances of them, their Children, and their most powerful subiects: Of Ambassages too and fro, and their Treaties: Of prouisions and preparations for warre, both by Sea and Land, and their intentions therein: Of all Taxes and impositions laid vpon the people, or other leauies of Monies: Of the diuisions that fall out amongest the Nobility or common people, and of their discontentments: Finally, of al matters that may tend to the establishment and strengthning, or to the weakening and innouating of other Princes States. For, although a Councellor shal by this meanes, heare manie vntruths: yet hee shall verie often receiue aduise of important matters, whereof he may make good vse and benefit.

A Councellor ought to procure frequent intelligences out of forreigne Countries, and of what matters.

What benefit a Councellor shall reape by frequent intelligence, although hee may hear many vntruths.

And being a man of iudgement, and hauing intelligence with manie, he may easily discerne truths from falshoods, by conferring their aduises togither, especially, if hee take order that his Intelligencers doe not know of one anothers employment.

Finally, he shal by this meanes, not only iudge better and more clearly of al matters ocurring for his Princes seruice, but shal also make himselfe much more grateful to his Prince, by his diligence: and be more intrinsical with him, by occasion of his frequent aduices of forren newes, which Princes are alwayes most desirous to heare. And thus much for the first point.

Secondly, a Councellor is to consider, that in all matters of Councell, 3. things are especially to be respected, as *Thomas Aquinas* (following *Aristotle*) noateth. The fyrst, a due end. The second, conuenient meanes. And the third fyt time and season, that is to say, that the end and meanes be not only lawfull, iust, and honorable in themselues, and in their owne Nature: but also to the person, state, and power of the Prince. For, if there bee any

Three things especially to be respected in euery matter. *Tho Aquin. 22. Q. 51. Aristot. in Lib. 6. Ethic.*

any inconuenience or disproportion in any of these, I meane, if the meanes bee not conuenient, for the obtaining of the end, or, if the end or meanes be impossible, or aboue the might and power of the Prince, or base, or any way vnfit for his state and person, or if the councell be giuen out of due time and season, especially too late: it looseth all grace, & cannot be acounted either good or prudent.

Plato in Phedro. Necessary to know the state of the matter, with al the circumstances. One little circumstance vnknowne, may cause great errour in resolution. Why wise men doe not alwaies iudge with like prudence.

To this purpose I say, that according to *Platoes* rule, he who is to giue his opinion of any matter, *Ought first to vnderstand & know fully the state therof with al the circumstances.* For mans iudgement is grounded on his knowledge, and guided therby, & some one litle circumstance vnknowne may wholy alter the case. Insomuch, that a simple man may iudg more wisely thereof, then a far wiser man that knoweth lesse. And the reason why wisemen do not alwaies iudge with like wisedom and prudence in all causes, is, beecause they do not vnderstand them alike.

What is perticulerly to be be considered in euery matter.

But to proceed, the state and circumstances of the matter beeing once fullie knowne to the Councellor, he is then to passe to the consideration of the inconueniences, difficulties, dangers, discommodities, & commodities therof, which may minister diffrent arguments, *Pro et contra*, in the discussion wherof, the prudence of a Councellor is especially seen. And heere I note by the way (thogh perhaps I may seeme to digresse from the matter) that some men, who haue great viuacity and sharpnes of wit, to find out inconueniences to foresee dangers, and to propound obiections, doubtes, and difficulties, haue no maturity of iudgement, to clear and deside them, or to find out remedies. And some others, who are of more sound iudgement, are lesse sharp of wit. Again, some who are of good capacity, haue so litle corage, that they are dismaid with euery difficulty, and therefore cannot easily resolue on anie thing. Whereas some others, of lesse capacitie and more corage, resolue more easily in any ocasion. So that we may say with the Poet, *Non omnia possumus omnes*, *We cannot al do al things.* And therefore *Phil. de Commes*, obserueth very wel, that it is conuenient for Princes to haue many councellors, to the end, that one of them may supply the defects of another. *For the wisest* (saith he) *erre oft-times either through passion, or through hate or affection, or through the indisposition of the persons, especialy after dinner. And if any thinke, that such ought not to bee made Councellors, it may be answered, that we are al men. And whosoeuer wil haue none to be of a Princes councel, that erre at any time in speech or opinion, or are otherwhiles mooued, and led with passion or affection, he must seek them in heauen, for in earth none such are to bee found.* Thus saith he, who was himselfe a graue and wise councellor, which I note heere by the way, to the end, that young Councellors may learne, neither to assure themselues much on their owne opinions, nor rashly to condemne others of their fellow-Councellors, if they erre and be deceiued sometimes.

Phil. Com. in Chron. du Roy Louis Cap. 27. Why it is conuenient for Princes to haue many Councellors.

All Councellors erre at one time or other.

A Princes Councell ought to be composed of men of different humours.

And to prosecute this digression yet a litle further, I also adde, that it is necessary for a Prince, to haue his Councell composed like mans body, that is, of men of different complexions & humors, to the end, that the Chollerick heate, and hasty feauor of some, may bee tempered with the Flegmatick coldnesse, and slow resolution of some other, and that the pinacity of some mens sanguine spirites, may be somwhat depressed and counterpoized with the maturity of some others melancholy iudgements, which *Aristotle* holdeth to be the soundest in matters of State. Whereby the whole bodie of the Councell, may be reduced vnto a perfect temperature, so that the predominant qualitie therin be found in most, or in some at the least, which may helpe to correct the peccant and offensiue humors of the rest, restraine the superfluity of ouer-flowing conceits, cleare doubts and difficulties, and satisfye Obiections which proceedeth (manie times) from them who are not able to resolue them, yet serue to great purpose in Councels, to whet the wits, and open the vnderstanding of men of iudgement. This I haue thought good to touch by the way, that the young Councellor, whom I aduise, may vnderstande somewhat, as well of the Nature and Condition of a Councell, as of the Office and duty of a Councellor.

The mellancholly iudgement most sounde.

Arist. in Probl. Sect. 30. quest. 1.

To whet the wit, and open the vnderstanding.

The differēce that may be noated in the ability of Councellors.

Mature and sound iudgement.

Sharpnesse of witte.

Lacke of courage.

But now to return to the consideration of matters to be consulted, it is requisit, that a Counceller do prudently weigh and compare the discommodities with the cōmodities, & inconueniences with

Consideratiō of matters to be consulted.

the remedies, the difficulties & dangers, with the posibility and probabilitie to ouercome them. And not to reiect a verie commodious and honorable designment, because it is costly, or some way discommodious or difficult and hard, or some way dangerous. For as the prouerb saith; *There is no commodity without discommodity, nor any thing honorable, which is not difficult.* And therefore, it is to bee foreseene and prouided, that the commodities may ouerweigh the damages, that the gaine quite the cost, that euerie inconuenience haue a due remedie; that euery difficulty be some way facilitated; that euery important danger may be probably preuented or escaped; that of cõmodities (which cannot be had togither) the greater be chosen; and of inconueniences (when all cannot be auoided) the least be admitted. All which being foreseene, and probably prouided for, anie important action whatsoeuer, may bee determined, councelled, and vndertaken, notwithstanding some dangers may be incident thereto. For he that will not take paines to cracke the Nut, cannot eat the kernell, and he that will hazarde nothing, shall win nothing: *for nought venter* (saith the Prouerb) *nought haue.*

Yet this is to be vnderstood, that the danger bee not ouer-great, which may partly be prouided for, if it be foreseene, that the greatest danger rather doth concerne some circumstance of the matter, then the principall partes, or the whole body of the plot; that the benefit expected, exceed the losse which may bee feared; that no certaine thing of moment be aduantured, for a thing vncertain. For *better one Bird in the hand, then two in the bush*: that of matters doubtfull, which cannot fully be resolued, the lesse doubtfull, or more assured be preferred. And finaly, that the hope of benefit be grounded vpon probable reason, and sufficient meanes to atchieue the same, and not vpon chance, which is so vncertain, that no man may safely build any important matter thereon. And therefore, *Tiberius Cæsar* helde it for a ground, as *Cornelius Tacitus* witnesseth, *Non omittere caput rerum, neque se in casum dare, Not to let slip the first opportunities, nor to aduenture himselfe or his estate vpon chance.* That is to say, not to hazard himselfe or his state in any enterprise, when he hath not sufficient probability of good successe.

For, althogh the euent of al plots that are put in execution, is casuall, depending vpon the will of God: yet it is a wise mans part, to do that which lieth in him, to assure it by all probable and conuenient meanes, and then to leaue the rest to Gods disposition. For otherwise, hee should tempt God, and offend him by his negligence: and therefore, without this probability of assurance, no matter of importance ought tobe attempted by a wise man. Except in desperate cases, when the necesity is so great and so sudden (as somtimes it falleth out to be) that there is no time or place for discourse. For, then there is no remedy, but to trust only to God and a mans good fortune, which falleth out many times better, thẽ by humaine discourse can bee expected or immagined. As it did to *Iulius Cæsar*, who finding himselfe vnable to giue battel to *Pompey*, because his forces wer not arriued, and beeing (in the meane time) constrained to go to sea in a litle Frigot, in such stormy rough seas, that the Pilot wold not passe forth, discouered himself, and bad him set sail and go forward in any case, because he carried *Cæsar* and his fortune: which succeeded wel, for therby he escaped at that time, and afterward ouerthrew *Pompey*, and becam Emperor of the world. But this he did, because he had no other remedy, thinking it better to put himselfe to the mercy of the seas, then of his enemie.

And in such desperat and sudden exigents, when there is no time and place for wisedome and discourse, the councel of some woman or simple fellow, may be better then of the wisest man. For that (as *Aristotle* sayth) som such being by the guift of God, born fortunate, and following the impulse and motion of nature, may aduise or execute more happily, thẽ men of great wisedome, who pondering all things in the ballance of reason and discourse, do not followe many times, a fortunat motion in themselues, nor happy coũcel of others, because they see not some good and probable or reasonable ground for the same, wherby they forgo and loose their good fortune. And this is the reason, why the common Prouerbe saith, *That a Womans Councel is neuer good but vpon the sudden.* For when Women councel according to their first motion, they

No commodity without a discommodity.

What is to be foreseene and prouided for in euery matter.

He that will hazzard nothing shall win nothing.

What is to be considered concerning danger, and the preuention thereof.

Better one Bird in the hand, then two in the Bush. *Cor. Tacit. in Annal.*

Resolutions are to bee grounded vpon probable reasons and sufficient meanes.

Nothing of importance is to be left to chance.

What euery wise man should very diligently obserue.

In extremities a man must trust to God and his good Fortune.

Of *Iulius Cæsar*, and his Fortune. *Plutarch in Iulio Cæsar.*

In extremities, the councell of a simple man may be good, and why. *Aristot. de bona Fortuna.*

Why a woemans Councell is neuer good but vpon the sudden

they may councell fortunately, either by chance, or by some naturall impulse or motion: whereas, falling to discourse of reason, or to deliberation, they seldom or neuer councell wisely, through the infirmity and weakenesse of their iudgement. And to this purpose, *Aristotle* alledgeth the old Prouerb, *Fortuna fauet fatuis, fortune fauoureth fooles*, as I haue signified before, concerning this point.

Aristot. de bona Fortuna.

Heerupon I conclude two things. The one, that except in case of necessity, a wise-man ought to leaue nothing vnto chance, that may be any way assured by reasonable meanes, in respect of the danger that may ensue thereby. For, although dangerous councels (grounded vpon hope of good fortune) speede well sometimes by meer chance, yet they proued most commonly pernitious. And therefore, the Wiseman sayeth wisely: *Qui amat periculum peribit in illo, He that loueth danger, shal perish therein.*

Nothing is to be left to chance, but in case of necessity.

Eccles. 3, 27. He which loues danger, shall perish in it.

The other Conclusion is, that seeing men are many times put to such sudden extreamities, that they haue no time or opportunity to aduise themselues, or to consult with others: it is most necessarie that they arme and prouide themselues against the same, by frequent Praier, and by dayly recommending al their actions to almighty God, the authour and giuer of all good successe. To the end, that he may (in such cases) guide, protect, and prosper them: and this I hold to bee the soundest aduise, that any councellor can giue to his Prince. Thus much for the second consideration.

The necessity of daily recommendation of our actions to God.

The third, shall be to ponder and examine diligently, not onely the present state of the matter, and the imediate or next sequel thereof: but also, what may be like to succeed from time to time: and especially, what may be the conclusion, or (as I may terme it) the vpshot of the whol. For many times it falleth out, that designments prosper wel for a while, and yet ouerthrow the authors or attempters in the end: not so much by Fortune or chance, as by ouer-sight in the councellor or contriuer thereof. For hee being deceiued with the appearaunce or hope of some present or neere commoditie, fore seeth not, or else neglecteth some future and finall disgrace. Much like vnto the sicke-man, who following his owne appetite, eateth or drinketh some one thing, which refresheth and contenteth him for the present, yet augmenteth his disease, or killeth him in the end.

Diligent pondering and examination in the present state of the matter, & future successe.

The ouer-sight in some Councellors.

Some improuident Councellors compared to sicke men.

In this point, all wicked and *Machiauillian* Councelles fayle for the most part, which do often succeede well for a time, thorough Gods permission, for secret causes best knowne vnto his Diuine Wisedome: but in the end, do destroy Princes and their States, partlie thorough the Iustice of almighty God, and partly by the errour and negligence of the Councellours in true reason of State, as shall be more at large prooued heereafter.

Wherein all wicked and *Machiauillian* councels faile for the most part.

In the meane time I adde for the present, a fourth Consideration to the same purpose, to wit; that a Wise Councellor ought to weigh the Commoditie of euery thing, with the stability and security thereof: and not to aduise his Prince with a fewe yeares present pleasure or benefit, to purchase manie yeares future paine or discommoditie. But, rather to endure some disaduantage or dammage for a time, when thereby he may attaine to some stable and permanent good afterward.

Commodity to be weighed with stability and security.

And this he may learne, by the course that Nature holdeth in humain affaires, ordaining Motion for rest, businesse for repose, Labour for ease, and payne for pleasure. In which respect, a Wiseman laboureth when he is young, to rest in his Olde age, and taketh a loathsome Potion, or bitter Pill, to recouer health, and willingly endureth all Temporall miserie, to attaine in the end to eternall Felicitie. This (I say) not onely Nature, but also true Wisedome) which alwayes followeth the course and steps thereof) doth teach vs no lesse in matters of State, then in all other humayne affayres.

The course of Nature to be followed in the deliberation of matters of State.

Therfore by the same reason, a councellor ought also to prefer a certain and durable commodity, though it be lesse, before a greater, that is short and vncertaine. To which purpose, *Theopompus* K. of *Lacedemonia*, answered the Queen his wife very well, when shee lamented to him, that he wold leaue his roiall authority lesse to his children, then he had receiued it, because he had ordained certaine Controllers of Kings, called *Ephori*, *No* (quoth he) *I shal leaue it the greater*,

Plutarch in his Treatise whether a Prince ought to be learned.

The greatnes of Princely authority to be measured by the Stability thereof.

What is chiefly to be considered concerning Stability

True Stability is Eternity.

because it shalbe more firme and sure. Thus sayd he, wisely measuring the benefite of Princely Authority, was so much by greatnesse, as by surety and stabilitie, whereto all the Councelles and endeauours of Wise Councellours and Statists ought chiefely to tend: yet with this consideration, that although of worldly things, some are more stable and permanent then others: yet there is no true stability in any of them; and that therefore, all Wisemens Councelles are especially directed, to the attaining of Heauenlye things, wherein is true stability and eternity. Thus much for considerations to be had in generall, concerning matters to be consulted.

Sufficient rules cannot be giuen in perticuler concerning matters of State.

And, forasmuch as sufficient Rules cannot be giuen in perticuler, concerning the same, in respect that the affaires of State are infinite and variable by reason of the infinite occasions & accidents which fall out dayly to be considered (all which may require different considerations, according to the different Nature and quality of the matters, and the sundrie circumstances of times, places, and persons) I haue therefore thought good (for examples sake, and the instruction of young Statists) to handle and debate heere, some one matter of State, by way of discourse. And because occasion is offered oftentimes, to deliberate about the maintenance of a Ciuill Warre in a forraigne Countrey, I will set downe mine Opinion, what aduise a yong Statist may safely giue, concerning the same.

CHAP. IX.

For the better enstruction, and more perticuler information of a young Councellour, concerning matters to be consulted: a matter of State is debated, to wit; What is to be considered in a deliberation, touching the maintenaunce of a Ciuill Warre, in a forraigne Countrey.

Concerning the maintenance of a ciuill warre in a forreigne Country.

WHosoeuer shall giue aduice concerning the maintenãce of a Ciuill warre, in a Forraigne Countrey, it shal be conuenient for him (in my fancy) for to consider principally these points following.

The equity of the cause to be considered two wayes.

First, the Equity and Iustice of the cause, as well on his Princes part, to wit; whither it may be iust and lawful in him, to giue the assistance demanded: as also, whether their quarrell, which demaund the same, be lawfull and iust, or no. For, if Iustice and Equitie want in eyther of both, no commodity that a Prince can receyue or expect, can counteruaile the dishonor, danger, and damage which he shall assuredly incurre by the offence of Almighty God. *Qui auſert ſpiritum Principum, & terribilis eſt apud Reges terræ, Who taketh the ſpirit of Princes away and is terrible to the Kinges of the Earth.* And will assuredly exact the penaltie thereof on him, or perhaps on his state, or on both, sooner or later. Which is the chiefe and highest point of state, to be considred in all deliberations of princes, seeing the vtter destruction and ruin of them and their estates, proceedeth principally from the offence of God, as hath bin more at large before discussed.

Psalme. 76, 12.

The highest point of State, to be considered.

Iust motiues on the Princes part to giue succour.

It is also to be considered, what good and iust motiues his Prince may haue on his own part, to giue the succors demãded, which may be reduced to four cases. The first, when he may thereby do some notable seruice to God, which is alwaies in it selfe not only honorable but profitable, as it were mony put to intrest, in respect of the reward which hee shall assuredly receiue at gods hands for the same howsoeuer it succeed for the present.

Some notable seruice to God.

The second case is, when he is bound by Oath, promise, or gratitude, to succour the party that craueth his aide. For in such case, the omission thereof (when it may iustly and conueniently be done) were both offensiue to God, & also, dishonorable and dangerous to a Prince, as wel in respect of Gods punishment for his periury, as also for the bad example, and iust occasion he should giue vnto others his Allies and confederats, yea, and to his owne subiects to forsake him in his necessity.

Obligation by oath, promise, or gratitude.

A iust pretence to a forreigne Crowne or State.

The third case is, when the Prince of whom the succour is demaunded, hath a iust pretence vnto a forraigne Crowne or State, for the obtayning whereof, he may hope to haue a party, by maintayning a iust quarrell in the same State or Country. Wherein respect is to be had, that

A forreigne warre not to be grounded principally vpon hope of a partie.

that the Princes own forces be sufficient for the execution of his enterprise, that he shall not neede to relie further vpon his partie; then onely to facilitate the same. For, if his hope of good successe, eyther in obtaining his pretence, or in conseruing or maintaining it afterward, doe chiefely depend vppon the good will, fidelity, and strength of such a party: he buildes (as a man may say) vpon the Sand, and puts in aduenture his labour, charges, and reputation.

A lamentable example of *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*. *Hieron. Couestagio de' vnio de li Reg. di Portugallo lib.2*

Heereof wee haue had a lamentable example not many yeares past, in *Sebastian*, King of *Portugall*, who hoped to make himselfe King of *Marocco*, vnder colour to restore thereto *Muley Mahomet*, whereof he made so sure account; that he carryed a Crowne with him, to Crowne himselfe King there. Not considering, that his aduersary *Muley Molucco* (who was in possession of that kingdome) was not onely most valiant for his person: but able also to put into the field for his defence, aboue 100000. Horse and foote.

A very indiscreete and vnkingly aduenture.

Against whom neuertheless, King *Sebastian* vndertook the enterprise, with an Army of 13000. Souldiors, or there about, the most of them vntrained: beside, neither he himselfe, nor any that did commaund the Army vnder him, had euer borne Armes before. In so much, that he trusted (as it seemed) to the conduct and forces of *Muley Mahomet* his Confederate, who when hee came to tryall, was not able to bring to the fielde 2000. men. So that, aduenturing with so few, to fight with aboue 40000. Horse, and 10000. Foote, and (as some say) a farre greater number: his Army was presently enclosed on all sides, and so opprest with multitudes, that he lost both the battaile, and his life. So perilous a thing it is for a Prince to ground any designement of a forraigne War: eyther on the weakenesse of an Enemy, or on the strength of a Confederate, and not vppon sufficient forces of his owne. But to proceede.

A perilous resolution in a Prince.

A forreigne warre to be maintained, to auoide a domesticall.

The fourth case is, when to auoyde some imminent danger, of inuasion or Warre at home, or other great vexation: a Prince is forced to holde his Enemy occupyed in his owne Countrey, by supporting there a iust quarrell against him. Wherein, though he spend largely, without fear of losse, in respect of the present security which hee purchaseth, and exemption from greater expences and daunger at home: neuertheless, it shall be Wisedome for him, (in my fancy) to practise the councell which *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* gaue to *Tissaphernes* in like case, to wit. *Not to giue greater succor, then may suffise to keep the warre still on foote, as well to gain time, which often remedieth the greatest inconuenience; as also to extenuate and wearie both parties, in such sort, that whether the warre end by victorie or composition, they may haue no ability to assayle him.* Which he may well feare, though the party which he assisteth should preuaile.

Good councell of *Alcibiades*, concerning the maintenance of a forreigne warre.

For this purpose, it is to be considered, that Ciuill dissentions end many times, to the cost of the Forreigne Prince who maintained them: whether they end by victorie of the enemy, or of his Confederate, or else by their composition. For, his enemy, if hee ouercome, remaineth more irretated, and more obliged to seek reuenge then before. And his Confederate, if hee vanquish the other, and succeed him in his State: is more like to proue an enemy then a friend, especiallie, if the quarell of the other was not personall (that is to say, proceeding of some perticuler iniurie done to his person) but a quarrel of State, as commonly it is, for in that case, whosoeuer shall be Gouernour of the same State, will be his enemy, notwithstanding, any benefit receiued. For experience teacheth, that respect of gratitude for benefits past, little auaileth, when it is any way encountred with reason of State.

Ciuill warres end to the cost of the Forreigner that maintained them.

Respect of gratitude encountred with reason of State, little auayleth.

Guicciard. nelli. Ansi bolit. Reason of State very variable.

Which (as *Guicciardin* saith) *Vince ogni partito, Doth (with Princes) ouer-weigh all other considerations.* And is so varriable, according to the variety of occasions, and successe of affaires: that it changeth daily, and of a Friend this day, maketh an enemy to morrow. In which respect, the Leagues & amities of Princes, is commonly very vnsure, bee the obligation neuer so great.

Moreouer, it commonly falleth out, that the party whom a forreign Prince helpeth to aduance, remaineth his debter for the charges bestowed in his succour: whereupon it followeth many times,

Mony lent to maintaine a forreigne war in danger to be lost.

times, that the Creditour looseth both his Friend and his Money. For, if he trust to bare promises of repayment, he is in danger to be serued, as was *Edward* the Blacke Prince, who going in person (with a great Army into Spaine) to succour *Peter* the King of *Castile*, vpon his promise to repay him all his expences: was after the victorie) so delayed and deluded by him, that hee was faine to returne without any satisfaction. By meanes whereof, hee was constrained to lay such impositions vpon his owne Subiects in *Aquitaine*, for the payment of his Souldiours: that they rebelled, and hee lost the greatest part of that Country.

Edward the blacke Prince.

Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl. Lib. 19.

And put the case, that hee haue any places or Towns deliuered him, in consideration of his expences, or his better security, which any Prince that giueth succour to Forraigners) hath reason to seek: then his friend many times (for reason of State) becomes his Enemy, to recouer those places which he gaue him before. And so it falleth out commonly, when soeuer ciuill wars and dissentions come to end, by composition of the parties deuided: who willingly agree, and ioyne themselues against the Forraigner that maintained their deuision. Especially, if he haue any hold or footing in their Countrey, though it were at the first with their owne consent; whereof I wil alleage a few examples, as well Ancient as Moderne.

Places or Townes giuen in pawne for money make enemies of friends.

Composition of deuided parties against the forreigner.

In the Barons wars in England, in the time of King *Iohn*, *Lewes* the eight, then Son to *Phillip* the second king of *France*, assisted the Barons against their King, and being called by them into England, and proclaimed King therof: was shortly after (by common consent, as well of them, as of al the other English) driuen out againe.

The Barrons warres in England.

Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl. Lib. 15.

Paul. Aemil. in Phillip. 2.

Also *Phillip*, Duke of *Bourgundy*, to be reuenged on the Duke of *Orleans*, & on *Charles* the seauenth, while hee was yet but *Dolphin*: called *Henry* fift, King of *England* into *France*, & assisted him first to make him Regent, & after to crown not only him, but also *Henry* the sixt his Son, King of *France* in *Paris*. Yet in the end, he made his peace with King *Charls* aforesaide, and helped him to deprive the English of all that, which either they had got by his meanes, or otherwise.

Phillip. Duke of *Bourgundy.*

Pol dor. Virgil. in Hen. 5. & 6.

In like manner, *Charles* the eyght, King of *France*, was most earnestly sollicited to the Conquest of *Naples*, euen by the *Neapolitans* themselues: who, neuertheless) shortly after helped to expel the Garisons and forces which he had left ther, notwithstanding they had receiued great benefits of him.

Charles 8. King of France. *Phillip. Commin in Carol. 8. Cap. 2. & 39.*

In this age also, the late Queene of England, of glorious memory, gaue some support in the first troubles of France, to her great charges. But when peace was made in the year of our Lord 1562. they all ioyned against her, to recouer *Haure de Grace* from her, which they had before giuen her, for assurance of the Mony, by her lent them.

Elizabeth Q. of England.

And lastly, notwithstanding the costly succours of Men and Mony, that the French Catholikes receiued from the Catholike King of *Spaine*: yet they forsook him almost all in the end, and ioyned with his and their aduerse partie, and made War against him, to recouer of him som few Towns in the frontiers of *Flanders*, which they had giuen him before, for his and their security.

Phillip the second King of *Spaine.*

Therefore, although these things doe not alwaies succeed in this manner, yet forasmuch as most commonly they do, and that nothing is more vncertaine, then that which dependeth on the will, affection, or gratitude of other men, or vpon reason of state, which varieth and changeth daily, according to the variety of occasions. I hold it for a speciall point of prudence in a Prince, to take the surest way, to wit; not to engage himself too far, nor to aduenture more, then he careth not to loose, in the maintenance of a ciuill Warre in a forraigne Country; except, when either the seruice of God, som iust obligation, or the conseruation of his own state doth necessarily require it. Thus much concerning the behalfe of the Prince that is to giue the succour. Furthermore, great consideration is to be had, of the State and condition of the parties which demaund it: as, whether they bee able to ouercome their aduersaries, or (at least) to stand and maintaine their quarrell, with the assistance which they craue, or may be giuen them. For otherwise, it were great impudence in any Prince, to vndertake their maintenance: but rather to endeauour by way of treaty

Nothing more vncertaine, then that which dependeth on the will of men, or reason of State.

Considerations concerning those which demād succour.

ty (betwixt them and their aduerſarie) to compound the quarrell, and thereby to make himſelfe gratefull to both parties.

Concerning Townes or States confederated.

And for as much as it many times falleth out, that the ability and power of the party which craueth aſſiſtance, conſiſteth not in the ſtrength of ſome one potent and abſolute Prince, but in the force of many Princes, Townes, or States, confederated and leagued together: it is in ſuch caſe ſpecially to bee conſidered, how, or vpon what reaſons, the ſaid partie is vnited.

The motiues or ends of leagues to be conſidered.

To this purpoſe it is to be noted, that in all confederacies and leagues, wherein many do vnite themſelues: the confederates are mooued thereto, eyther with one motiue or end (as in the Cantons of the *Switzers*, or in the League which the Pope, the King of the *Romaines*, the King of *Spaine*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Millaine*, made againſt *Charles* the eight King of *France*, for the defence of *Italie*.) Or elſe they are mooued thereto with diuers and ſundry motiues, ſome with one, and ſom with another.

Phillip de Com. Chron du Roy Charles Cap. 23

As for example, in the late French League or vnion, ſome entered onelie for conſeruation of the Catholike Religion (which was the common and pretended end of all that partie) others entred for perticuler reſpects; as either for paſſion or ambition, or for the friendſhip of ſome one Man on the one ſide, or hatred of ſome on the other, or for hope of future gaine, or for preſent profit and commoditie, or ſuch like.

The common ende of the *French* league.

The perticuler endes of many in the *French* league.

Now then, thoſe that are led by perticuler reſpects, doe not (for the moſt part) remaine any longer in any league, then they may hope to obtaine their deſires. And when they are perſwaded, that they may ſooner obtaine the ſame, by adhearing to the aduerſe partie; they are eaſily induced thereto: and hereupon followeth commonly, the diſſolution of ſuch leagues and confederacies. For which cauſe, the ſtrength and power of any leagues, is not to be meaſured ſo much by the multitude of confederates, be they neuer ſo great and potent: as by their concurrence and agreement in one and the ſame end. For, as a few vnder one head, are ſtronger then many, vnder many and different heads; as *Phillip de Commineus* noteth very wel: ſo a few principall perſons or Townes, vnited together for one and the ſelfe ſame cauſe, are to be reputed far ſtronger, and more like to ſtand; then verie many (though much more potent) if they haue many and different ends.

Diuerſity of ends cauſeth the diſſolution of leagues.

A few vnder one head is ſtronger then many vnder different heads. *Phillip. Com Chron. du Roy Louis. Cap. 26.*

Therfore it much importeth a Prince, that ſhall ſupport a Forraigne League, to diſcouer (as much as hee may) what end or motiue induced the Heades and principall Confederates, to make their entrance: Whereby he ſhall the better diſcerne, what their force and ſtrength may be, and how they are like to ſtand, and to maintaine their quarrell. For, if they haue al but one end, they may be repured the ſtronger: but if their endes be diuers, they cannot long ſtand. As wee haue ſeene lately in the French League, which, notwithſtanding the great ſuccours (both of Men and Money) giuen them by the Catholique King: diſſolued rather of it ſelfe, then by any forces of enemies, by reaſon that many of the Gouernours of Townes, and chiefe Pillers thereof, concurred not in one end with the whole league. And therefore, when they receiued ſatisfaction for their particular deſires, or ſaw themſelues out of hope thereof, they eaſily changed their party.

Necessary for a Prince to diſcouer the ends of the principall confederates.

The diſſolution of the *French* league through the diuerſity of ends.

To ſuch Leagues (I ſay) vnited only in exterior ſhew, and not in one common end: I hold it not ſecure or conuenient for a Prince to giue ſuccour; except he be moued thereto by ſome imminent danger of inuaſion, or other great dammage. Which he may feare to receiue from the enemy occupied, as I haue ſignified before, while he neyther prepares for his better defence at home, or at leaſt may winne time; which in all extreamities is to be ſought, and often remedieth the very greateſt inuenien ces.

In what caſe a Prince may ſupport a forreigne league, not vnited in one end.

Moreouer, foraſmuch as the ſuccors demaunded or giuen, conſiſt commonly eyther in Money, Men, or in both, and that it may import a Prince (for the furtherance of ſome iuſt pretence, or obligation of his own, or for ſome publique good) to imploy not only his forces, but alſo his Mony largely, to maintaine and ſupport a Forraigne League: I will adde ſomewhat concerning the ſame, to the end, that a young Statiſt may

The ſuccours demanded conſiſt either in mony, men, or in both.

may the better vnderſtand, both what to aduiſe, and alſo how to deale therein.

How money is to be beſtowed in the maintenance of a forreigne league.

Therefore, firſt concerning the beſtowing of Mony, I ſay, that although it cannot be denied, but that Mony may doe very much in all buſineſſes of this quality. (For, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit auri ſacra fames? What doth not the deteſtable hunger of Gold compell Men to do?*) Yet ordinarily, the effect that Mony can worke, is but to diſpoſe the wils and mindes of Men to the deſired end. Which diſpoſition (neuertheleſſe) in ſome that receiue the Mony, is none at all, in others very little, and in moſt very doubtfull, and to be ſuſpected. For thoſe to whom thou giueſt thy Mony, either are thine enemies, or thy friends, or elſe neutrall. If they be thine Enemies, commonly they take thy Mony, to impoueriſh thee, to enrich themſelues, and to imploy thine owne Mony againſt thee, when they ſhall ſee time.

What effect money may worke.

Money is giuen to ſuch as eyther are friends, enemies, or neutrall, and in what nature it worketh with eyther of them.

If they bee thy Friends, thy Money worketh little; becauſe their own good will and friendſhip, bindeth them more vnto thee, then thy Mony can doe. If they be neutrall, & become thy Friends for the profit they haue by thee: their friendſhippe will laſt no longer then the profit continueth. And when they may think to get more by thine enemy, then by thee: they will be his friendes for the ſame reaſon, that they were thine. And although they ſhall haue neuer ſo great benefit by thee; yet they will perſwade themſelues, that thou ſeekeſt thine own Commoditie, and not theirs, and that thou art beholding vnto them, for that they doe vouchſafe to take any thing of thee.

The deſire of money encreaſeth with the vſe and poſſeſſion thereof. *Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.*

And foraſmuch, as the hunger and deſire of Mony, doth encreaſe with the poſſeſſion and vſe thereof: the more thou giueſt them, the more they will deſire. For, as *Cicero* ſaith; *Fit deterior qui accipit, & ad idem ſemper expectandum paratior; He which taketh or receiueth Mony, is made worſe thereby, and alwayes the more ready to expect the like.* So that, if thou doe not euer giue them, when, and how much they ſhall expect or demaund of thee: they will hate thee more for that which thou doſt not giue them, then they haue loued thee for that which they haue receiued already. For, as *Seneca* ſaith. *Vetus & nota ingratitudo eſt, dati immemores meminiſſe negati, ideoque raræ & tepentes gratiæ feruidæ & frequentes querelæ. It is an old and notorious ingratitude, to forget a benefit receiued, and ſtill to remember a benefit denied. Whereupon it followeth, that thankes are care and cold; and Complaints, feruent and frequent.*

Seneca in Lib. 2. de Ira. Ca. 14. A benefit receiued, ſoone forgotten: a benefit deuided, remembred euer.

I ſpeake not this, for that I thinke it not conuenient to negotiate with Mony, to gaine and entertaine the affections of men: but to ſignifie, that it is to be don with great conſideration. For, as *Pliny* ſaith. *Inconſideratæ largitionis comes pœnitentia eſt. Repentance euer accompanieth the inconſiderate imployment of Mony.* Therefore to ſay ſome-what of this point, my opinion is, that it is conuenient for any man, that doth negotiate with Mony in a ſtrange Country: to haue his Purſſe alwaies open, for ſuch as are true Friendes to him and the League, as well to gratifie them, and to recompence their good wils and good Offices; as alſo to helpe their neceſſities, and to enable them to vphold their partie.

Plin. lib. 7. Epiſt. Monie to be beſtowed with great conſideration.

Liberality to be vſed towardes true friends, and who they are.

And thoſe may bee accounted true Friends, whoſe end is eyther the common end of the whole League: or ſo dependant thereon, that it cannot be otherwiſe obtained, but by the good ſucceſſe of the League. And to ſuch, Mony may euer bee ſecurely giuen, when their neceſſities, or the publike good of the League ſhall require it. But vnto others, little or nothing is to be giuen (in my fancy) except it bee to buy of them ſome important places; or to recompence intelligences, or ſeruices already done. And therefore it ſhall bee conuenient, to vſe all diligence (as before I haue ſignified) to diſcouer the true Motiues, that induced euery one to whom Mony is to be giuen, to enter into the League.

How mony is to be beſtowed vpon ſuſpected perſons.

Remẽbrance ſtill to be had of the motiues.

And in caſe it may ſeeme needful, to aduenture ſome-what, to entertaine ſome few principall men, though neutrals, or ſuſpected, to diuert them from compounding with the enemie: it ſhall bee conuenient (in my fancy) to giue them largely, and more then the Enemy is like to giue them, and preciſely to accompliſh what elſe ſhall be promiſed. For

Of entertaining ſome few principall men.

The danger of breach of promise.

For otherwise, they will acknowledge no Obligation, and when the Enemy shall giue them more, they will follow him: and if promise bee not kept with them, they will esteeme themselues to be mocked, and (for very disdaine) will passe to the Enemy: and of all this, I saw daily experience in the time of the League in France. There the Catholike King bestowed many Millions, in Pensions, in entertainements, which many receiued, and after became his open Enemies. Some of them, because they were not punctually paid their entertainements; Others, because (as they pretended) promise was not kept with them in other things; And some others againe, either because they could not haue whatsoeuer they demaunded, or because that others had more then they.

Example of the league in *France*, witnessed by the Author.

But how much soeuer shall be bestowed vpon one or other, there is no security or assurance, in negotiating with Money alone: except the same be eyther accompanied, or shortly seconded with sufficient forces, which concurring therewith, may work great effect. And therefore the Oracle saide to *Phillip* of *Macedon*: *Hastis pugna argentatis, & omnia vinces*: *Fight with siluered Shields, and thou shalt ouercome all*: aduising him thereby, to imploy Mony and Forces together. For, as for negotiation with mony alone, the longer it continueth; the more danger there is, both to loose the Mony and the businesse. For no trust is to be had in affection bought with Mony, and not grounded on reason & vertue. In which respect *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, saide very well to his Sonne *Alexander*, who sought to gaine from him the good wils of the *Macedonians*, with guifts and bribes. *What mischiefe* (quoth he) *perswadeth thee to thinke, that those will bee faithfull to thee, whom thou hast corrupted with Mony?*

Money and forces concurring, doe worke great effects.

The Oracle to *Phillip* of *Macedon*.

No trust in affection bought with monie.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

Thus much for this matter, whereof much more might be said, if the question were reduced to perticular persons and Countries; which might minister other important considerations of difficulties, according vnto the Nature, strength, or weakenesse of the places, and the conditions and abilities of the persons, who were to bee succoured or impugned. Which I forbeare to prosecute any further, to passe to another matter: meaning to debate, whether the remedies which Pollitiques teach, against the daungers and inconueniences growing of wickednesse be sufficient (in reason and true pollicy) to assure the State of a wicked Prince. By occasiõ whereof, I will examine diuers principles of *Machiuillian* Doctrine, and shew the absurdity thereof. To the end, that the young Statist, whom I labour to informe, may vnderstand as well what to auoyde, as what to embrace in matter of pollicy, and that a Princes State cannot be assured by wickednesse.

The Argumẽt proposed in the ensuing Chapter.

CHAP. X.

Another Question is debated, for the further instruction of a young Statist, to wit: whether a Princes State can be assured by wicked pollicy? By the occasion whereof, many principles of Machiauill, and of the Pollitiques his followers, are examined and confuted by reason of state without the consideration of Gods Iustice.

NO Man that is endued with reason, will denie, that wickednesse in a Prince, maketh him hate full to his Subiects, and (consequently) endangereth his Estate. Which al *Machiauillians* and Pollitiques knew so well; that the greatest part of their pollicy, consisteth in deuising remedies against the same. To the ende, that their Prince may bee securely wicked, that is to say, that he may purchase and enioy all Worldly pleasures and commodities, *Perfas & nefas*, By right or wrong: without danger of any reuenge of Man, and not fearing the wrath and Iustice of God, because they beleeue not, that there is a God, or (at least) that he medleth not with the affaires of Men.

Wherein consisteth the greatest part of *Machiauels* pollicies.

All to be compassed by right or wrong.

First let vs see some of their Remedies. One of the principall (according to the Doctrine of their Maister *Machiauill*)

Machia. de princip.

Machiauels principall remedy consisteth in extremity of wickednesse.

Machiauell would haue a Prince to be either a Saint or a Deuill.

Machiauells absurdity in seeking to remedie a disease, by encreasing the cause thereof.

Excessiue wickednesse exposeth a Prince to excessiue hatred *Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.*

No force or power can sufficiently resist the hatred of many. Pollitiques seeke absurdly to remedy hatred by feare.

Feare concurring with hate makes it more dangerous to him which is hated, and why.

auill) is, extreamity of all mischiefe and wickednesse, which *Machiauill* teacheth to be far more secure for a Prince, then mediocrity betwixt vertue and vice. Therefore he would haue his Prince to bee, either the best man liuing, or the worst: that is to say, either to be a Saint or a Deuill. Whereof his reason must needs be (if he haue any) that he which holdeth the middle way betwixt vertue and vice, and doth sometimes well, and sometimes ill: must needs incur the offence and hatred of some men, whereby he shall be endaungered. Therefore he thinkethit conuenient for such a one, to practise the common Prouerb, to wit; *Qui semel verecundiæ fines transierit, &c. He that hath once past the bounds of shame, must be notably impudent.* That is to say, he that is once ouer the shooes in sinne; must (for his safety) goe ouer head and eares. As though the way to remedy a disease, were to norish and encrease the cause thereof: as to cure a dropsie with continuall drinking, or a burning feauer with hot Wines and Spices, or to cast Oyle into the fire, to the end to quench it. For so do *Machiauillians*, who, to remedy the danger that groweth to a wicked Prince by hatred, doe make him more hatefull, and by the excesse of wickednesse, expose him to the extream & excessiue hatred of all men, and consequently, to ruine and perdition. For, as *Cicero* saith; *Multorum odijs nullæ opes, nullæ vires poterunt resistere. No force, power, or wealth, can sufise, to resist the hatred of many*, and much lesse of all Men. Yes, say they; *Oderint dum metuant*; *Let them hate him* (be they neuer so many) *so that they feare him*. For feare shall so represse their hatred: that they shall not dare to attempt any thing to his preiudice. Thus say they, but most absurdly: for feare (in a mind possest with hate) is nothing else, but as it were *Vnguis in vlcere: A mans nayle or a scratch in an vlcer or botch*, which is exasperated thereby, and the paine of the patient greatly agrauated. And although feare doe (in some sort) delay and represse the fury of hatred: yet it makes it much more secure for the hater, and more dangerous to him that is hated.

For those that hate without feare, do many times attempt (vnaduisedly) to their own destruction: but those which both hate and feare, do deliberate, and execute with much more maturity and consideration, and (consequently) with lesse daunger to themselues, and more to their enemy. So that, whē the Prince doth adde feare to the hate of his Subiects: he redoubleth both his own fear, and also his owne perill. Whereupon the Tragicall Poet saith.

Qui sceptra duro sæuus imperio regit,
Timet timentes, metus in autorem redit.

That is to say. *He which gouerneth by seuerity and cruelty, feareth those which feare him, and the fear turneth vpon the Author or cause thereof.* And, as *Seneca* the *Stoick* saith. *Nesse est vt multos timeat, quem multi timent. He must needs be in feare of many, whom many feare.* Also *Cicero*, following *Ennius* the Poet, saith notably thus. *Quem metuunt oderunt, &c. Men hate him whom they fear, and euery one desireth the destruction of him whom he hateth: And no force or power of Empire (bee it neuer so great) can long stand, if it be prest with continuall feare of the Subiects.* Thus saith *Cicero*, declaring the daunger that groweth to a Prince by hatred & feare, which are the most focrible and vrgent Motiues that may be, to moue a people to conspiracies, as well among themselues, as with forraigners: both to deliuer themselues of the feare, as also to discharge their hatred & ire vpon their Prince. Wherefore *Aristotle* doth reckon hatred and feare, among the principall causes, of the destruction of Monarchies and tyrannies.

But heere say the *Machiauillians*. For, this cause hath the Prince his Guardes, Armies, and Fortresses, to defend himselfe from all attempts, both Forraigne and Domesticall; beside the vigillancy and pollicy which he vseth, for the preuention of conspiracies; disarming and impouerishing his Subiects; forbidding their assemblies and publike conuentions; and all other meanes, which may breed loue, trust, and confidence among them. Terrifying thē (oftentimes) with the frequent shew of his Guardes and Garrisons, to make them seruile & base minded; suffering them to be vicious & dissolute of life, to make them effeminate: nor permitting them the vse of Schooles, or other meanes, whereby they may become learned, wise, & politike. Imploying his spies euery where, for

The Prince adding feare to the hatred of his subiects redoubleth his own feare and danger.

Senec Traged.

Feare turneth vpon the Authour.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

Hatred and feare are the causes of conspiracies.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 5.

Machiauillian remedies against conspiracies, deliuered according to the rules of their Doctrine.

for the discouery of euery mans intention. Nourishing diuisions among the greatest, to counterpeize one with another. Suspecting al men, be they neuer so much bound to him. And finally, cutting off (by one means or other) al those whose power, courage, or wit, he may thinke to bee daungerous to his State: wherby he shall be secure from the dangers which may grow to his person or State, by the hatred of his Subiects.

Machiauell was not the inuenter of his pollicies.

Whereto I answere, that if *Machiauill*, or some other Polliticke in these our daies, had bin the first inuenters of these policies, and that they had neuer bin yet tried: it might with more reason be supposed, that there were, or might be som assurance therein for a wicked Prince. But seeing all this, or whatsoeuer else *Machiauil*, or any Polliticke doth teach, for the conseruation of a Tyrant, hath bin practised in all times & ages, by Tyrants and wicked Princes, who (neuertheless) haue al, or the most part of thē perished by the hatred of men: who seeth not the insufficiency thereof, for the assurance of a Prince in wickednesse?

Machiauillian pollicies knowne and practised in al ages, by wicked Princes to their ruine.

Can *Machiauill*, or any other Pollitick, teach more to this purpose, thē we find written aboue 2000. yeares ago by *Aristotle* in his Pollitickes? Who shewing the meanes, whereby Tyrants seeke to preserue themselues and their states: ministreth to *Machiauill* and his fellowes, al the matter and substance of their wicked pollicies. Which neuertheles, were not approoued by *Aristotle*, as sufficient for the conseruation of tyranny: but vtterly reiected by him. In which respect, he declareth how vnsure tyranny is, and exemplifieth the same in all tyranicall state, which had beene before, or in his time. Shewing how speedily they all perished, excepting only foure: whereof the first continued 100. yeares, the second 73. and sixe months; the third, 33. and the fourth, 22. yeares. And the cause of the long continuance of the first and second, he ascribeth to the moderate and iust gouernment of the Tyrants, who though they got their States tirannically, and held them by vsurpation (in regard whereof they are called Tyrants;) yet they gouerned with such moderation and Iustice, that they were greatly beloued of their Subiects.

Aristot. in Polit. Lib. 5. Cap. 11. *Machiauillian* pollicies reiected by *Aristotle* aboue 2000 yeares agoe.

The speedy fal of tyrannicall states noted by *Aristotle*. *Aristot. Ibid. Cap. 12.*

To which purpose *Aristotle* also obserueth, that the state of a Tyrant is so much the more sure: by how much more moderate it is, and neerer to his iust gouernment of a King. Wherein al *Machiauillians* may note, both by the doctrine and experience of *Aristotle*, that the extreamity of wickednesse and tyranny, is the high way to carry a Prince headlong to his destruction, notwithstanding all their preuentions aforesaid. Whereof some part are most necessary for the conseruation of any Princes state: as Guardes, Garrisons, Fortresses, vigilance of Councellors, dilligence of Spies and Intelligencers, as also such other parts of those pollicies, as is conforme to reason, Iustice, & conscience. But the rest, I mean those points of hindring loue and confidence among Subiects, immoderate pilling and poulling them, making them effeminate, ignorant, & base minded, nourishing debate amongst great persons, and cutting off such as are more eminent in credit, power, courage, and wit, then the rest: these I say, and all such as are against charity, Iustice, and Conscience, are against all true pollicy, and so farre from helping a Tirant, that they help to ruine him, as heere in this Chapter shall appear, concerning some of these pointes in perticuler, and some in generall.

Aristot. Ibid. Cap. 11.

Machiauellian pollicies contrary to *Aristotles* doctrine and experience.

What is to be reiected and what allowed in the *Machiauillian* remedies aboue mentioned.

And now to speake of some of them. What can be more contrary to true reason of State: then to hinder trust, confidence, and loue among the people, without the which there can be no commonwealth? For, without loue & confidence, there can be no fidelity; & without fidelity, no Iustice; and without Iustice, no Commonwealth, as you haue read in the necessity of fidelity in the Prince. For this cause, all ancient Lawmakers, and founders of cōmonwealths, haue ordained in all Countries and Cities, publike Feasts, Playes, and assemblies, where the people may meet together: not onely for recreation, but to make them also known one to another. To the end, that of their conuersation, may grow loue and friendship, and the same redound to generall vnity, for the conseruation of peace in the whole Cōmonwealth. And therefore *Aristotle* saith, that friendship is; *Maximū bonum ciuitatibus, The greatest good that can bee to Commonwealths.* For saith he, *By means*

Machiauels Doctrine concerning deuision confuted.

Why publique Feastes and Playes were first instituted

The benefit of loue and friendship in Commonwealths.

Aristot. in Polit. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

thereof, they shall be free from sedition. Also, *Solon* esteemed this amity and vnion of minds, to be so necessary for the conseruation of humaine Society, that, being demanded, what Common-wealth was best, and most like to continue: *Such a one* (saith he) *wherein euery Man doth take the iniury which is don to another, to be done to himselfe.* And to the same purpose he made a law in *Athens*, giuing leaue to euery one, to take vppon him the iust quarrel of any other, and to demand reparation of the wrong, as if the matter concerned himself. Which constitution of *Solon*, *Plutarch* commendeth greatly. *As a means* (saith he) *to accustom the people, to feele and redresse the griefes & iniuries one of another, as being al members of one body.* Whereby he may vnderstand, that the vnion and loue of the political body (that is to say, the Common-wealth) is no lesse necessary; then the combination of the parts in the body naturall. Which *Seneca* teacheth notably in these words. *Vt omnia inter se membra, &c. As all the members and parts of mans body, do agree together for the conseruation of the whole, which also redoundeth to the good of euery part in particular: So all men ought to agree to the benefit one of another, because we are borne to liue in societie, which cannot be conserued, but by the agreement and loue of the parts thereof.* Thus saith *Seneca*.

How then can it stand with true pollicie, or reason of State, to hinder this vnion and loue of the people, or to sow and nourish factions among them, and especiallie among great personages; whereby seditions, tumults, and garboyles may grow in the Common-wealth? Yes, say the *Machiauillians*, it standeth notably wel with the reason of our Princes State, who seeketh not the generall good of the Commonwealth: but his particular benefit. And therfore, forasmuch as the vnion and friendship of subiects, may enable them the rather to conspire against him: it is good pollicy & reason of State for him, to maintaine factions among them, according to the old saying. *Si vis regnare, diuide. If thou wilt raigne, make diuision.*

Thus say they. Of whom I wold gladly learne, how they can (in this case) seperate the perill of the Cõmon-wealth, from the perill of the Prince, to make this good pollicy for him? Can the body be in danger, without the peril of the head? Hath it not bin seen many times, that some priuate quarrell, growne at first betwixt meane personages: hath after passed further to a multitude, and (from them) come to be general to the ruine of a whole State? And therefore, *Plutarch* wisely compareth sedition to a little sparke of fire, which falling into straw, or other dry matter in some corner of a house: setteth the same on fire, whereby (in the end) a whole Towne is burnt. In which respect, he counteth it for one of the most speciall pointes of politicall Science: to take away all occasion of sedition, and when it groweth, to appease it quickly.

Aristotle also teacheth the same verie seriously, affirming, that *Sedition is the chiefe cause, of the mutation and subuersion of Common-wealths.* Shewing how many waies it may rise, and how it may be remedied, & that it is alwaies dangerous; but then most petnitious, when it groweth among great personages. And therfore he aduiseth, to remedy the same (if it be possible) in the very beginning, because: *Principium dicitur esse dimidium totius: The beginning is saide to be the one halfe of the whole.* And little seditions at the first, grow after to be great, especially among great men: *Whose discord* (saith hee) *draweth the whole Commonwealth after them.* Whereby it may appeare, how dangerous and absurd is the councell, which *Machiauillians* giue to their Princes, to norish factions in their Common-wealth, & especially among great personages: as if Princes were omnipotent, and had the harts and wils of al men in their hands, to moue, sway, incense, or temper in such manner and measure, as it shall please them, which only is in Gods hand and power to do. So then it is euident in this case, that the *Machiauillians* expose their Prince to manifest danger, without any assurance, or sufficient probability of remedie, which in matter of State is most absurd.

The like may also be said, of their other pestilent pollicies before mentioned, consisting in all kind of cruelty, iniustice, and wickednesse: whereby they make their Prince most odious to all men, and (by consequent) do draw them into manifest dangers, from which they are

Plutarch. in Solon.

What Common-wealth *Solon* liked best.

The loue & vnion of members of the politicall body, most necessary for the conseruation thereof.

Seneca in Lib. 2. de Ira. Cap. 31.

Why *Machiauillians* doe thinke, that factions among subiects are good for Princes.

A *Machiauillian* Prouerbe and principle confuted.

The good & ill of the Common-wealth and of the Prince are conioyned. Factions in the Common-wealth dangerous to Princes.

Plutarch in his instructions, for such as deale in matters of state.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. 3. & 4.

Sedition a principall cause of the subuersion of States.

Idem Ibid. ca. 4.

Factions among great men most dangerous.

Princes may make factions but cannot afterward hinder the bad effects thereof.

Machiauillian pollicies make Princes odious to their subiects.

are notable to warrant or defend them by all their pollicies. As it may appeare by the experience of all ages & former times, vnto this wherein we liue, seeing all Histories doe testifie, that the more wicked and tyrannical Princes haue bin, and the more they haue incurred the hatred of men: the sooner they haue bin ruined; some by open rebellions of their subiects; some others, by their general description in fauour of strangers; others by secret conspiracies of a few; and others also, by the desperate attempt of some one man, notwithstanding all their pollicies, power, force of Guards, Armies, Fortresses, or other humaine meanes.

The hatred of subiects most dangerous to Princes, by the experience of all Ages.

This point *Cicero* proueth, by the examples of *Phalaris* a most cruell Tyrant, whom all the people of the *Agrigentines* oppressed in a general tumult: and of *Alexander*, the Tyrants of *Phæræ*, killed by his owne craft: And of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, forsaken of all his subiects, in fauour of King *Pyrrhus*. To whom we may adde *Romulus*, the first founder of the *Romain* Empire, who hauing made himselfe hateful to his Senators: was murdered by them in the very Senate house. As *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, his third Successor, being odious to the people for his In-iustice, and fraud towards the Children of *Ancus Martius*, whom he depriued of their Kingdome, though he was left their Tutor by their Father: was slaine by two Shepheards. In like manner, *Tarquinius Superbus*, the seauenth and last King of the Romaines, who vsed all the tyrannicall pollices aboue mentioned, violated all Lawes humaine and diuine, for the conseruation of his estate: was neuertheless driuen out of his kingdom by his subiects, and the name of King and kingly authority, abolished among the *Romaines* (in hatred of him) for the space of 500. yeares.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

The danger of hatred exemplified by *Cicero*.

Diuers of the first Kings of *Rome* ruinated by hatred.

Tit. Liuius. Dec. 1. Lib. 1.

And if wee looke into the *Romaine* Empire after *Iulius Cæsar*, we shal finde, that neither pollicy nor power, could defend many Emperors of *Rome* & *Constantinople*, against the hatred of Men. As, to omit many others, who perished vpon other occasions; it may appear by (a) *Iulius Cæsar* himselfe, *Caius Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, (b) *Commodus*, (c) *Digius*, *Iulianus*, (d) *Caracalla*, (e) *Opilius Macrinus*, and his Son *Diadumenus*, (f) *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander Seuerus*, *Iulius Maximus*, (g) *Galienus*, (h) *Phillippus*, (i) *Aurelianus*, (k) *Constans* the first, (l) *Gratian*, *Valentinian* the third, *Basilicius*, *Zeno*, *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heracleon*, with his Mother *Martina*, *Constans* the second, *Iustinian* the second, *Phillippicus*, *Constantinus* the sixt, *Nicephorus Stauratius*, *Leo Armenius*, *Michael* the Son of *Theophilus*; *Nicephorus*, sirnamed *Phocas*, *Ioannes Zemisces*, *Michael Calaphrates*, *Stratioticus*; *Michael Paraptinaceus*, *Andronicus Comnenus*, and diuers others, who hauing incurred the hatred, either of their Subiects in generall, or of some particuler persons, were some of them poysoned; and others violently slaine; eyther by the fury of the people, or by their Nobility, or by their own Guards and Soldiours, or by their wiues, Concubines, or seruants, or by other particuler men. Besides, some others of them were deposed, and eyther confined into Monasteries, or depriued as well of their eyes and noses, as of their Empire. And one among the rest, to wit, *Zeno*, a most cruell and crafty Tyrant, was put into his Sepulcher aliue (by the consent of his Wife) while he was drunke, or, as some write, taken with a fit of the falling sickneese. Being also so hated of his owne Seruants and Guards, that when hee came to himselfe, and cried for help out of the sepulcher: no man assisted or pitied him, and so he died raging, and tearing his flesh with his teeth, as it appeared afterward when the Tombe was opened.

[a] *Trebellius Poll.*
[b] *Sextus Aurelius.*
[c] *Victor.*
[d] *Flauius Vopiscus.*
[e] *Pomponius Lætus.*
[f] *Ioannes Baptista. Egnatius. Zonaras. Nicetas Choniates.*

Zeno a most cruell and crafty Tyrant buried aliue.

Cedrenus in Comp. Zonaras Annal. Tom. 3. Ioan Baptista Egnatius in Zenone.

And although euery one of these was not so subtile, nor so pollitike, nor yet so wicked, as *Machiauill* would haue his Prince to be: yet it is euident in them all, that the hatred of Subiects is most pernitious to Princes. And in some of them it appeareth manifestly, that no humane power, or wicked pollicy, can warrant and assure them the State of a Prince generally hated: seeing that diuers of them before named, excelled not onely in imperiall power; but also in subtiltie, craft, perfidiousnesse, periury, deepe dissimulation, cruelties, and all such kinde of wickednesse, as *Machiauill* requireth in his Prince. As (to omit others, for breuities sake) the last whom I named of the Emperors of

The hatred of Subiects is most pernitious to Princes.

Epito. Ioan. Bap. Egnatius.

Examples in the Empire of *Rome* and *Constantinople*.

[a] *Sueton Tranquil.*
[b] *Aelius Lampridius.*
[c] *Spartianus.*
[d] *Iulius Capitolinus.*
[e] *Lampridius.*

Nicetas Choniates in Andronico Comneno. Lib. 1.

Constantinople, to wit; *Andronicus Comnenus*, was so eminent and egregious in all tyrannicall Pollicy: that *Egnatius* worthily calleth him; *Callidissimum mortalium*; *The most crafty of all Mortal men*. Of whose manner of gouernment I wil say somwhat briefely, to the end it may appeare: how little security a Prince may haue by wicked pollicies, against the hatred of men.

The History of *Andronicus Comnenus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, an egregious Politique.

This *Andronicus*, hauing with great art and subtilty, obtained to be Tutour to the young Emperor *Alexius*, Son to *Emanuell*: made himselfe (shortly after) his Companion in the Empire, procuring the death of the Empresse, Mother to *Alexius*, and of diuers others, whose liues hee thought to be preiudiciall to his pretence. Within a while also, hee caused the young Emperor himselfe to be murdred, notwithstanding, his former oath of fidelity, sollemnely confirmed with receiuing the blessed Sacrament. And being then Emperor alone, and finding himselfe to be hateful to his people: he practised all the tyrannicall Pollicies, that could be deuised for his own conseruation. He guarded his Pallace and person, with strong Guards of barbarous Strangers, and the most desperate Fellowes that could bee found, who could neither speake nor vnderstand the language of the Country: and he had (beside) euery night at his chamber door, a huge Mastiue dog, so fierce, that he durst fight body to body with a Lyon, or with an armed man on horseback. He was also prouided of wicked Instruments, for the execution of his will in all cases: as Spies, Promoters, and false witnesses, whereby many Noblemen were slaine, imprisoned, or banished. Yet for no other cause, but for that he feared, that either their credit with the people, or their power, or their wealth, or their wit, might prooue in time dangerous to his State.

Idem. Lib. 2.

His Guards of barbarous strangers, and his great dog.

Idē. 1. Lib. & 2. His wicked Instruments.

Neuertheless, knowing right well, that the more his Empire flourished in Iustice, the more it would be his honour, benefit, and security: hee shewed such especiall care thereof, that hee excelled many notable Princes therein, not only prouiding for the election of iust and wise officers: but also seuerely punishing those, who eyther did, or permitted any wrong to bee done, to the meanest or poorest subiect he had. Beside, he ordained, and gaue most liberall allowance, to al Magistrats for their maintenance, to the end: that they should not haue any need or pretence to take bribes. And such as were prooued to be corrupt, he punished so exemplarly: that (within a while) no Magistrate durst take so much as a present of any man, though it was neuer so voluntarily offered. He shewed himselfe affable and courteous vnto the poore, and seemed ful of pitty and compassion, whensoeuer hee heard their complaints, and did them exact Iustice. Furthermore, he tooke such order, for the releefe of the necessities of the common people: that all kinde of victuals were most plentifull and cheape; the ground well tilled and mannured, the Countries well inhabited; Villages and Cities much augmented, & the Common-wealth greatly enriched.

Idem Ibid.

His kindnesse and affability to the poore, and prouision for plenty of all things.

Such was the care he seemed to haue of Iustice, and of the publique good, which (neuertheless) he respected no further: then it might turne to his own perticular benefit or pleasure, whereof he preferred the consideration, before all things else whatsoeuer. For, as he prouided the Commonwealth of notable Magistrates: so he furnished his Court with wicked Councellours and Iudges, voyd of all conscience, who executed his will, vpon all such as incurred his dislike or suspition. Some they banished, spoiled others of their goods; depriued others of their eies; murthered others secretly, and condemned many publikely, vpon false pretences, of whom (neuertheless) he himselfe would seem to haue great compassion. As for example, vnderstanding that one *Isacius*, a Noble-man, had taken Armes against him in the Island of *Cyprus*: he picked a quarrel against two of his own trustiest Seruants and Fauourites, because they were great friends to the other, causing them to bee accused of Treason, condemned, and executed. And when suite was made vnto him, after their deathes, that their Bodies (which were hanged vp) might be taken downe and buried: hee seemed so much to pittie their case, that hee shed aboundance of teares, lamenting that the sentence of the Iudges, and the seueritie and authoritie of Law, must needes ouer-weigh his

He furnished his Common-wealth with good Magistrates, and his Courte with wicked Councellors and Iudges.

Idem. Lib. 1. He suspected and made away his most familiare Seruants.

Idem. Lib. 2. His care of the administration of Iustice in all things which did not concerne his perticuler benefit or pleasure

His deepe dissimulation and feigned pitty.

his desire, and the affection that he bare them. And when any were touched with matter of sedition: not onely they themselues, but also al the whole kinred and families were condemned and ruined, to the end, that none should be left of their race to reuenge it. The which (neuertheless) he seemed rather to permit, and suffer to be done, then himselfe to ordaine it. For he caused his Iudges and Magistrates, to giue those sentences by publique Edict, with plausible preambles: shewing their care of the Emperours person, and referring it not to his commaundement; but to diuine inspiration, as a thing necessary for the seruice of God, and the good of the Common-wealth.

Idem. Lib. 2.

His horrible cruelty craftily couered.

Andronicus had the Quintessence of *Machiauils* pollicies, long before *Machiauel* was born.

Heere now I appeale to any *Machiauillian*, whether *Andronicus* had not the Quintessence of *Machiauils* Pollicy, long before *Machiauill* was born? And whether he wanted eyther desire, wit, or wickednes, to conserue his state against the hatred of men, if it had beene possible to haue done it by wicked meanes? Therefore, let vs see the end, which was such, that it may well serue for an exemplare warning, to all *Machiauillian* Pollitiques.

Idem. Ibid.

His daily feares and suspitions,

His Sorceties and witchcraftes.

While *Andronicus* gouerned in this manner, his cruelty and in-Iustice did purchase him more hatred, the the good that he did for the publike, could recompence. Which filled him euery day with new feares, suspitions, and iealosies: especially, after that he was pressed with warres by *William* King of *Sicily*. Who hauing ouerthrown some of his armies, and taken *Thessalonica*, and other towns of importance: marched towards *Constantinople*, wherwith the people began to take courage, and to discouer their hatred to *Andronicus* daily more and more. This did put him in such feare of Conspiracies, that hee consulted with Sorceres and Witches: especially with one *Sethus* a Magitian, who deuined by a Bason of Water. And one day, when *Andronicus* desired to know the name of his Successor; *Sethus* shewed him in the water, the two Letters, *I.* and *S.* wherby he & his Councellors coniectured, that it should be *Isacius*, who had rebelled against him in the Iland of *Cyprus*, as before hath bin declared. Neuertheless, forasmuch as there was another *Isacius* (sir-named *Angelus*) at the same time in the Court, a man of so quiet a Spirit, and so small courage, that *Andronicus* himselfe did no way suspect him: one of his speciall Councellours suggested to him, that it were good to command the said *Isacius Angelus*, to be taken and put into prison, to preuent the worst. *Least* (saith he) *we may seeke the Viper abroad in the field, when perhaps we haue him in our bosome.* And although *Andronicus* seemed (at the first) to contemne *Isacius*, as a man no way to be feared: yet at last it was resolued by him and his Councell, that he should be taken. And for that purpose, *Stephanus*, one of his chiefe Councellours and worst Instruments, went himselfe (with certain of his catchpoules) to the house of *Isacius*, who defending himselfe: killed *Stephanus*; & ran presently (with his sword bloody in his hand) through the Market place, to take Sanctuary in the chiefe Church of the towne, imploring (as he went) the ayd of the people, declaring what hee had done, and why. The people flocked after him to the Church, pitying greatly his case, and commending his act, and at length, their courage encreasing with their multitude: they began to embolden one another; first to defend *Isacius*, and afterward to make him Emperour. Which being propounded to the whol assembly, was accepted of them all: thogh he himselfe neither desired it, nor so much as dreampt of it, but thought himselfe well payed, if he could saue his life. This resolution being taken among them, they proclaimed him Emp. first in the Church, and after in the streetes: which was approued with general consent of the Nobility, and all the people of the Citty, who came to yeild him obedience, and to assist him. *Andronicus* seeing himselfe forsaken of all his Subiects, durst neither trust to the strength of his Pallace, nor of his Guards, nor of his great Dog: but fled away in a Boat, and was shortly after taken, and brought backe loaden with Iron Chaines. Hee was scorned and reuiled by the people; his haire of his head and beard pulled away; his teeth strucken out; his right hand cut off; and (a few daies after) one of his eyes pulled out of his Head. Then was he set vpon a scabbed Camel, apparrelled ridiculously, and carryed

How he was ouer reached in his Sorceries.

Wickednesse neuer wants as wicked Councell.

How his wickednesse turned to his owne ouerthrow.

Isacius fearing to loose his life, was suddenly made Emperor.

Andronicus forsaken of all his Subiects.

The reward and miserable end of *Andronicus* for his Tyranny.

through the ſtreetes to be ſhewn to the people: who threw vpon him all kinde of ordure and filth, euery one contending, who ſhould deride or abuſe him moſt. And at the laſt, he was hanged vp by the heeles, his apparrell torne from him, and his naked body wounded, by whoſoeuer would ſtrike him, as many did in diuers manners: ſome for ſport; ſome for reuenge of iniuries; ſome to try their ſwords, & ſome their ſtrength, till (at the length) he was hackt and hewed in pieces. Behold here the fruit of *Machiauillian* Pollicy, the lamentable iſſue of wikedneſſe and tyranny, and the ſmall aſſurance that Tyrants haue, againſt the hatred of their Subiects, eyther by vſurped power, or impious polly. Whereto I might adde an eſpeciall obſeruation of Gods iuſt iudgements: but that I promiſed not to vrge the ſame in this Chapter. Thus much concerning the *Roman* and *Greek* Emperors.

The fruit and benefit of *Machiauillian* pollicie.

I might alſo produce many other notable examples of this matter, out of Hiſtories as well of our own Country, as of al others. For, what cauſed the deſtruction of *Edmond Ironſide*, who was murdred vpon a priuy; or the continual rebellions in the time of K. *Iohn*; Or the vntimely death of *Edward* the ſecond, broached with a hot ſpit; Or of *Richard* the ſecond, firſt depoſed, and after ſlain in Priſon; Or yet of *Richard* the third, forſaken of all his Nobility and Commons, and ſlaine at *Boſworth* Fielde; what elſe (I ſay) was the cauſe thereof, but the hatred of their Subiects? And as for the laſt of theſe, I meane *Richard* the third, if we conſider his malignant and treacherous Nature, his cruelty, his deepe diſſimulation, his deuilliſh deuiſes and inuentions, as well to get the Crown, as after to conſerue it: we ſhall not finde him inferiour, to the moſt famous tyrants of former times, for al impious and wicked pollicies, which neuertheleſſe could not free him from the danger of deſtruction, which the hatred of his Subiects iuſtly drew vpon him.

Examples out of our Engliſh Hiſtories.

Polidor Virgil. Lib. 7.

Idem. Lib.

Idem. Lib.

Sir *Thomas Moore* in King *Richard* the thirds life.

Richard the third, not inferior to the famous Tyrants of former times.

But what neede I alledge other examples, ſeeing the Mirror of *Machiauils* owne Prince, *Cæſar Borgia*, may ſerue for a Witneſſe of this matter? For, though he ſo far ſurpaſſed al former Tyrants, in wickedneſſe and tyrannical power, that *Machiauill* made choiſe of him, to frame his Prince by the modell of his tyranny: yet could he not vphold and conſerue his State, againſt the hatred of Men. But beeing abandoned by his Subiects and Friends: became a notable example, not onely of humane imbecility, but alſo of the wofull end, of ſuch as truſt to wicked Pollicies, as I haue declared before vpon other occaſions.

Example of *Machiauels* owne Prince *Cæſar Borgia*.

Guicciard. lib. 6.

Hereupon it followeth, that no Princes power or pollicy, can ſufficiently warrant and aſſure his eſtate, againſt the vniuerſal hatred of men; ſpecially, conſidering the little ſecurity, that wicked Princes (when they grow to be hated) haue of their owne Guards or Armies. For, though they are the ſpecial means of their defence; yet they ſerue (many times) for another end, then to butcher and ſlaughter them: As hath formerlie been auouched, by the examples of (a) *Caligula*, (b) *Caracalla*, (c) *Heliogabalus*, *Phillip*, (d) *Galien*, *Macrinus*, (e) *Aurelianus*, (f) *Maximinus*, and others, ſlaine partly by their Guards, and partlie by their Souldiours, notwithſtanding, the great liberality, which many of theſe Emperours vſed, to buy their affections and fidelity. As it may be well obſerued (to omit diuers other) in *Maximinus*, of whom *Iulius Capitolinus* ſaith. *Ea aſtutia fuit, vt milites non ſolum virtute regeret, ſed etiam præmijs et lucris ſui amantiſſimos redderet. He was ſo crafty, that hee did not onely gouerne his Souldiours by vertue, but alſo wan their affections by guifts and rewards.* And yet neuertheleſſe, they conſpired diuers times againſt him, and at length, when he was denounced publike enemy by the Senate, and ſomwhat diſtreſſed in his march towardes *Rome* for lacke of victuals: they ſlew him and his Sonne in their Tents, and ſent their heads to *Rome*.

The little ſecurity that wicked Princes haue of their Guards or Armies.

a *Suetonius.*
b *Spartianus.*
c *Lampridius.*
d *Trebellius Pollio.*
e *Flauius Vopiſcus.*
f *Iulius Capitolinus.*

Iulius Capitolinus in Maxi.

And heerein I wiſh two things to be noted. The one, the fruit of cruelty; for this *Maximinus* beeing made Emperour tyrannically by his Souldiours, againſt the will of the Senate followed the principles which *Machiauill* teacheth his Prince, perſwading himſelfe, as *Iulius Capitolinus* teſtifieth: *Niſi erudilitate imperium non teneri: That he could not holde the Empire but by cruelty.* Wherein he ſo exceeded, that ſome called him *Cyclops*; ſome *Buſiris*; ſome *Scyron*; ſome *Typhon*; and

Two things to be conſidered.
The fruite of Cruelty.

Idem. Ibidem.

and some *Phalaris*. And therefore (in the end) he receiued the iust reward thereof at the handes of his owne Soldiers, to whom, notwithstanding his great Donatiues, he became no lesse odious then to other men.

The other thing which I wish to bee obserued, is the great infelicitie of such Princes as seeke rather to be feared, then to be beloued. For, though they are forced for their owne safety to become slaues to those, by whom they keepe others in slauery, yet they are not secure thereby, but still in danger, not onely of others, but also of them that should defend them. Whose mercenarie mindes are so inconstant, and subiect to corruption, that the liues of the princes whom they guard, are euer salable, and therefore neuer warrantable, by any humaine pollicy. For let the Prince giue them neuer so much, to binde them to his Seruice, yet he that shall giue, yea, or promise more, may win them from him. As it hath falne out many times to the Romaine Emperors, who haue bin sold by their Guards and Soldiers not for readie money, but for the promise of greater summes, then could be expected at their hands. As *Plutark* noteth in the Guards & Soldiers of *Nero*, corrupted by *Nimphidius* in fauour of *Galba*, vpon promise of a greater Donatiue, then could afterward be performed. Which, sayth hee, caused the destruction both of *Nero* and *Galba*: for the Soldiers forsooke *Nero*, in hope of the paiment promised, and then killed *Galba* becausse he could not pay it. So tickle is the trust that Princes repose in Mercenary men; and so vnsure the state that is to be vpholden by such incertaine and weak props, which many times faile, when there is the most neede of them.

Furthermore, another especiall and inuitable danger is to bee noted, which any Prince (generally hated) must needs incurre, to wit; the defection of his subiects, in all occasions of inuasions from forraigne Countreyes. For, although he be neuer so strong at home, in Gards, Garrisons, and Fortresses, and his Subiects also so poore and weake, that they neither dare nor can rise against him: yet if forreigne Princes doe inuade him, eyther vpon a quarrell of state (which among Princes that are Neighbours neuer wanteth) or vpon Ambition to enlarge their Dominions; what remedie hath he against the generall hatred of his people, who haue then sufficient opportunity and meanes, to bee reuenged on him, and to free them-selues from the yoake of his tirranny, by taking part with the forreigner, the experience whereof hath beene seene often times.

We reade in *Iustine*, that the Subiects of *Demetrius*, King of *Syria*, abandoned him for the hatred which they bare him, and tooke part with a knowne Counterfeit, calling himselfe *Alexander*, pretending and naming himselfe to be of the royall race, as *Perkin Warbeck* did in England. This *Alexander* they accepted for their King, being so incensed against *Demetrius*: *That they were content* (saith *Iustine*) *to admit any whosoeuer, to be rid of him*. Also the last Kings of *Naples*, no lesse rich and potent, then wickedly pollitique, being most hatefull to their Subiects for their Tirrannicall gouernment: were forsaken of them all; & betrayed to the French, to whom they yeelded them-selues without any resistance.

Also *Lodouico Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*, may serue for a notable example of this matter. For when *Lewes* the 12. King of *France*, made warre against him and had already taken diuers principall Townes and Fortes in the state of *Millayne*: Duke *Lodowick* (knowing himselfe to be very odious to his Subiects, for his great exactions and impositions, and fearing least they would abandon him) assembled the people of *Millayne*, to recouer their good willes, and not only remitted diuers taxes which he had imposed vpon them; but also gaue them many reasons and excuses for his former proceedings. Neuertheless, such was the hatred which they had conceiued against him, that within a few daies after, they tooke Armes, slew *Antonio Landriano* his Treasurer, forced him to fly, called in the *French*, and yeilded the town and themselues to their obedience. Haue we not seene also the like effect of hatred in *England*, in the time of K. *Iohn*, whom the Barons and Nobility of the Realme, called in *Lewes* the eight, King of *France* while he was Dolphin, and proclaymed him King? Choosing rather to liue vnder the Naturall King. Who, as *Mathew* of

The infelicity of such Princes as seeke rather to be feared, then to be beloued.

Romaine Emperors sold by their Guards and Soldiers.

Plutarch. in Galba.

Nero forsaken and *Galba* slaine.

An inuitable danger which a Prince generally hated must needes incurre.

No remedy against the peoples generall hatred.

Iustin. in li. 39. Demetrius king of *Syria.*

Guicciard. in Lib. 6. Phillip. Comin. in Carolo 8. Alphonso and *Ferdinand* Kings of *Naples.*

Lodouico Sforza, Duke of *Millayne Guicciard in lib. 4.*

Polidor Virgil. in Ioan King *Iohn* of England.

Math. Westmin. in Anno. 1216.

of *Westminster* writeth, *Exosum se præbuit, &c. Made himselfe hateful to them, as wel for the murder of his Nephewe* Arthur, *as for his adulteries, tyranny and exactions, the continual seruitude wherein he kept England, and lastly, for the warre which his deserts procured. In respect whereof, Vix alicuius meruit lamentione deplorari: He deserued not to be lamented scarcelie of any man.* Thus saith he, I forbeare to alledge many other notable histories vnto the same purpose, because I do holde it needlesse in a matter so euident.

Machiauell seeking to expell and remedie one poyson with another, poysoneth his Prince double.

What then shall we say of *Machiauils* pestilent Precepts, for the preseruation of a Prince already infected and poysoned with wickednesse? Can wee saie ought elsse, but that while he seeketh by one poison to expel or remedy another, hee poysoneth him double, and killeth him out right? For, a wicked Prince, adding (as *Machiauel* aduiseth) wickednesse to wickednesse, and cruelty to cruelty, doth accumulate vpon himselfe, hatred vpon hatred, which, as I haue declared, will breake out sooner or later to his ouerthrow.

The danger which Tirants incurre by the ordinary errours proceeding of humaine imbecility.

Neither can the *Machiuillian* help his Maisters cause, by saying, that such wicked Princes as haue perished by the hatred of men, haue committed som error or other, which they shoulde or might haue foreseene and auoided. For, the imbecility of mans wit and power is such that no man liuing, is able to foresee and preuent all the daungers and accidents, which may occurre in the afairs of men, to the ouerthrow of their designments. As hath bin already prooued by the examples of the absurd errours, as well of the wisest Senates and Councelles, as of most polliticke men. Whereupon, it followeth, that the Prince which exposeth himselfe vnto the generall hatred of all men, incurreth many notable dangers.

Examples of Townes of warre & Fortresses wanting enemies.

For, euen as Townes of Warre, or Fortresses which haue no enemy neere, do, or may commit many errors (in matters appertaining to their defence) without danger; but being besieged by their enemies, are sometimes surprized, by occasion of their least ouer-sight or negligence. Euen so, it fareth with Princes, who so long as they are generally beloued, are little or nothing preiudiced by many errors which fall out in their Gouernment, but beeing once (as I may tearme it) besiedged with the hatred of their Subiects and Neighbours, they are ruined sometimes with the least errour, which they or their Magistrats do commit.

Euery little errour of a Prince generally hated, is very dangerous.

For, the hatred of men when it is generall, may bee compared to a swelling Sea, which enuironing a Ship on euery side, dooth otherwhiles ouerwhelme it with the impetuosity of Waues, and sometimes againe entereth in at euerie leake or rift, and so sinketh it. In like manner, the general hatred of men, doth not only ouerthrow a Princes state, by potent and powerfull attempts: but also by taking aduantage of euery little error or accident, which may helpe to ruine it.

No Prince generally hated, can liue long in security.

And therfore, forasmuch as the weakenesse of mans witte, and the varietie of times and occasions, do produce alwaies some dangerous accidents in the States of Princes, either by their errors or otherwise: whereuppon their industrious & watchful enemies (especialy at home) may take aduantage: it followeth, that no Prince generally hated, can liue long in securitie, bee he neuer so Dilligent, vigilant, or suspicious of all Men, as *Machiauil* would wish to haue his prince to be.

Cicero in 2. lib. de Offic.

Who could vse greater vigilancie or diligence for his owne conseruation; or be more suspitious, then *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres?* Who though he loued his Wife *Thebes* verie deerly, yet neuer came he to her chamber, but he caused both her Coffers and her selfe to be searched, to see whither she had any weapon hid in her Garments. And yet neuertheless, hee was killed by her, in the end.

No vigilancy suffiseth against the hatred of all men ingenerall.

Suetonius in Claudio.

Could any man bee more prouident for his safety, then was *Claudius* the Emperor? He would neuer goe to any banket, but where his owne Guardes and Souldiers seeued the Table; and neuer visited any sicke man, whose Chamber was not searched before by some of his Guards, euen to the verie beds and bedstraw, and yet he was poysoned at last by his owne Taster, whom he neuer suspected. What should we say of *Domitian* the Emperor? Hee was so fearefull and suspitious of all men, that hee made the walles of his Galleries where he vsed to walke,

Idem in Domitiano.

walke, to be set full of bright and cleare Stone, cald *Phengites*, wherin he might see whatsoeuer was done behinde him: and neuertheleſſe, he was murdered by his owne Chamberlins.

The stone *Phengites*.

Many such other examples might be alledged of Princes, who besides theyr great Guards and Armies, for defence of their persons, vsed al human diligence also, being iealous and suspitious of all men: and yet neuertheleſſe, were ouerreached, sometimes by those whom they most feared; and sometimes by those whom they least suspected, or best trusted. Whereto I adde (as I haue elsewhere noted, and cannot repeat too often) that sometimes the most prouident and polliticke Princes, are (through the imbelicity of humaine wit) ouerthrowne by their owne policies, that is to say, by the verie same meanes wherby they seek either to benefit themselues, or to hurt and destroy others, as hath sufficientlie appeared by many seuerall famous examples.

Most prouident and politique Tyrants, ouerthrowne some times by thē whom they most feared, and sometimes by their owne pollicies.

But what security can a wicked prince haue by Guards, or other humaine prouidence and diligence, seeing somtimes, that the wiſest and best guarded, being aduertised of some iminent daunger, eyther haue not the hope to vnderstand it, or the wit to beleeue it? So it happened to *Iulius Cæsar*, who, as he was going to the Senat, receiued a memorial, wherein the Conspiratours against him were discouered, and beeing willed to read it presently, because it imported him greatly: was so troubled with the presse and importunity of suiters, that he could not attend vnto it, and so was slain the same day in the Senate house. *Archias* also, a Tyrant in *Thebes*, being inuited vnto a Supper, where his death was conspired, receiued a Letter from a Friende of his, containing an aduise of the Conspiracy. And beeing requested (by him that brought it) to read it out of hande, for that it concerned matters of great importance: made aunswere, that it vvas then no time to negotiate, and so laying it aside, was slaine within two houres after.

Another danger proceeding of humaine infirmity.

Example of *Iulius Cæsar*. *Plutarch in Iulio Cæsar.*

Idem in Pelopida. *Archias* a Tyrant of *Thebes*.

In like manner, *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundie*, who, as I haue declard before, was slaine at *Nancy*, by the treason of *Campobachio* an *Italian*: was aduertised and fore-warned thereof, by *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*. Neuertheleſſe, perswading himselfe, that his aduertisement proceeded either of malice to *Campobachia*, or out of a desire to depriue him of his most necessary and trustie seruant, he would not beleeue it, but loued him the better for it. Beside, one that was priuy to the conspiracy, being condemned to die for another matter; and determining to reueale it vnto the Duke, thereby to obtaine his pardon, made sute vnto him to speake with him, promising to aduertise him of som thinges, which it imported him greatlie to know, but the Duke would not bee intreated so much as to heare him, for the man was executed, and the Duke slaine within a few daies after.

Phillip. Comin. in Lodouic. 0.1 8. Cap. 33. & 91. *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundy*.

When an euill is destined, there can be no preuention.

Now then, I would gladlie knowe of *Machiauel* and his followers, what security they can promise their Prince in wickednesse, seeing it is euident by the reasons and examples alledged, that the extreame hatred, which extreame wickednesse draweth vpon them, doth (notwithstanding all their power and policy) worke their ouerthrow by so many meanes as hath beene declared? As by open Rebellions, or the generall insurrection of a whole people, by enterprise of a few by the attempt of some one man, by the disloyalty and treachery of a false wife, faigned Friends, fauourites, Soldiers, & Guards, by the defection of Subiects, in fauour of some enemy forraigne or Domestical, by the negligence of Officers and Ministers, by the casualty of all humaine affayres and designments; & lastly, by the errors whereto all humain wit and policy is subiect, which to Princes (that be generally beloued) are nothing so dangerous. By all which meanes, the strongest, mightiest, and most politique Tyraunts haue bin ouerthrowne at one time or another.

How many wayes a wicked Prince is endangered, without any meanes of auoyding the perill.

So that the absurditie of *Machiauel* is most manifest, in true reason of state, seeing that, in councelling Princes to wickednesse and tyranny, vpon confidence of humaine force and policy, hee exposeth them to an assured danger, and doth not giue them any certaine or probable remedy, but rather heapeth danger vppon danger, by encrease of cruelty, and of all Tyranical impiety. Insomuch, that it may be saide to *Machiauils* Prince, as *Diogenes* said to a Disciple of his, whom he

Machiauell exposeth his Prince to an assured danger, & giueth him not so much as a probable remedie.

Plutarch in his Treatise, How to know whether a man haue profit in vertue.

he had forbidden the Tauerne. For, seeing him one day running from the Tauern doore, where he stood into the Tauerne to hide himselfe from him, he called vnto him, saying, *Com back thou foole, for the further thou gost forward, the more thou art in the Tauerne.*

The further a Prince proceedeth in *Machiauels* pollicies, the more he endangereth himselfe.

And so may we say to *Machiauils* Prince, that the further he proceedeth in his dãgerous course of wicked pollicy, the more he endangereth himselfe. And (as the Poet saith) *Incãt in Scillam, cupiens vitare Charibdim*, that is to say; *Seeking to auoyde* Scilla, *he falleth into* Charibdis; or as our English Prouerbe saith, *Hee leapeth out of the Frying pan, into the fire.*

The torment of conscience which tirants doe endure.

But put the case, that a *Machiauillian* or wicked Prince, could (by *Machiauils* Pollicy) assure his estate from all forren and domesticall dangers, yet hee should infallibly pay such a grieuous penalty of his wickednes thereby. For, such excesse of impiety, as *Machiauil* requireth in his Prince, as euer accompanied, not onely with hatred of men and infamy, but also with griefe and anguish of mind, infinit suspitions and feares, weary dayes, restlesse Nights, dreadfull dreames besides continuall torment and horror of Conscience, yea, and many times with distraction, madnesse, and despaire.

Ciceronis Tusc. Quest. 1. *Dionysius* the elder, a Tyrant of *Sicily*, suspitious of his owne Daughters.

The elder *Dionisius*, a Tyrant of *Sicily*, though hee raigned 38. yeares, in great wealth and magnificence, yet liued in such continuall feare, iealousie, and suspition of al men, that he durst neuer trust any Barber to trim him. Hee taught his own daughters to shaue while they were yong, and when they came to be of any yeares, hee would not suffer them to vse the Razor, but made them burne away the haires of his head with wal-nut shels made red hot. And hauing two Wiues, hee alwayes caused them to be searched, before he would come to them: & when he had any thing to treat with the people, he spake vnto them from the top of an high Tower. And howe miserable also his whole life and state was, he himselfe declared sufficiently, when *Damocles* (one of his Flatterers) admyring his great wealth, dominion, Magnificence, and Maiestie, sayde; *That hee thought no man liuing, more happy then he.* Whereupon *Dyonisius* asked him, whether hee would trie how happie hee was, and take a taste of his felicity? And when *Damocles* was contented therewith, he caused him to bee set vpon a sumptuous bedde, (as the vse was then) richly couered, and Cupbords of Plate to be furnished with Siluer and Golden Vesselles, Tables replenished with al kinde of delicat meats, and most beautifull Boyes attending thereon.

Idem. Ibidem.

How *Dionysius* represented to *Damocles* the miserable estate of a Tyrant.

Besides, there was no want of precious Cyntments and sweete perfumes, excellent Musicke, and whatsoeuer else might delight the sences, insomuch, that *Damocles* thought himselfe to bee a most happie man. But at length, casting vp his eyes, hee was aware of a bright and sharpe sword, hanging ouer his head by an haire, with the point downward (for so had *Dyonisius* ordained) which when he saw, hee had no more pleasure in beholding his faire Boyes, or his rich furniture, or to eate of his dainties, or to heare his Musicke, but desired the tyrant to giue him leaue to be gone, for that he would no longer be happy. Thus did *Dionysius* well expresse the infelicity and misery of wicked tyrants how compous, potent, or magnificient soeuer they may seeme to be.

Sir *Thomas Moore* in the Story of King *Richard* the third.

I omit to speake of the Emperors *Nero*, *Claudius*, and *Domitian*, and of *Alphonsus* King of *Naples*, of whom I haue sufficiently spoken before: and will only touch the wretched estate of King *Richard* the third, after hee had murthered his Nephewes, as Sir *Thomas More*, described it in the Story of his life, euen in these words.

The tormented Conscience of King *Richard* the third, after he had murdered his Nephewes.

I haue heard (saith hee) *by credible report of such as were secret with his Chamberer, that after this abhominable deede done, he neuer had quiet in his minde, nor euer thought himselfe sure. When he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his bodye was prouily fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance and manner, like one alwayes readie to strike. He tooke no rest a nightes, but lay long vvaking and musing (sore wearied with watch and care) rather slumbred then slept, troubled vvith fearful dreames: suddenly sometimes started vp, leapt out of his bedde, and ranne about the Chamber. So much was his restlesse heart tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression, and stormie remembrance of his abhominable deeds.* Thus saith Sir *Thomas More.*

Where-

Whereby wee may see, that *Plutarch* had great reason to say, that wickednesse is of it selfe sufficient to make a man miserable. And that *Wicked men, the longer they liue, the more miserable they are.* And that *The doleful and Tragicall endes which most Tyrants haue, cannot be so properly counted the temporall punishments due to their wickednesse in this life, as the consummation and end thereof* I conclude that although there were no other punishment Diuine nor humaine, to bee feared for wickednesse, nor anie danger to follow thereof to a Princes state, neither any Hell or Heauen after this life: yet this continuall torment and anguish of mind, this hell and horror of Conscience, might suffice to make all Princes detest and abhor the abhominable precepts of *Machiauel*, who wold perswade Princes to conserue their states by wickednesse.

Plutarch that wickednesse sufficeth to make a man miserable. Ibidem.

But perhaps our *Machiauilians* wil heere say (in defence of their Maisters doctrin) that although it should nor bee amis for those, who come iustly and lawfully to Soueraignty (as by succession or election) to procure the loue and good wil of all men, by their vertuous and iust Gouernment: yet a Prince, who commeth to his State by intrusion aud Iniustice, as by Murders and Mischiefes, to the preiudice of the right Heires or Owners thereof, cannot hope to conserue and maintain himselfe therein, by vertue and Iustice, or by the peoples loue, whose hatred hee hath already incurred, but by force and feare, and by continuall wickednesse and in tyranny. Which indeed, *Cicero* may seeme to haue insinuated by *Dionisius* the tyrant of *Sicily*, of whom he saith, that *Saluus esse non posset, si sanus esse cæpisset, Hee could not haue bin safe, if he had begun to be sound.* That is to say, he could not haue bin secure, if he had become iust and vertuous. The which also, wise *Solon* the *Athenian*, may seeme to haue signified of all Tyrants: for, when he was moued by his friendes, to make himselfe Tyrant of *Athens*, with intention to gouerne wel and iustly afterwards: he refused it, saying, *Tyranny is like to a Labyrinth, which hath no issue.* Meaning (as it may seeme) that a tyraunt cannot with his security, returne from wickednesse to vertue: but that he must proceed and go on in impiety and tirany, hauing as it were, a Wolfe by the eares, whom if he let go, he sets vpon himselfe. Thus say the *Machiauilians*, or at lest may say, for I am content to plead their cause for them.

An obiection made in fauour of *Machiauillians*.

Cicero in Tusc. Quest. Lib. 5.

Plutarch in Solon.

Tyranny like to a Labirinth which hath no Issue.

For the satisfaction heereof, it is to be considered, that *Cicero* and *Solon* spake thus, not because that the way and passage from Vice to Vertue, is not open as well for Tyrants, as for other Men: but to signifie the malignity of their impious Natures, and theyr miserable estate.

The maligne nature and miserable estate of Tyrants, signified by *Cicero* and *Solon*.

For, Tyrants are (commonly) of so vile, maligne, and Beastlie Nature, that it is seldom seen, that any of them come to embrace Vertue: in which respect, *Cicero* thought Tyrants to bee most miserable. Beside, *Solon* beeing most wise and prudent, was not ignorant, that *Honors* (as the Prouerbe sayeth) *chaungeth maiiners*. And therefore, he greatly feared, that if he should once giue waie to ambition, and violate Iustice by oppression of the Commonwealth, hee should hardly repaire the wracke of his owne Conscience afterward.

Honor changeth manners.

For, whosoeuer shall loose (as I may tearme it) the Anker of integrity, and suffer himselfe to be so farre carryed away with the winde of ambition, that he runne the Shippe of Conscience, against the Rockes of tyranny: let him not maruaile, if he make an irreparable shipwracke of all Iustice and Vertue. Neuertheleſſe, if a Prince that hath got a Crowne or State vniustly, doe hold such a vertuous course, that he conuert his tyranny into a regall and iust gouernment: it is euident (both by reason and experience) though he hold not his ill gotten State lawfully, yet hee shall possesse it with farre lesse daunger, and much more security.

A Tyrant conuerting his tirranny to a royall and iust gouernment, shall be much more secured thereby, then by continuance of Tyranny.

And this is conforme, not onely to the opinion and doctrine of *Aristotle*, as I haue declared before in this Chapter: but also of *Plato*, who councelled the two Tyrants of *Sicilie* (the Father and the Sonne, each called by the name of *Dionysius*) to change their tyrannicall course, into a iust manner of gouernement, assuring them, that they could not otherwise long conserue and assure their Estates. The truth whereof appeared sufficiently, as well by the miserable life of the father, so lately spoken of before,

Plutarch in Dion.

Plato his counsell to the two Tyrants of *Sicily*, Father and Sonne.

before, as also by the ignominious banishment, and vnfortunate end of the Sonne, whom *Dion* (with verie smal forces) cast out of his Kingdome, by reason that he was hated and forsaken of all his Subiects. Whereas diuers other tyrants, as well of *Sicilie* as other countries, changing their course of Tyrannie, to a iust and Vertuous Gouernement, liued and raigned no lesse gloriously, then securely.

Plutarch in Dion.

Such a one, was *Anaxilaus* a Tyraunt of *Sicily*, of whom *Iustine* Writeth thus. *Ex Tyrannorum numero Anaxilaus, &c. Anaxilaus, who was one of the Tyrauntes, did striue to surpasse the crueltie and impietie of others, with his Iustice and Vertue, which wrought a wonderful effect. For, when he died, and left his Children (verie young) in the tuition of* Nicithus *a Slaue of his, whom he dearly loued for his Fidelitie: such was the loue that al his Subiects beare vnto the memory of him, that they chose rather to obey his Slaue, then to forsake his Children and all his Nobility, forgetting their dignity, and the maiesty of their Kingdome, did offer themselues to bee gouerned by a Slaue.* Thus saith *Iustine*.

Anaxilaus. Iustin. in lib. 4. Examples of Tyrants that assured their estates by Iustice and vertue.

Plutarke also testifieth, that *Hieron* & *Gelen*, Tyrants of *Sicily*, and *Pisistratus* the Sonne of *Hippocrates*, hauing most wickedly possest themselues of theyr estates, did neuertheless, gouerne afterward with such Moderation, Iustice, and Equity, that they became very popular Princes. As also, that *Lidiades* the tyrant, restored vnto his subiects their old Lawes and priuiledges: and afterwards, dyed gloriously in the field, in defence of his Countrey.

Plutarch de seranum. vindict. Hieron. Gelon Pisistratus.

In like manner, *Augustus Cæsar*, after he had suppresst his Commonwealth by force of Armes, and vsed such crueltie for many yeares together) that hee was hated of all men, insomuch, that hee could neither eate, drinke, nor sleepe in quiet, for feare of Conspiracies: chaunged his course by the Councell of his Friends, and gaue himselfe wholly to the exercise of Vertue, Pietie, and Iustice, whereby he was (at length) exceedingly beloued of al his Subiects, and esteemed to be *Pater Patriæ, The Father of his country*, and passed the rest of his life in no lesse securitie, then honor and felicitie. Whereas verie manie of his successors, trusting partly to the strength of theyr Guards, Garrisons, and Armies, and partly to their policies, lost their honor, empire, and liues, by the continuaunce of their cruelty and wickednesse. Wherby it appeareth, that it is better (according to the Latine Prouerbe) *To bee late wise, then neuer*; and that it is not onely easie, but also most secure, for a tyrannicall Prince, to passe from cruelty to clemency, from vice to vertue, and from tiranny, to Iustice and Piety.

Dion in Augusto Examples of *Augustus Cæsar*

Pater Patriæ, The Father of his Country.

Better late wise, then neuer.

But doe you (saieth the *Machiuillian*) count it Wisedome for a Prince, so to confide in Iustice and Vertue, that he may trust those, whom he hath once iniuried? Or, that he may thinke himselfe secure from them, so long as they liue? The *Italian* Prouerbe saieth, *Chi offende non perdona mai. He which offendeth*, that is to say, hee which deserueth thine iniury, *neuer pardoneth*, and much lesse, hee which recieueth it.

Another Obiection of the *Machiauillians*

Heereto I answere: That I graunt to the *Machiuillian*, that his Tyraunt shall neuer repose so great confidence in anie reconciled enemie, that hee shall put his life or state into his handes: for I haue formerly prooued, that the *Wisedome of the Serpent, is to bee conioyned with the simplicity of the Doue*, in pardoning, yea, and louing our enemies: and yet in beeing warie and circumspect, how we trust them. But that which I require of a Tyrant for his securitie, is, that he cease to heape Coales vpon his owne heade, by continuance and encrease of In-iustice, Cruelty, and Tyranie: and that he labor (by all conuenient meanes) to pacify the exasperated minds of those whome hee offended, not only with words, but also with deeds; recompencing iniuries with benefits, and disgraces with fauors; Cruelty and seuerity, with clemency, benignitie, and affabilitie; doing Iustice to all men, and shewing himself to haue a perticuler care of the Commonwealth. To preferre the publicke good, before his owne priuate pleasure or commodity, to be the Patron and Protector of Vertue, the punisher of Vice, a refuge vnto the poore afflicted; and finally, a Father to all.

The Answere to the obiection.

The wisedom of the Serpent, and the Doues simplicity ioyned together.

How a Tirant may make himselfe generally beloued, and all his former Cruelties to be vtterly forgotten.

Heereby he shall purchase to himselfe the generall and vniuersall loue of al, and either extinguish the hatered of those whom he hath offended and wronged: or at least, so temper and mittigate the same,

Generall and vniuersall loue.

Wherein the greatest security which can be had by humaine meanes consisteth.

fame, that it shall be much lesse daungerous vnto him, when all men generallie honor and loue him.

Moreouer, I allow not only to a reformed Tyrant, but also to the most lawfull and best Prince liuing, all lawfull meanes of defence, strong Guards, Garrisons, Armies, Fortresses, the vigilaunce of Councellors and Magistrates, the diligence of Spies, and all other lawfull pollicies. All which concurring with the vertuous & iust gouernment of a prince, and beeing fortified with the general loue of his people, which Vertue and iustice only engendereth, shall yeelde him the greatest assurance and security, that can be had, by any humain means whatsoeuer.

A Reply of the *Machiauillians*, inferring the necessity of murders sometimes, for a Princes security.

But perhaps the *Machiauillians* will yet reply, and say: That (for all this) I make not the reformed Tyrant, no, nor anie other lawfull Prince secure. For, although he (hal neuer be so well beloued generally: yet (as I haue already proued) some one man offended, may (notwithstanding all his force and lawfull Policies) be reuenged on his person. And therfore, the only remedy for the Prince (say they) in that case, should be to cut off by some meanes or other) all such as hee may thinke likely to seeke reuenge, or to be any way daungerous vnto his State. For, as *Theodosius* sayde vnto *Ptolomey* King of Egypt, when as hee councelled him for to murther *Pompey*, *Mortui non mordent*, *Dead Men bite not*. So say they.

Plutarch. in Pompeio.

But what neede the dead to bite him, when not onely his owne Conscience shall bite and sting him: but also, there shall be men enow left aliue, to seek the reuenge, as their Children, if they haue any; or their Kinsfolkes, Seruaunts, or Friends. As for example, *Frotho* King of *Denmarke*, first of that name, caused his owne Brother to be murthered, and afterward killed the murtherer, least hee might reueale it; all which notwithstanding, he was smothered with smoake by his Brothers Children.

A *Machiauillian* Prouerbe and principle confuted.

Olaus. Mag. in Lib. 8. Cap. 26. Saxo Gram. in Lib. 7. Paul. Diacon. in Lib. 15 Cassiodor. Chron. An. 454. & 455 Euagri. in Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Paulus Iouius in Amurate.

Valentinian the third Emperor of that name, hauing vngratefully killed the famous Captaine *Aëtius* with his owne hand, was slaine by two Soldiers of *Etius*, in reuenge thereof. Also *Amurathes*, Emperour of the Turkes, the first of that Name, was slaine with a dagger by a seruant of *Lascares*, the *Despote* or Lord of *Thessalonica*, for reuenge of his Lord and Maisters death. Notwithstanding, this *Amurathes* was one of the most crafty and vigilant Princes, that the Turkes euer had, according as *Paulus Iouius* reporteth.

But amongest all those, I who haue sought to assure their estate by murthers none euer exceeded *Andronicus Comnenus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, who (as I haue declared before) vsed to roote man and extirpate whole families, for the suspition which hee had (diuers times) of some one man; thereby to free himselfe from all feare of reuenge. Which (nertheless) was reuenged on him most notoriously, not only by the friends and well-willers of the dead, but also by all the people, such being the horror of iniustice and cruelty, that it doth not only offend those which are iniuried, but also all other men.

Idem Ibidem. Nicetas Coniat. in Andronico Comneno Lib. 2.

The horror of iniustice and Cruelty.

And therfore it hath been often seen, that Subiectes haue attempted against the state or person of a Prince, for the hatred of some murder, or of the one cruell acte. *Iustine* writeth, that when *Seleucus*, King of *Syria*, beganne his Gouernment with the murther of *Berenice* his Steppe-Mother, and of her Sonne his owne Brother; all the Cities which were subiect to him in *Asia*, *Exemplo crudelitatis territæ*, *Being frighted with this example of cruelty*, suddenlie reuolted from him, and yeelded themselues to the subiection and obedience of *Ptolomey* King of Egypt, *Tantum in illo odium* (sayth *Iustine*) *paricidiale scelus attulerat*. *So great was the hatred which his wicked and parricidial acte caused in his Subiectes towardes him.* So vnsure and daungerous is the remedie of daungers by murther and crueltie, that the danger is manie times increased and redoubled thereby.

Iustin. in Lib. 37.

Seleucus King of *Syria* forsaken of his Subiects for murder.

Iustine vbi supra.

Dangers not remedied but encreased by Cruelty.

But now the Politicke may aske mee heere, whither I (who inculcate so oft the daunger of wicked policy) can assure a Princes state by vertue & iustice, in such sort, that the same shall not be subiect to any inconueniences? Wherto I answer, that though the naturall infirmitie and condition of mans state bee such, and so infinite the hazards whereto hee is subiect, & such also the malice of euil men, that no humain force or policy can war-

Whether any Princes state can be assured by Iustice and morrall vertue.

All the security that a Prince can haue by humaine means, is to be attayned principally by vertue.

rant the best Prince liuing, from all perilles incident to his person and state, yet the assurance and security, which any Prince may possibly haue of the one or other by humaine meanes, is to be attained principally by Vertue and Iustice, & such policies as are grounded thereon, and not on Iniustice, impiety, and wicked policy. For whereas the iustest Prince may haue some one or a few enemies that may endaunger him, the wicked must needes haue many, and the more wicked and cruell he is, the more Enemies he shall haue; and (consequenrlie) the greater shall be his danger. For, if a Prince cannot be secure from one enemy or a few, hee shall be much lesse secure from many, and least of al from the generall hatred of all men, which (infallibly) groweth of such excesiue cruelty and wickednesse, as *Machiauel* requireth in his Prince.

The least dangers and inconueniences are to be chosen by wise men.

Therefore ^ rasmuch as it is the part of all Wisemen (especialy in matters of State) to choose the least of all daungers or inconueniences, which cannot be remedied, and to seeke to preuent and auoyd the worst, as is sufficiently declared in the rules for young Statists, it is euident, that as no thing is more dangerous to Princes and their States, then In-iustice and wickednesse, which maketh them odious to all men; so nothing is more to bee eschewed and auoyded of them, then the same, and the contrarie meanes of Iustice and Vertue, to be embraced and practised.

The greatest security of Princes consisteth in the loue of their Subiects, which vertue procureth.

For, thereby they may purchase the generall loue of their Subiects, wherein consisteth the greatest security of Princes, such beeing the force and effect of loue, that it causeth in the louers as great a care of the beloued, as of themselues. In which respect, *Seneca* saith: *Vnum est inexpugnabile munimentum amor ciuium. The only inexpugnable fortresse of Princes, is the loue of their people.*

Machiauell might haue noted the miserable end of all Tyrants in all Histories.

And this is so manifest, that *Machiauil* himselfe acknowledgeth it sufficiently, teaching that excellent vertue may conserue a Princes State, though he absurdly attributes the like force and effect vnto wickednesse. Which truely may bee wondered at, if we consider, that hee being well read in Histories as it may seem, could not but see (if he were not wilfully blind) that all such Tyrants as haue been noted to bee excessiue in crueltie & wickednesse, haue perished miserablye one way or other, which hath beene obserued in all ages.

And therefore, *Cicero* speaking of the violent death of a Tyrant, saieth: *Haud fere quisquam eorum similem interitum effugit. There is scantly any Tyraunt to bee found, that escapeth the like Destruction.* And thereuppon, the Tragicall Poet saith:

Quota pars moritur tempore fati?
Quos felices Cinthia vidit?
Vidit miseros abitura dies,
Rarum est felix idemque senex.

Seneca.

The sence whereof, is, *That few of them liue out the course of Nature, and that it is a rare thing, to see any of them olde and happy.* Whereof another Poet sayeth thus:

Few Tyrants liue out the course of nature.

Ad generum ceteris, sine cæde & sanguine, pauci
Descendunt reges, & sicca morte tiranni.

That is to say, *Few Tyrants dye their Natural death, or without blood.* Which *Michiauel* might haue noted, if not in other Histories, yet at least in the life of *Titus Liuius*, vppon the which, he made certaine discourses.

Tit. Liuius. Dec. 1. Lib. 1.

For, of seauen Kings of Rome, from *Romulus*, to *Tarquinius Superbus*, foure, who got their Estates, or (at the least) maintained and gouerned them most Tyrannically, were three of them murthered, and the fourth Tyrant banished, as I haue obserued heeretofore in *Romulus*, *Lucius Tarquinius*, *Seruius Tullius*, and *Tarquinius Superbus*. Whereas, the other three, to wit; *Numa Pompilius*, *Tullius Hostilius*, and *Aucus Martius*, who were lawfully elected by the Senat, and gouerned iustly and vertuously, liued in securitie and safetie, and dyed beloued and lamented of all the people.

Kings lawfully elected by the Senate, and gouerned iustly.

The like also, might bee verie well ob-

obserued in the *Romaine* Emperors, after *Iulius Cæsar*, if it were needfull.

But that which seemeth to mee most strange in *Machiauil*, is, that hee could not see the experience thereof (at least) in *Cæsar Borgia*, whom, as I haue often signified before, he proposeth to his prince for a mirror of tyrannicall policy. Notwithstanding that the successe thereof, was such in him; that all Princes may learne thereby to detest it, seeing he who was (in *Machiauils* opinion) most exact in the speculation and practise thereof, was vtterly ouerthrowne thereby, as well as all other Tyraunts of former times. Which cannot be attributed to chance, as the politick would haue it, but either to the iust iudgement of God vpon wicked men, which indeede is the principall cause thereof; or at least to the next and immediate cause, which (for the most part) is the hatred of men. And therfore, seeing the miserable end of Wicked Tyrants, not only hath notorious & known causes, but also is frequent and common that it hath alwaies bin held matter of cõmon experience: it cannot be referd to chãce or Fortune, which are vnderstood to be in such things only as are rare, and haue no knowne or ordinary cause. Sõ that it may rather be counted casuall, or a matter of chance, if any notable tyrant do com to a good end: because the same hath bin sildome seene, and the cause thereof secret, or at least vncertaine.

Therefore I conclude, that *Machiauil* cannot bee excused, either of grosse ignorance, if he knew not that which common experience teacheth, to witte; that wicked Tyrants do commonly perish miserably: or of extreame malice if hee knew it, and yet laboured to enduce Princes to wickednesse and tyranny. The later whereof is now sufficiently acknowledged by some *Florentines* of no meane iudgement, his owne Countreymen and friends, who in their ordinary discourses concerning his policies, do not sticke to confesse, that he himselfe knew them to be contrary to true reason of State, and pernitious to Princes. And that neuertheless, desiring to ouerthrow those of the house of *Medices*, which oppresst the Commonwealth in his time, he published his Pestilent Doctrine, hoping that they would embrace it, and ruine themselues by the practise thereof, wherby the state of *Florence*, might return to the old *Democratie*, or popular gouernement wherein it had continued manie yeares before. And this shall suffice, for the examination of *Machiauillian* policies, by only reason of State.

Machiauell might haue noted the miserable end of Tyrants in *Cæsar Borgia*. *Guicciard. in Lib. 6.*

The miserable end of Tyrants cannot be attributed to chance, and why.

The miserable end of Tyrants is very frequent, and hath a known cause, and therefore is not casuall.

It may be referred to chance, if any notable Tyrant come to a good end.

Machiauell eyther grossely ignorant, or extreamely mallicious.

How *Machiauels* friends excuse him at this day.

Machiauels Doctrine acknowledged by his friends to be pernitious to Princes.

CHAP. XI.

Of Loue and Hatred, Amity and Enmity, which (by some secret propriety in Nature) is betweene many creatures.

HEraclitus the auncient Phylosopher, and manie more as well as he, were of opinion, that all things were caused by concorde and discord, and that thorow peace and Enmity (which in all humaine thinges) ensueth the generation and corruption of them. Of which Philosophicall coniecture, I am not now minded to speake, as well in regard of the difficulty, as slender delight it will yeeld to the Reader. Neuertheless, wee will discourse of such amity and enmity, as is known and found to be among many things, albeit no man knoweth truely, from whence the cause thereof proceedeth, which to speake vprightly, is a matter very maruailous. As, for our first instaunce, the discord betweene the Dogge and the Cat, between Oile and Pitch, the Hart and the Adder, and such like, whereof we are instantly to discourse, that do naturally hate one another; and it is imagined, that this Enmity ensueth from the Elements. For the contrariety and discord which is among all thinges created, is manifest and euident. As we do discerne, that Water is an enemy to Fire, because the Fire is hot and dry, and Water is cold and moist, so that these two Elements are wholly contrary. Water and Earth are friendes, in regard that they are both cold: and yet, there is a contrariety in them, because water is moyst, and Earth is dry. Betweene the Fire and the Earth, there is a conformity, in regard of the drinesse of them: and yet a difference too, by reason of the Fires heat, and Earths coldnes. In

Coneord and Discord the occasion of all things.

No man knoweth truely whence the cause of this variance ensueth.

The contrariety among all things created.

Of Water and Fire.

Of Water & Earth.

Of Fire and Earth.

All things are composed of the Elements.

like manner, among the Elements there is contrariety: and yet neuertheleſſe, in part of them there is ſome kindneſſe and conformity. All things then being compoſed of theſe Elements, it followeth by neceſsity, that there ſhould be ſuch contradiction or conformity, as is amongſt thoſe Elements whereof they are compounded. Wherefore, that thing wherin the Elementary quality gouerneth moſt, receiueth name from the qualitie, and that we tearme hot or colde, moyſt or drie, ſome in more high degree then others, according as the thing is moſt qualified, by one of thoſe firſt and chiefeſt qualities. Thus we may obſerue, how one thing is contrary to another, woorking diuers effects: which contradiction is very apparant, and thereby we com to render a reaſon thereof.

Of the moſt gouernment of the Elemẽtary qualities.

Another kind of Enmity not proceeding from the Elements.

But that the other kinde of Enmitie, which proceedes not from the elements, but by a hidden and ſecret proprietie, or from ſome ſuperiour influence, doth wel require a further contemplation, and ſearch into the cauſe whence it ſhoulde enſue. The Dogge and the Cat (as wee haue formerly ſaid) do wiſh il vnto each other, and yet the reaſon is not knowne wherefore. There are other thinges likewiſe, which doe entirely loue one another; and yet this loue proceedeth not from the Elements whereof they are compoſed. Aſſes do deſire, and well like of an Hearbe, called * *Ferula*; and yet it is venomous to al other horſes or mares. Foxes are friends to Adders or Snakes, that are enemies to all other Beaſts. This is a matter of no leſſe conſideration among men, then in brute beaſts, in regard, that not knowing whence or how it ſhould proceed, one man, at the verie ſight of another, hauing neuer known or ſeene him before, is very enuious and diſdainful towards him, and yet another man is very pleaſing and acceptable vnto him, vpon the as like ſudden ſight. Sometimes alſo, ſo ſoone as he ſees a man that he knowes not, hee will beare affection to him, and hold him in reuerend regard although he bee much neerer then himſelfe: and another ſhall happen to bee deſpiſed by him, althogh he be ſom worthy perſonage or great Lorde. We ſee ſome others, that are born (as it ſeemeth) to giue enſtruction. Beſide, we may note in two men, that the one ſuffers himſelfe to bee gouerned by the other: in which kind many times, the Maiſter is ruled by his ſeruant, euen as if hee were naturally ſubiect to him, and yet no reaſon rendered therefore. And the very like hapneth among Beaſts and Birds alſo, euen in the ſame enmities and ſubiections, as wee may holde betweene the Eagle and the Swanne, the Crow and the Kite: for the Kite is many times ſo aduenturous, that ſhee dareth to ſnatch a prey out of the Crowes gripes. Like hatred is there betweene the Kite and the Chough, and the Eagle and the Gooſe: ſo that, if but the Feather of an Eagle bee mingled among them of the Gooſe, it quite conſumeth them all. The Hart is a great perſecuter of Adders or Snakes, for, by his ſtrong breathing about the entraunce of the hole where they hide themſelues, he draweth them forth by his breath onely, and preſently eateth them. And to proue it true, that there is ſuch deadlie hatred between them, the experiment hath bin made, by burning the Harts horne, the ſmoak whereof no Adder is able to endure. As great enmity alſo, there is between the Crow, Aſſes, & Buls, becauſe the Crowe ſmiteth at them continuallie with her beake, and endeuoureth by all meanes to pecke out their eies. The Eagle, being the greateſt of all Birdes, purſueth the ſmall Coot, Moore-Henne, or Fen-Ducke: And the Coote or Moore-Hen is harmefull to the Larke, and ſpoileth her Egges.

* Like great Fenell, called Fenell Gyant, or hearbe Sagapene.

Hatred of men at their very firſt ſight.

Loue of men at the firſt ſight.

The Maiſter gouerned by his ſeruant.

Deadly hatred between diuers Foules

The hatred of the Hart, to Adders & Snakes.

Of the Crow, Aſſes & Buls.

Greatneſſe enuieth ſmalneſſe.

The Fowle called *Flora*, counterfetteth the whinnowing of a Horſe whereby ſhe feareth and aſtoniſheth him, euen as he doth the like by her. The very greateſt enemies to the Wolfe, are the Fox, the Aſſe, and the Bull. There is likewiſe continuall quarrell between the Vulture and the Eele. The Lyon dreadeth and flyeth from the Cocke, ſhunning Fire alſo, and the noiſe of a Cart or Wagon. The Panther holds the Hienna as his Enemy; and the Scorpion purſueth the *Tarantula* to death, which is tearmed by the Latines *Phalanges*: for whoſe byting (as one Author affirmeth) there is no remedy, but by Muſick only. And ſo great is the hatred betweene theſe two Creatures, that whoſoeuer is bitten by the Scorpion, muſt be healed by the Oyle, wherein the *Tarantulaes* are drowned. The Elephant beeing a mighty and powerfull

A Bird that counterfeiteth the Horſſes whinnoing.

The Cock dreadfull to the Lyon.

Of the Hienna and Tarantula.

The feare of the Elephant.

werfull Beast, not only feareth and shunneth the Snake, but also shaketh at the sight of a Sheepe, yea, and trembleth at the very grunting of a Swine. Horsses, Asses, and Mules, by no meanes can endure the Weezell: the Francoline and House-Cocke, are greatly enuious of each other. There is a kind of Faulcone, which *Aristotle* termeth *Tico*, that maintaineth great war and debate against the Fox, pursuing and fighting with him at all times, whersoeuer he meets or finds him. *Elianus* tels vs, that there is appeaseless hatred, betweene the Crow & another kind of Faulcon, which hee calleth *Pelagra*; and likewise between the Crow and the harmlesse Turtle, the Owle and the Storke, the Partridge and the Tortuis. The Pelican persecuteth the Quaile aboue all other Fowles; and the Horsse is more affraid of the Camell, then of any other Beast whatsoeuer.

Aristot. in Lib 7. de Anim. cap. 3.

Elianus in lib. 9

The Owle & Storke.

Among Fishes also, there is the like Naturall enmity: for the Creuis or crab of the Sea, keepes no societie with the * Poulpe or Preake, but they auoide each others sight: as the Dolphine dooth the Whale, and as the Conger is Naturall enemy to the Lamprey. The Poulpe or Preake, hath such domination ouer the Eeele, and the Eeele is in such feare of the Poulpe, that she dieth with the verie sight of him.

Deadly hatred among Fishes in the Sea.

* Called also by some Pour contrell, a Fish with many feete.

There is extreame warre between the Sea-Wolfe, and the Fish called * *Mongilla*, or *Mugra*. If the Snake doth see a man cloathed, or hauing his Garments on, he wisheth him deadly harme, and laboureth to offend him; but let him behold him naked, and then he shunneth him as swiftly as he can Rats and Snakes or Adders, are mortall enemies, especially when they hatch their Egges in winter, and come not abroad to bee seene; for then they persecute each other verie cruelly. And because (by instinct of Nature) they know each others malice, they make such prouision of foode in their Nestes, as may glut them with feeding, and so to get them gone, without anie more contending. The malice of Wolues towards Sheepe is so naturall, that if a Drum be made of a Woolues skinne, Sheepe will with like fearefulnesse, flye from the sound thereof, euen as if the Wolfe were liuing, and neere vnto the Flocke.

* A kinde of Mullet.

The Snake beholding a naked man.

Of Rats and Snakes.

Of Woolues and Sheepe, and a Drum made of the woolfes Skin.

Nay more, some Authors doe maintaine, that if eyther Viall or Lute bee strung, with strings made of the guts of a VVolfe or Sheepe; it is impossible to accord them together, or to make anie anie pleasing hermonie with them. If the skinne of a VVolfe, bee hanged in a Stall or Stable, or in any such like place where Sheepe are to bee fedde: the very feare which they conceiue thereof, doth forthwith compell them to cease from feeding.

A strange secret in nature

The Monkey fearefully shunneth the Tortuise. And Rattes (by some hidden qualitie) are so contrarie to Scorpions, that the byting of a Scorpion is sooneste healed, if a Ratte be but layde vpon it. The Snake and Viper, do woonderfullie dread the Crab, who hath (Naturally) such power ouer those two other Creatures, that if a Swine should bee bitten by a Viper, hee helpeth himselfe by eating of a Crabbe. And that which is much more to be admired, when the Sunne is in the signe of Cancer, both these kinde of Serpents, doe suffer verie extreame anguish and paine. The Scorpion Fish, and the Crocodile, haue continuall warre together, each killing the other most maliciously.

Of the Scorpion and the Ratte.

Of the Scorpion Fish and the Crocodile

The Panther so dreadeth the Ounce, that (as is auouched) he suffereth her to kill him, without vsing any defence for himselfe. And if the skin of the Panther bee hung neere to the skinne of the Ounce, that of the Panther wil wast and consume away. The Enmity betweene the Chough and the Daw is so theeuish that (as *Aristotle* reporteth) they rob & destroy each others Egges. The VVaspe is at fierce feud with the Spider, euen like as the Coote and Mallard are with Rats and Mice, killing and eating each others young ones. The Kite and the Foxe are hatefull enemies.

Of the Panther and Ounce.

Arist. in Lib. 4. de Anim.

There is a kinde of Hawke, of small groweth (which *Plinie* nameth *Esalon*) who is so enuiously malicious vnto the Crow, that hee neuer ceaseth search for their Nest, onely to breake her Egges in pieces. Swine are Naturallie hatefull to VVezels. The white wolfe and the Lyon are such fatall enemies, that being dead, their blood cannot be mingled together. Moles or Wants are so bent against Ants, that they shunne any tree where they haue any being.

Plin. in Lib. 9. Cap. 10.

Of the woolfe and Lyon.

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Of the Spider & the Adder.

The Spider is at sterne warre with the Adder, as *Pliny* saith, that shee compasseth his death in this manner. When the Spider perceiueth the Adder to sleepe vnder any Tree where she worketh, shee descendeth by the small twine of hir own making; and getting into his braine pan, then biteth and stingeth him in such sort, that she neuer leaueth him, vntill she see him quite dead by her venom.

Enmity among other things that lacke life.

Among other inanimate thinges also, there is the like contradiction and enmity. For, Oyle is an enemy to Pitch; because, if Oyle be put into a Vessel which is pitched within, the pitch consumeth all the Oyle. Oyle is likewise enemy vnto water, as Lime is; but Lime and Oyle do ioyne together, and seemeth to loue each other naturally.

A strange property in the Oliue.

The Oliue hath an admirable secret Vertue, against Carnall and luxurious desire; yea, and in such sort, as I finde it credibly written, that if an vnchast womans hand do plant it, it will receyue no roote, but withereth and dyeth. Coleworts cannot prosper, if they grow neere to the Hearb Marierom of *England*. Salt water becommeth fresh and sweete, being mixed with Wheaten floure, so that within two houres after, a man may very well drinke thereof. I could alleadge so many examples, concerning natural hatred betweene things both animate and inanimate, as were able to tire a very patient Reader.

Of Salt water becomming sweete and fit to drinke.

Things that mutually loue each other. *Arist. in Lib. 7. de Anim. cap 3.*

The like could I do of things that mutually loue together, as the Peacock and the Pigeon; the Turtle and the Popinjay; the Blackbird and the Feldfare. *Aristotle* reporteth, that there is such kindenesse betweene certaine Birdes or Sparrowes, and the monstrous Crocodile, that the huge Beast wil open his mouth, to suffer these small Birdes to picke and cleanse his teeth with their billes, also to purge his gummes when they paine and offend him; and alledgeth withall, that these Birds are onelie nourished thereby. It is said moreouer, that there is great amity betweene the Fox and the Crow, the Dawe and the Henne of *India*; the Larke, and another Bird called a Foncke. The Fox is neuer harmed by the Snake, nor the Sheepe likewise. Pigeons and Turtles agree well together: and the Partridge with her louer the Ring-doue.

Sparrowes that doe cleanse the Crocodiles teeth.

Talpa Marina, that serueth as a guide to the huge Whale.

The Fish (called in Latin *Talpa Marina*) is, beyond all other, affected most of the Whale: for, as *Pliny* affirmeth, it swimmeth alwayes before him, to giue him warning of whirlepits, and daungerous deepe places.

Thus you see the woonderfull workes of nature, dispersed and limmited by the prouidence of God, and partly occasioned by the influence of Starres and Planets. All which, we finde sufficientlie authorized and warranted by good Authors: as *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Elianus*, and the Poet *Marbodeus*, in his Booke of Stones, beside manie other both ancient and Moderne, that haue written on the Nature of Beastes, and other things else.

Marbodeus in Lib. 2. de Lapid.

CHAP. XII.

By what meanes and occasions, the natures of Amity and Enmity, are said to proceede from the Celestiall Influences: and the reason, why one loueth or hateth another.

Some Starres and Planets of more predominance then other.

IN the Chapter of secret and hidden occasions, we haue already proued that there are some Planets & starsthat do hold perticuler dominion ouer some things more then other, & do infuse perticuler proprieties, which are not caused by any quality of the elemēts. And yet notwithstanding, we cānot properly say, that the Planets, Starres, and Signes of heauen, haue any discorde or enmity among themselues. Neuertheteles, ancient Philosophers and Astrologians, considering the contrary and diuers effects of the Influences, which the Stars and Planets do cause in things, by their irradation and motion, haue attributed diuers qualities to them, and likewise great enmity betweene them.

The opinion of ancient Philosophers and Astrologers.

According to *Guydo Bonatus*, *Schonerus*, and many more beside, we find, that *Mars* and *Venus*, are enemies to the Planet *Saturne*. *Iupiter* and *Mercury* are enimies also. The Sunne, Moone, and all the Planets, are Friends to *Iupiter*, *Mars* onely excepted, who is enemy to them all, sauing *Venus*. *Iupiter* and *Venus* loue the

Guydo Bonatus. Schonerus.

Of Amity and Enmity among the Planets.

the Sunne; and their opposites or contraries are *Mars*, *Mercurie*, and the Moone. *Venus* is affected of them all, except *Saturne*. Thus then there is such Amity and Enmity among them; as I must now cease to discourse on, onely for breuities sake.

Matters vnder one Planet are frends or enemies to them that be vnder another.

Now seeing that matters stand thus, such thinges as are vnder the order and gouernment of one Planet: must (by naturall inclination) be Friends or Enemies to those, which are obedient to another Planet, Signe, or Constellation, according to the conformity or diuersity, that is betweene the Starres ruling those things. And this enmity is likewise the greater, and of the more efficacy; when among the nature and qualities of the Planets (to whom they are subiect) there is the greater repugnancy. As contrariwise, the amity or loue will be much more liuely, when there is greatest conformity betweene the Planets.

The like power is ouer men & beasts, but not in a like nature.

This is to be vnderstood, as well to extend it self to men; as in dominion ouer brute beasts. Neuertheless, Men being of a free and liberall will, although they feele this repugnancy or inclination; yet they may (by grace) with-stand and resist it. But beasts, who are exempt and depriued of this priuiledge: must needs be gouerned according to their naturall inclination, and doe put the same in execution, so much as in them lyeth, euen as Hearbes and Plants doe the like.

Of mutable loue and Amitie betweene man and man, according to the equality in their birth.

Concerning mutuall affection among Men, the Astrologers doe maintaine, especially *Ptolomy* their Prince, that such Men as (at their birth) haue one and the selfe-same Signe, for Lord of the ascendent; will simpathize in an equall nature of loue and agreement; yea, and that very pleasingly: as also such as haue the Sunne and the Moone in one selfe-same Signe. Moreouer, they say, that in such as haue one and the same Signe for Gouernour at their natiuity: it infuseth and begetteth (naturallie) a like loue and conformity in nature. And albeit, that one Planet be not answerable to them both: yet it is sufficient, that the two Planets are friendes, and not enemies; or else, that they both do lend a fauourable and auspicious eye. This is easilie discerned, by erecting the Figures of both the Natiuities, and much helpe ensueth to this conformity: and if Fortune be harbourous and friendly in the same Signe or House, and that the House or Signe of the Moones being in at the ones Natiuity, doe affoord a gracious aspect to the others birth. For as they do more or lesse consent and agree in these conditions: euen so (more or lesse) is the quality of naturall loue.

If one Planet be not alike to two mens births.

Example of of two men dealing in one businesse.

Hence it ensueth, that two Men being imployed about one businesse: a third man (being a By-stander) will lend a very heedfull and affecting eye to the one, despising and condemning the other mans painfull endeuour, although he neuer iniured or any way offended him. Which might happen to two persons, that had their ascendent signes repugnant in their quality, and of contrary triplicitie, and the Planets (beeing Lordes of their Natiuity) enemies and contrarie one to another. As the Sun and Moon, being in opposition and diuers signes, and those of one birth, casting an euill aspect on another: for, by reason of these things, & others which we could speake of, ensueth the cause of one mans beholding another, with inward contentment or disliking. As appeareth very plainely, in seeing two Men playing at any game together: the stander by, not beeing any way obliged eyther to the one or other, nor (perhaps) knowing either of them; yet his minde is more affectionate to the one then the other, and he wisheth him better successe then the other.

The Sunne and Moone in opposition and contrary signes.

Example of affection and dislike.

As for the other Argument, of one mans feare and dread of another, suffering himselfe to be ouer-awed and gouerned by him, although hee be much inferiour to him; we see the case cleare by common experience. The reason of these accidents is rendred by *Ptolomy*, saying: *That he which at his birth, shall haue an ascendent Signe, as (by way of example) the one in the East, and the other ouer the South: that man shall naturally haue a kind of subiection and reuerence done vnto him by the other.* The like shall ensue to him, that (in his Natiuity) hath the Signe gouerning, and the other Mans obeying. But if two Men shall haue one and the same signe for Lord of the ascendent, or else one Planet gouerning

One man standing in awe and feare of another.

A reason alleadged by *Ptolomie*, Prince of Astrologie, for superiority in birth.

One Lord of the ascendent gouerning two mens births.

ning both: he that in the power and order of that Planet shall be Superior (as we haue already declared of Beastes) shall not naturally haue dominion ouer the other.

Examples of this accident happening in sundry degrees.

Now, when this aduantage happeneth in him, who is a Friend and Fauorer of another; the fauour and affection encreaseth so much in him, that the others gouernment is the more gladlie yeelded to him. If this happen in the case of a Seruant: doubtlesse, he wil be loyall, faithfull, and very obedient. If betweene two Friends, equall in birth, Goods, and Fortune, as it hath beene, and yet is oftentimes obserued: their affections are mutually found to bee perfect and intire, and the one willingly is gouerned (for the more part) by the other.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ *Whence it ensueth, that a Way of like length, seemeth more short and euen or plaine, and is lesse offensiue: then that which is long and eeuen, is yrkesom and distastfull. And why our turning in going, procureth falling.*

Arist. in Lib. 5. de Anim. Cap. 3.

Albeit, this Chapter seemeth not to bee of such importance as the precedent: yet the Argument is not to be despised, in regard that *Aristotle* thought it no disgrace to him, to determine the doubt. We doe oftentimes behold, that he which goeth by a Way that is short, as if you would say, halfe a Mile, eyther more or lesse, if the same Way be plaine and eeuen, without Hils and Dales: hee is nothing so soone weary or lagged then, as if it were crooked, vneuen, and rugged. But if the way be long, as of eight or ten miles, more or lesse, and smooth and euen: in very truth, it will be more wearisome to him, then if he had some Hilles and Vallies to passe. The reason is, that a Man becommeth weary, for two causes. The first, because trauaile is long and durable, though it appeare not very sharpe. The other, in regard it is sharp, though it lasteth but a little while.

Of an euen or smooth way, & that which hath Hilles and Dales.

Two causes why a man is weary with his walking.

Concerning the first point whereof we haue spoken, that the way which is short, hilly, and side-long, weareth a man more, then that which is plain and eeuen, though of the selfe-same length: we are to vnderstand, that this labour, although it be little, is more sharpe and tedious, then when a man walketh plainely. For it is a matter more repugnant to our nature, to goe as if it were climbing and iumping: then to walke on in an eeuen and smooth way.

Of the short, Hilly, and tedious way.

A repugnancy to our nature in trauailing.

Now, for the long and plain passage, that it wearieth more, then the other that hath some Hils or Dales: the reason ensueth of a long and semblable Way, in regard, that the members doe hold on in pacing, all after one manner, without any alteration or chaunging, which (ordinarily) yeilderh some repose and ease. So that, albeit mounting appeareth to be more painefull, then walking on a plaine and eeuen Way: yet it is so, that this mutation affoordeth ease and refreshing, because the Members doe thereby apprehend a nouell forme; and their motion is in another manner. As we may very well obserue in them that ride on Horse-backe, who (though it be much more painfull, then trauailing on foote) doe oftentimes descend or alight, and walke a while to ease thēselues. In like case it fareth with a long and eeuen way, that the Members do then hold but an equal motion, and are in one order or kinde: without extendure or stretching, and retiring or with-drawing themselues, more at one time then another. And therfore, when the iourny continueth for a long time; it is the more offensiue and wearisome. And although that mounting and descending, doe endure longer then the plaine trodden path: yet the plaine and eeuen waies among it, doth cause a mutation therewithall, whereby the members do receiue some ease and lightning of toyle. Whereof wee may make a good example, by a man that sitteth a long while together, and resteth himselfe without any walking: yet is hee glad (oftentimes) to stretch out his Members, to put them forth, and pull them in to him. These are the opinions of

Alteration in going affoordeth some ease.

Mounting not so painfull as euen walking.

Ryding more painefull then trauaile on foote.

Of mounting and descending.

Example of a mans long time of sitting, without walking. *Alexand. Aphrod. in Probl.*

of *Alexander Aphrodiseus*, in his Problemes: and *Macrobius*, in the first Booke of *Scipioes Dreame*; as also *Plato*, in his *Timeus*.

Macrob. in Somn Scipionis. Lib 1.
Plato. in Tim.

They haue likewise vrged this question: wherefore a Man, in suddaine turning, or beeing brought by or from another Man: it falleth out so hurtfull vnto him, that his sight becommeth dazeled, and he hardly auoydeth stumbling or falling? Wherunto all of them make aunswere, especiallie *Macrobius*, saying. *That the moouings of all corporall thinges, are seauen in number. One whereof, is; the moouing from beneath, to aloft, or on high. A second, is from on high, to below or beneath. A third, is from one place to another forward. A fourth, is from forward, backeward, without either mounting or descending. A fift, is to the right side. A sixt, is to the left. And the last, is turning round about: which is neyther on high nor below; nor to the right side or left, but in a round circkle, as it were.* And this is the proper motion or moouing of the Heauens, the qualitie whereof, is to turne in that manner: and is not so common or ordinary to man, as the other sixe, or euery one of them are.

Macrob. vbi sup.

Seauen seuerall kindes of motion or moouing.

The true moouing of the Heauens, not common or ordinary vnto man.

From thence it ensueth, that in neuer hauing beene seene, nor done by man, when hee so moouoeth of himselfe, or elfe by another: he findes himselfe feared and troubled, and then some notable accident or imitation happeneth to him, because hee is troubled in the braine, all his Spirits, and an alteration appeareth in the humours of his head, so that the Organes of vnderstanding, cannot receiue their vertue and animall power. And so, our bodilie charge and weightinesse, beeing not sustained by the Soule: falleth downe to the ground, without power, without sight, and voide of any supporting strength. But if a man doe performe this motion aduisedly, and by little and little: nature findeth no impeachment, but without daunger) it may very well be done.

The reason of falling in sudden turning.

CHAP. XIIII.

How excellent a thing the Memory of Man is. And what is the reason, that such as are endued with an acute Spirit, haue but weake retention. Moreouer, what is the cause that Men haue so good remembrance of their youth, or younger yeares.

Among all the inward perfections of Man, Memory is the most excellent: as being the Treasurer and Guardian of all the other. The blessing bestowed by God on Men, in giuing them Memory, is so great and precious: that onely the very praises thereof, and recitall of the benefits which come to them thereby, might well consume a great space of time, in Writing and repeating; yea, Paper would want to relate so worthy an Argument.

Memory is the chiefest of all other perfections in man.

Cicero saith, *Memory is the Theame or discourse of the Soules immortality, and diuinity of Man. Pliny* calleth it such a benefit; *As is absolute necessary to life.* And *Plutarch* stileth it; *The Antistrophe of diuinitie*: that is to say, equiualent or semblable to the Diuinitie, considering, that of passed thinges, shee maketh a present obseruation. For, the time that is past, may bee compared to him, that is carried away with a swift Water current: but Memorie maketh retention, and appeareth to vse strong resistance against that swift course, with a meere essence of that, which other-wise were lost and gone. Others call Memorie, *The Treasurie of Knowledge.* And hence it came, that Wisedome is counted the Daughter of Memory, and also of Experience: because Memory is as a Coffer or Cabinet, containing all such things as we learne, behold, and vnderstand. The Sauiour and Redeemer of all the World, did highly make esteem thereof, considering, that when he left vs the blessed Sacrament of his bodie and blood, he said: *Doe you this, in the Memorie*

Cicero. in Lib. 1. de Offic.

Plin. Secund in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.

Plutarch. in Moral.

An apt Comparison of the times past.

Valer. Max. in Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Example of our blessed Sauiour.

Luke. 22, 19.

Memorie or remembrance of me; meaning that in his Memory wee ought to receiue them. The Church both saith and singeth; *The iust shall liue in eternall Memory.* We must needes say then, that the place of happinesse belonging to this Memory, is very great and gracious.

Psalme. 18, 6.

But let vs come now to humaine learning. Our Oratours doe reckon Memory, as one of the principall parts of speaking. *We are taught in vain* (saith *Quintillian*) *if we forget that which wee haue learned.* Therefore himselfe commaundeth, that this powerfull vertue should be often exercised; because by vse and exercise, it is increased. It is a meruailous thing, that in setting Memory to her worke, and holding her in due commendation, she should be so memoratiue of passed occasions: And yet he that pursueth her with greatest affection, is least able of apprehending her, and contrariwise, he to whom she appeareth most painfull and laborious, for finding out difficult matters past, she rendreth her selfe the readiest afterward. We are therefore to vnderstand, that there are two means appertaining to this vertue.

The iudgement of Oratours concerning Memory. *Quintil. in Lib. de Institut.*

Vse and exercise encreaseth Memory.

A man that hath his Memory prompt and very ready, to entertaine such enstructions as are giuen him; cannot keep them for any long time. But another man, who is long in apprehending, preserueth (what is taught him) in much better manner. The naturall reason whereof is giuen vs by *Aristotle*, saying. *Men that haue liuely and sharpe Spirits, are (at the first sight) easie to bee enstructed, yet very weake in their retention. Contrariwise, more rude and duller Spirits, that apprehend and conserue with great difficulty; are capable of farre better retayning.*

Memory hastily pursued is not easily retained.

Two meanes for the apprehension of Memory, confirmed by example.

Arist. in Lib. 4. de Ethic.

Plutarch affirmeth, that these things happen to men, as it doth to a Pot or Vessell, which hath a little mouth or entrance, and therefore is the harder to be filled, as also voyde of the lesse daunger, in emptying it againe: and such Vessels (such saith hee) doe represent men of rude vnderstanding. But they that haue a quicke and agile Spirit; doe resemble Vesselles with wide mouthes and large entrance; and as they are easily filled, euen so are they as quickly emptied of all that they containe.

Plutarch his comparison, how Memory commeth to men.

The learned *Thomas Aquinas*, who omitted nothing, or (at the least) very little, which he did not iudiciously perse and examine; speaketh to this purpose. *By diuers corporeall dispositions, doe ensue the diuers promptituds and operations of the Soule.* For as we behold, that those thinges wherein are made some impressions or Carracters with paine and difficulty (as in stone or Mettals) doe preserue those prints more substantiallie, then other thinges that are much easier imprinted, as in Waxe, and other matter of like softnesse: Euen so the Memory (which is the Guardian of all enstruction) being in the head of a Man of hard vnderstanding; when she receiueth any thing wel figured and stamped, she preserueth it the better in this hard habitation, because it was entertained with paine and difficulty. But as for them that are sprightly, prompt, and ready, and doe entertaine thinges with lesse trauaile: they are euen as speedy in forgetting, and vtter losse of them.

Tho. Aquina. Sum. 1. Dist. 9. Sect. 13.

Example of difficult staps or impressions, & others of more easinesse.

There is another thing in the Memory, which is likewise worthy to bee noted, to wit: That such things as we behold, to be imprinted in the tender Spirit of Infancy, are not forgotten in the estate of Man-hood. *Auicenne*, in his sixt Booke of naturall thinges, saith. *The reason hereof is, that such as haue their vnderstanding at quiet, and with ought the charge of great occasions: haue their Memory the more certaine.* And for this cause, those things which Children do learne in their chiefest Infancy: they retaine them for a long time, by not beeing molested with weighty thoughtes and trauailes. *Thomas Aquinas* rendreth another reason, and (in mine opinion) more auaileable, saying. *That thing, which is the occasion of most notable motion in Man, remaineth the firmest in his Memory: as namely, matters of greatest nouelty and admiration; And therefore, as all thinges appeare to Children, to bee nouell, strange, and of great importance: so are they the cause, that they are the more solidly stamped in their Memory.*

Such things as are apprehended in our infancy, we doe not forget in manhood.

Auicen de Reb. Nat. Lib. 6.

Tho. Aquinas. vbi supra.

But let vs leaue Infancy, and come to Men, of whom, some haue been obserued, to be of such capable and singuler vnderstanding; that it hath appeared, to bee a matter of no meane meruaile.

Examples of men of admirable vnderstanding.

uaile. *Pliny*, *Solinus*, & *Quintillian*, haue set vs downe diuers and sundry examples. We read of *Cyrus*, that he knew all the Men in his Army, which was of wonderfull greatnesse: and hee could call them all by their names and sirnames, a thing deseruing to bee admired.

Plin. in Lib. 7. Solin. in Lib. 1. Quintil in li. 1. Of Cyrus.

Solinus writeth as much of *Lutius Scipio*; and yet notwithhanding, though this doe appeare to be meruailous: yet it is supposed, that by frequent and continued cõuersation, he might wel do it. That which is reported of *Cineas*, Ambassador from K. *Pyrrhus* to the *Romains*, dooth vrge much greater amazement. For, hauing been in *Rome* but two daies onely: he knew all the Senators names, albeit there was a great number of thē. He knew likewise the names of all the Gentlemen, and principall persons in the Citty, apprehending them readilie at a second sight, and spake to them euery man by his name. *Spartianus*, in the life of *Adrian*, doth highly commend his Memory, saying. *If a Booke were read in his presence, albeit he had neuer seene, or heard thereof before: yet after the whole reading was finished, he wold recite (word by word) all matters contained in the Booke, without fayling in any thing. And hee did perfectly (euer afterward) know them, that had but once spoken to him.*

Of *Lucius Scipio.*

Of *Cyneas* Ambassadour to the Romaines.

Spartianus in vit. Adrian. Imp

I remember, that (not long since) I read a pretty discourse, of a Man that was aged, hauing his head and Beard long and white; and somewhat hee had petitioned of his Prince, wherein hee was denyed. Whereupon, this aged Man afterward caused his haire to bee close cut, and his Beard to bee shauen, making vse of a false and counterfeit Perry-wig, as if he were become a yong Man againe: And by this occasion (as I gesse) came vp our borrowed haires, which nowa-daies are in the same request. In this manner hee returned to the Emperour *Adrian*, vrging the same suite, which he had formerly denyed him. The Emperor well knowing him, and smiling to himselfe, that his deniall had made the aged man, thus to becom (in his own conceit) of younger yeares, as hoping thereby to ouer-reach him: he made him this answere. *My Friend, very willinglie could I graunt thy request: but that (some few dayes since) thy Father was with me, and mooued me in the very same suite. Now in my iudgement, I hold it not agreeing either with Honor or Reason, to grant that to the Sonne, that I haue already denyed to his graue and reuerend Father.* With this reply, the (olde imagined) young man went away confounded with the conceite of his owne folly, and iustly was dealt withall as he had deserued.

A memorable Hiſtory of Age, counterfeiting youth, in presence of the Emperor *Adrian.*

An excellent and witty answere.

We reade of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, that his Scepter commanded ouer two and twenty seuerall Languages, and that he gaue audience vnto all these Nations, without any Interpreter, and answered euery one of them in his owne tongue. The Memory of *Themistocles* was also very great, for *Cicero* speaking of him, saith: *He learned and apprehended whatsoeuer he would, and desired to forget many things, of lesse worth then he esteemed them to be, but hee could not.* *Symonides* (on a time) demanded of him, if hee would haue an excellent receipt: for the maintenance of a good Memory; whereto *Themistocles* replyed. *He would gladly find out a meanes, to forget many things, for he had no neede of encreasing his Memory.* *Quintillian* reporteth of *Publius Crassus*, that in one instant, he gaue audience to fiue kindes of tongues vsed in *Greece*, and gaue answere also presently in each one of thē. *Seneca*, in the Prologue of his Declamations, saith; that *Porcius Latronus* (who so much renowned the Schooles of the learned *Rodolphus Agricola*) had (both by Nature and Art) such a Memory, that it appeared to be incredible: becaus what-soeuer he learned, he retained still faithfully. And being come to the degree of an Oratour, all the Orations which he had suddenly made, he could recite them by heart, without failing in any one word. Hee saide, *This was a more profitable labour then writing; becaus he could write all his inuentions in his Memory.* *Cicero* writeth the like of *Hortensius* the great Oratour, and saith. *As he directed his Oration, so hee wrote, and afterward pronounced it, without fayling in a word.* *Seneca*, in his Book before alleaged, speaketh of the same *Hortensius*, saying. *He was selling certaine goods by an Inuentory, and the sale continued for the space of a whole day. But after*

Two and twenty seuerall tongues vnderstood by *Mithridates.*

Cicero in Lib. 4. de Offic.

Themistocles his answere to *Symonides.*

Quintil in li. 1. Of Publius Crassus.

Seneca in Prohem. Declamat. Porcius Latronus. Rodolphus Agricola.

Writing reproued by an Oratour.

Cicero of Hortensius the famous Oratour.

Seneca in Prohem. Declamat.

after all was done, he recited (orderly and by art) all things which had bin sold, rehearsing euery bodies name that had bought them, & the seuerall prices of each thing sold, not failing in a tote, as they had beene set downe in the Inuentory order.

Seneca in the report of his owne memory in his youth.

Seneca, writing of himselfe, as being best witnesse of himselfe, saith; that he had such a perfit memory in his youth, as if one had declared to him the names of two thousand seuerall thinges: hee could repeate them all againe, euen in the same maner, as they had bin named, without fayling in any one. He saith moreouer, that in the time of his being a Scholler, two hundred Schollers came before the Maister, reciting (each one) a seuerall Latine verse: and when they all had ended; hee beganne, and repeated them all againe one after another, and failed not in a sillable. Among these examples of so great capacity, *Iulius Cæsar* deserueth to be remembred: who at one instant time, gaue instructions to foure Secretaries, to write Letters vnto foure distinct persons, and of different occasions. *Pliny* writeth of him, that at one and the same time, he gaue directions for a Letter to one of his Secretaries, and read in a Booke, and heard another speaking to him. *Spartianus* writeth the like of the Emperor *Adrian*.

An admirable Memory.

The Memory of *Iulius Cæsar*.

Plin. in Lib. 9. Cap. 4.

Spartianus. in vit. Adrian. Imp.

To this purpose, I cal to mind the ingenious answere of *Scipio Affricanus* the younger, who contended with *Appius Claudius* for the office of Controuler of *Rome*. *Claudius*, to attract the people to his part; cald each *Romain* by his name, saying: *This was a good signe, that they were all beloued of him, because his memory was so good, as to name them all; whereas (contrariwise) Scipio knew not one of them, neither was acquainted with their Names.* Whereto *Scipio* thus answered. *It is true Claudius, that I neuer sought (by purchise) to make my selfe knowne: but such haue beene my actions and behauiours, as there is no man in the Citty, but hee might take knowledge of me.* I could wade further in plenty of other examples, concerning the admirable memory of men; but he that is desirous of more, may read the *Tusculanes* of *Cicero*, *Quintilian*, and the Histories recited by *Ioannes Camertes*, vpon the vij. Chapter of *Solinus*.

The contention between *Scipio Affricanus Secundus*, and *Appius Claudius* for the Controulership of *Rome*.

Cicero in Tusculan Quintil. in Lib. de Institut. Ioan. Camertes. sup. Cap. 7. Solin.

CHAP. XV.

How the Memory may be hurt and offended: And how it may also (by Art and good meanes) be strengthned and comforted.

AS the Memory is held to be most noble and excellent: euen so likewise it is very dainety and delicate, and easily corrupted or offended by many occasions; as diseases, bruises, and wounds in the head, age, sudden feare, and falling from some place of height. All these thinges are troublesome to Memory; because they doe endamage the place, the Organes and Instruments thereof. This is moreouer to bee noted, that some men, by weakenesse of their Memory, are forgetfull in all thinges; and some others will erre or wander astray therin, especially in some part thereof. As *Pliny* writeth of *Messala Coruinus*, who, by reason of a sicknesse, grew to such forgetfulnesse: that he could neuer remember his own name, not when he was especially demanded thereof. *Valerius* also, speaking of miraculous occasions, maketh report of a learned man, who by the blow of a stone, which bruised his head: forgot al that he had learned in the Arts and Sciences, and yet was very memoratiue in all other matters. Another Man, by meanes of a fall; lost the knowledge of his Mother, Kinred, and acquaintance. I haue read, and heard it reported by many, that *Franciscus Barbarus*, a man of our time, and very learned; especially in the *Greek* tongue: by the meanes of a disease he had, forgot (particularly) whatsoeuer he knew in *Greek*, remaining (otherwise) as he did before, a thing (in my opinion) very meruailous. It is likewise said, that *Georgius Trabezontius*, a man well learned, and liued in our Fathers daies: did forget in his age, al that he had learned in his life time before.

The Memory is subiect to many meanes of offending.

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 24. Of Messala Coruinus.

Valer. Maxim. in Lib. 9. cap. 7.

Of *Franciscus Barbarus* the great *Grecian*.

Of *Georgius Trabezontius*.

Now, as we find, that the Memory is particularly iniured by some occasions: so likewise do we read of sundrie Men, that

Of men very weake and feeble in their Memory.

that (meerely by nature) haue bin therin very weake and feeble. The Emperor *Claudius* was so vnstable of Memory, that (as *Suetonius* writeth in his life) he hauing his wife somtimes accõpanying him in bed: after he had once spoken to her, he remembred her no more, but would demand of others, what was the cause, why she did not come to bed to him? Once he commaunded one of his Councellers to be put to death; and the next day following, demanded, wherefore he came not to councell. *Herodotus* the Sophister had a Son of such poore Memory and vnderstanding: that hee could not (by any meanes) learne and retaine the Letters of the Alphabet. And yet the Father was so desirous of his learning, that hee caused foure and twenty Children (of the same age as he was) to be tutord with him, and imposed vpon each one of them, the name of each Letter in the Alphabet; to the end, that by naming and knowing his companions, he might thereby likewise learne the Letters.

Suetonius in vit. Claud. Imp.

Of the Sonne to *Herodotus* the Sophister.

I haue formerly saide, that suddaine feare or astonishment, is a great let and hinderance to Memory, and thereto I may well adde, that although such feare do not wholy destroy the Memory: yet it hath euidently appeared, to make mẽ vtterly forget such thinges, as formerly had bin wel determined in the mind. As it happened to *Demosthenes* the famous Orator, who being sent as Ambassador to King *Phillip* of *Macedon*; fell suddenly into such a strange alteration, by being in the presence of so great a Prince: that hauing begun his Oration (which he had well composed and commited to Memory) he was at a *Non-plus*, and vtterly forgot what he had to say. We read the very same, of *Theophrastus*, who was to speake in presence of the Councell and *Areopagites* of *Athens*. And the like of *Herodes* the *Athenian*, beeing in presence of the Emperor *Marke Anthony*. And of *Heraclides Licius*, in presence of *Seuerus* the Emperour, according as *Philostratus* recordeth. And euen in our time, as it were, *Bartholomeus Socinus*, a Natiue of *Sienna*, being a man very learned, in the Lawes, and Ambassador for his Country to Pope *Alexander*, began his Oration, which he had very perfectly studied and prepared: but he became suddenly so altered, by seeing so many great Princes then there present; that he forgot all, and was not able to remẽber or vtter one word. My selfe, who haue beene the traducer of this Booke, do testifie of my selfe, that the very like alteration as befell *Demosthenes* (not that (in thought) I compare my selfe with him) hapned to me, in the presence of men of great iudgement; and the intireneſſe of affection, which then I had to the Iustice and true deliuery of my speech: did alter me in such maner, as I was not able to hold on (the least while) from my beginning; albeit I wanted no study or premeditation, euen so much as my hart could desire.

Of *Demosthenes* the famous Orator, before King *Phillip* of *Macedon*.

Theophrastus before the *Areopagites*.

Herodes the *Athenian*. *Heraclides Licius*.

Bartholomeus Socinus Senensis.

Example of the Authour him-selfe.

Now, that Memory may be holpen and conserued by artificial meanes; is a matter most certaine, and I finde manie good authors that do affirm as much: as *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, *Petrus Crinitus*, and *Quintillian*, all along in his Institutions. We finde recorded, that *Cineas*, Ambassadour to King *Pyrrhus*, was very practique therein. *Plinie* and *Solinus* doe say, that *Symonides* was the Inuenter of the Art of Memory: albeit the same *Plinie* affirmeth, that *Metrodorus* brought it to perfection, and holp himselfe extraordinarilie thereby. *Cicero*, in the Booke of his Oratour, *Quintillian*, in his Institutions, and *Valerius* in his Miracles, doe all affirme, that *Symonides* being inuited to a Feast, with many others: the Haule wherein they banqueted fell, and all there died, *Symonides* excepted, who (by chance) was called thence in that instant, by some one of his friends, and was gone forth without any knowledge of him that called him, by which meanes his life was saued. Historians say, that in viewing the dead bodies, which had bin thither inuited, and who were a great number: *Symonides* noted them all & declared, in what order they were seated at the table when the hall fell. The examples which might be alledged to this purpose, are infinit: but these already spoken of) shall suffise at this time. Another thing is to be noted, to wit; that the naturall Philosophers, and especially *Aristotle*, do make a difference betweene the Memory and Remẽbrance. For say they, *Memory may be in beasts, as well as in Men, though it be more imperfectly: but remẽbrance is in man onely,*

Solin in Polihist. Petrus Crinitus in Lib. 5. Cap. 3. Quintil. in Instit. Plin in Lib. 7. Cap 8. Solin. in Polihist

The first inuenter of the Art of Memory.

Cicero in Lib. de Orat. Quintil. in Lib. de Institut. Valer. Max. in Mirac.

The strange preseruation of *Symonides*, among a great many other that perished.

A difference alleadged betweene Memory and Remẽbrance, exemplified both in men and beasts.

only, who is to make recordation of himselfe, to vse discourse, and to thinke on things; as by way of contemplation, describing a generall from particulars, by circumstances of time and place, with consideration and vnderstanding. In beasts, there is nothing to bee remembred, but of some place where they haue once falne: as in a Horse, of a fault by him committed, in some part of his ordinary way, and so in other beasts likewise more or lesse, and in diuers degrees. But as we haue formerly saide, remembrance in Man is much more perfect, with intelligence and discourse, running from one thing to another. And therfore, according to *Aristotle*, this dignity in men, who haue their vnderstanding most apprehensiue & liuely: haue also most remembrance, albeit another man may be more abounding in memory. Because remembrance is a manner of search and Inquisition, which awaketh and stirreth vp Memory, to some such thing as is to be recorded. Wherefore, the best and liuelyest vnderstanding, yeilderh occasion of the best meanes, and (in that respect) is prouided of the best remembrance. The Greekes, among other vanities of their Gods, had a Goddesse of Memory: so that the memoriall vnderstanding hath euermore beene very highly esteemed. Thus you may perceiue, how much men are bound to extol and thank God, for such a precious & inestimable benefit, and how carefull they ought to be in the preseruation thereof. *Marcilius Ficinus*, in the Booke which he made of tripple life, setteth downe excellent receipts and enstructions, for the conseruation of Memory.

The perfection of Remembrance in man.

A definition of Remembrance, and how to be obserued.

A Goddesse of Memory among the *Greekes*.

Marcil. Ficin. in Lib. de triplici vita.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Ancient Prouerb is to be interpreted, or vnderstood: That a bad Man may be a good King.

IN grosse eares, and such as are not vsed and accustomed, to weigh one thing with another (indifferently) in the ballance of reason; I make no doubt, but the common Prouerb appeareth to bee very strange, to wit: *That of a bad Man, he may become a good King*: and so much the rather, because it is necessary to vnderstand and know, what the true meaning of this word bad or lewd, doth imply in it selfe. In the old and autentique *French* Language, *Vn meschant*, a bad, lewd, or naughty man, is not said to bee such a one, as is full of all vices, as a Brigande, a Robber, an Exactor, a Detractour, a Quarreller, a Violater of Womens modesties, and a Committer of other villainous acts. But we are rather to vnderstand, that it signifieth such a person, as suffereth himselfe not to be led and gouerned, by the appetite and passions of other men, who prodigally do waste and consume the goods that are in his power; and is not difficult in accesse of importunate persons, that make demaund of vnreasonable requests; that will know such as feede on his meanes; that lendeth no eare to flatterers; that opposeth himself seuerely against such, as do molest others without reason, or any, doing these or the like thinges. Whosoeuer readeth auncient Bookes, turned or cõposed in the *French* toong, shall finde, that by a bad or naughty Prince; a good and well aduised King is meant and vnderstood. They that haue translated *Homer*, do oftentimes tearme *Iupiter*, and other Deities beside, bad, wicked, and euill, when they were irritated against the *Greekes* or *Troyans*, throwing thunder-bolts and lightnings on them, or darkening the ayre, or suffering the waters to mount out of their bounds, and work great damages on the earth. Contrariwise, as well in time of Antiquity, as euen in these present daies, by a good man, hath bin, and is vnderstood: one that is simple, slow conceited, dull of vnderstanding, a man that sees himselfe deceiued at all times, and vnder speeches of the smoothest language; a man that suffereth al things, yea, euen to the silly point, that his wife bestowes a Cuckolds creast vpon him, and euery man cals him Good Man, or Good *Iohn*.

Vn meschant in le Vieille langue Françoise.

How and in what sence such a man is to be comprehended and vnderstood.

According to the auncient language of *France*.

Examples tending to the purpose.

The interpretation of the name or word of bad and good man.

Such men as are of this opinion, doe much abuse themselues, in praysing and adoring the goodnesse of a Prince, that is soft, simple, gracious, and courteous: for such simplicity, without prudence,

The damnages ensuing by the simplicity of a Prince.

dence, is moſt daungerous and pernicious; yea, and much more to bee feared, then the cruelrie of a Prince, that is ſeuere, melancholly, hoarſe in ſpeech, auaritious, and vnacceſſable. By ſufferance, and vnexperienced ſimplicitie in too good a Prince, it many times commeth to paſſe: that flatterers, buſie-braines, Knaues, Varlets, and the vileſt perſons, beare away the Offices, charges, benefits, and very beſt guiftes, waſting and conſuming the Reuennues of a State, and by this means, the poore people are bitten, euen vnto the bare bones, and cruelly made ſeruile to ſuch as are greateſt, ſo that in ſtead of one Tyrant, there are ten thouſand. In like manner, through this ouer-much mildneſſe and goodneſſe, wee may daily behold: impunity of wicked perſons, murderers, Concuſſionaries, or publike extortioners, and ſuch like Catterpillers of a Common-wealth, for the King (in meere grace) may take no knowledge of them.

Of ſufferance & lacke of experience in a good Prince.

In briefe, vnder ſuch a Prince, the publique good is conuerted into ſome perticulers, and al the charges or heauy loads, doe light vpon the pooreſt peoples backes. As we may obſerue by Catarres, and defluxions; in a delicate, weak, and ſickly body, and that alwaies they happen to the vnableſt perſons. I could verifie what I haue written by aboundance of examples, as well of the Emperors of *Rome*, as Kings of *France*. *Domitian* was terrible and wicked to the Senate, to the Nobility, to the great Lords and Gouernours of the Empire: & yet notwithſtanding, after his death, the people and Prouinces did highlie commend him, becauſe there were neuer better Officers and Magiſtrates, thē they that gouerned in his time, onely through the reſpect and feare they had of him. Vnder the two Emperors, that were both named *Seuerus*, the *Affricane* and the *Syrian*, the Empire (almoſt wholy ruined, by the Emperors *Heliogabalus* and *Pertinax*) was re-eſtabliſhed by ſeuerity and Imperiall auſterity, and reduced into her former ſplendour and Maieſty, to the wonderfull contentment of the Princes and people.

Publique good conuerted into perticulers.

How *Domitian* was ſaide to be good and bad.

The two Emperors named *Seuerus* of *Affrica* and *Syria*.

The Realme of France, was imagined ready to ſinke, and appeared wel-neere, waſted and deſolate; vnder the raigne of *Charles*, ſir-named the *Simple*, and another *Charles* alſo, who was tearmed, *Do nothing*. Yet afterward, it became great, rich, and flouriſhing, both in Armes and Lawes, towards the end of King *Frances* the firſt; when he grew to be Waſpiſh, vnacceſſable, and no Man durſt come neere, to demand any thing of him. For then, Eſtates, Offices, and charges of import were not giuen, but by the merit of worthy perſons, & idle gifts were ſo cut off: that when he died, there was found in the Treaſury or Exchequer, a Million of Gold, and ſeauen hundred thouſand Crownes.

Charles the Simple, and *Charles* Doe nothing.

Frances the firſt hard to be endured, yet the good that proceeded from him

Within ſome dozzen yeares after, when his Sonne King *Henrie* the ſecond raigned (whoſe goodneſſe and kindnes was ſo great, that he could not be equaled by any Prince of his age) the State became quite altered. For, as he was ſoft, milde, gracious, and debonnaire; euen ſo, he could not deny any matter demanded of him. Whereby, the Reuennues of his Father being (in a ſhort while) lauiſhly conſumed: eſtates were (more then euer before) ſet to open-ſale, guifts beſtowed, without any reſpect, Magiſtrates giuen to the faireſt offerers, and (by conſequent) to the vnworthieſt perſons. And the Impoſts being far greater then euer they had been, when he dyed; the Treaſuries of *France* were (neuertheleſſe) found to ſtand charged, with two and forty Millions of Mony. If the gentlenes of this King, had beene tempered or accompanyed with ſeuerity, his goodneſſe with ſtrictneſſe, his ſoftneſſe with auſterity: there could not haue beene drawne from him ſuch aboundance, nor euery one to preuaile ſo eaſily as they did.

A great difference betweene the Father and Sonne.

Henry the ſecond too good & milde a King.

The Treaſuries of *France* charged with 42. Millions of Money.

And thus this ancient Prouerbe is to be vnderſtood; *That a bad Man, may be a good King*: which may relliſh ſom-what harſhly, if wee take the bare proprietie of the word, & leaue out this application, that it ſignifieth nothing elſe, but an auſtere, rough, and ſtearn Nature. And in this ſenſe, wee are not to tearme a Prince a Tyrant, becauſe he is ſo ſeuere or rigorous: prouided, that he goe not againſt the Lawes of God and Nature.

The Authors application of the Prouerbe.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ *Of Constantine the Great, and whether hee were the first Christian Emperour or no.*

The occasion of this Chapter.

I Haue made all the diligent examination, that possibly I could deuise to vse, to know, whether there were any Christian Emperor before *Constantine* the Great, as many haue thought, and dared to speake. I can finde no acknowledgement of any, that had good opinion of Christian Religion, except it were one: or else they did it very secretly, in regard they persecuted such as made profession thereof, and the authority of the Senate entermedling therein. For there were many of the *Romaine* Senators, and of their Families, that were possessed of their great spirituall Reuennues, and which ought likewise to haue beene so called themselues: in regard they had original from publike expences, or of some certaine perticulars, for worshippe of the Gods among them.

Wherefore the Romaine Senate persecuted the Christians.

There is no apparance, that *Marcus Antonius* was a Christian, or that he had any vnderstanding of Christian Religion: considering, he was a man very superstitious in the the Pagan profession, and yet learned, and of good iudgment. I am of opinion, that by some good naturall instinct, he did not approoue the cruell and hard persecutions, which wer impoſed on the Christians. For, without any frowne or distast, he accepted a request presented to him, by *Iustine*, a Christian Philosopher, wherein he declared the Christians innocencie, and the crimes which falsly were laide vpon them, onely to make them the more odious. He made an Edict, which he caused to bee confirmed by the Senate. It prohibited any more molestation to the Christians for their Religion, & that he which impoſed any crime falsly vpon them; should forth-with be proceeded against, and punnished with the selfe-same Lawes, that were ordained against the Christians. This Mandate was published in *Ephesus*, in a generall assembly.

Marcus Antonius Aurelius caused the persecutions to cease.

Adrian, who was before him, about twenty yeares, after he had permitted, that the Christians should bee strictlie persecuted: yet taking acknowledgement, that (with much shame) they were thus cruelly proceeded against; he made the like Edict as *Antonius* formerly had done. And perceiuing the *Iewes* to liue like Vagabonds, without any Land or abiding, as euen (to this day) they are in no better estate: he suffered them to dwell in *Palestine*, and to re-edifie the Temple and Citty of *Ierusalem*. But when they were at a little ease and liberty, they rebelled against the said *Adrian*; who (not without great labour) ouercame them. He was no way a Christian, and much lesse of the Iewish Religion: but very true it is, that he had (naturally) a good iudgement, and degenerated not from the true parts of a Man.

Adrian was good both to the Christians and *Iewes*.

The *Iewes* rebelled against the Emperor *Adrian*.

There was some likely-hood, that *Alexander Seuerus*, the two and twentith Emperor; raigning in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 225. had some vnderstanding, though hee made no demonstration thereof. And yet hee would often say: That he ought to loue his Neighbor as himselfe; and should not do that to another man, which he would not haue done vnto himselfe. Doubtlesse, he had read in the Bookes of the Old and New Testaments, or learned it of some Christians: because Paganes were neuer so charitable, as to vse any such language.

Alexander Seuerus the 22. Emperor.

A Christian saying of *Seuerus*.

Mammea, Mother to the said *Seuerus*, was truely a Christian; for shee sent to seeke *Origen*, who taught in *Alexandria* of *Ægypt*, and he remained at *Rome* with her in the Pallace, for some time, to be enstructed more amplie by him, then formerly she had bin in the Catholique Faith. If the Emperor himselfe had any feeling of Christianity; he kept it verie secretly. And yet, during the space of thirteene yeares, while hee was Emperour: he exercised great deeds of charity vnto the poore, a thing neuer put in practise before hee did it. The persecutions as well in *Gaule*, as in the East, were very great: and I am of the mind, that neyther hee or his Mother euer knew

Mammea, Mother to the Emperor *Seuerus*, a Christian.

Seuerus very charitable to the poore.

Eusebius in Lib. 4. Cap. 10.

The Proconsuls greedy of proscriptions against the Christians.

knew how to stay them. For the Proconsuls or gouernors of the Prouinces, hauing a lickorous appetite after the confiscations of Christians goods; did all according to their owne fantasies. In the end *Seuerus* was slaine (beeing aged twenty nine yeares) with his Mother *Mammea*, traitorously by Theeues, that in the time of *Heliogabalus* (hauing held places of honour) were deiected, and throwne out of their Offices and dignities.

The Christians most cruelly persecuted by the Emperor *Maximinus*.

After that *Alexander Seuerus* had raigned about foureteene yeares, hee was slaine by the conspiracies of *Maximinus*. The Christians (this *Maximinus* being created Emperour) were more cruelly persecuted then euer they had bin: for the first moued the sixt persecution, and especially against the Doctours of the Church, in hatred of the fore-named *Mammea*, Mother to *Alexander* his predecessor, and murdred (with his owne hands) the Domesticks and Seruants of the said *Alexander*. This *Maximinus* hauing raigned three yeares, in the yeare of Iesus Christ 237. he was slain at *Rome* for his tyrannies; And *Gardianus* being elected by the Senate; shewed himselfe a Prince of noble disposition. We finde not any where recorded, that he made any cruell Edict against the Christians: yet he was no Christian, that euer any man could take knowledge of. He was slain fraudulently by *Phillip* that succeeded him.

Maximinus murdered for his Cruelties and *Gordianus* elected Emperor.

Phillip very hardly accepted to be Emperor, because he was said to be a Christiã.

This *M. Iulius Phillip*, by Nation an *Arabian*, was elected Emperour (as we haue saide) notwithstanding hee found many difficulties in his acceptation. For it was said he might not be, because he was a Christian, and no one of that Religion, ought to hold any Office in the Empire of the *Romains*, by many Edicts, as well of Emperors, as of the Senate. But the most of the assistants, that were at his election and Imperiall salutation, made aunswere: That such Edicts held no place for the present time, in regard, that they were Christians also, as well as he. Whereupon he was accepted, and his Son likewise ioyned with him. He made publike profession of Christianity, and was conuerted by *Pontianus*, or *Pontius*, a *Romaine* Senator, and baptized by *Fabian* (who was then Byshop and Pope of *Rome*) with *Seuera*, Mother to the said *Iulius Phillip*. Yet *Fabian* wold not admit him into the latter Vigils of Easter (although he had great desire to assist in the congregation, and prayers of the Christians) vntill hee had made confession of his sin (which was a murder in the opinion of many) but was enioyned in company among such, of whom enquiry was made, by reason of their sins; and so was placed in ranke of the repentants; as *Eusebius* declareth in his sixt Booke, and 24. Chapter. All which *Phillip* refused not to doe, but accomplished that whereto he was enioyned by *Fabian*. This Man then is the first of the Christian Emperors.

Phillip rancked among the penitents. *Eusebius. in Hist. Eccl. Lib. 6. Cap. 24.*

Phillip conuerted to Christianity and Christened by *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*.

At length, and during his Empire, it is held, that all the people of his House, receiued the Christian doctrine, and renounced the Idolatries of the Paganes. But this felicity lasted not long in the Church: for, as *Phillip* had dealt with *Gordianus*, his Predecessor: euen so was he serued by his Successor *Decius*; yea, and his Son also, who was slain at *Rome*, and the Father at *Verona*; such was their end, after they had raigned seauen yeares. After him, till the time of *Constantine* the Great, there were nine Emperors, all of them being great Persecuters of the Christians: except *Galien*, who suffered the Christians to liue in peace, but he was neuer Christian himselfe. I am of opinion, that this permission was occasioned, by reason that he had some Christians of his Councell.

Decius murdered both *Phillip* and his Sonne.

Decius fauoured the Christians but was none himself.

Constantine the Great, was the second Emperour, that made confession publikely of Christianity, and, in despight of all enemies, he ceased the proscriptions against the Christians, in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 312. From thence forward, his Imperiall Successors were all Christian Catholiques, or Schismatickes, euen to our time: except *Iulian*, sir-named the *Apostata*, who returned from Christianity, to Paganisme, and liued no more but two yeares Empeperour; for he was slaine in the warres against the *Parthians*. And this is al that I can finde recorded of the first Emperors of the Christians.

Constanine the Great, was the second Christian Emperor.

Iulian the Apostata.

CHAP. XVIII.

Who discouered the people called Cynocephali, *or* Cynocephales, *that is to say; men hauing heads like vnto Dogs; And what they are, that doe inhabite daily among them.*

MAny haue held opinion, that *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius* were loud lyers, when they wrote and published: that there lined a certaine kinde of people in *Scythia*, which had Dogges heads, and that they howled like Dogs, in stead of speaking as other men doe. What these two worthy Men haue written, is true in part, but not in all. I say in part, because some people that haue beene discouered, within the space of these threescore yeares, and somewhat more: haue a forme and figure, neere in resemblance, to the head and shape of a Dogs head; to wit, of those little pretty flat-nose Dogs, which Ladies keepe for pleasure in their Chambers, yet not naturally, but artificially. For these people, from the time of all Antiquity, did alwaies hold it for a singuler beauty to them; to haue their noses flatted or falne downe. And this is the reason, that when their Children are newly borne, and haue their bones very tender: the Fathers and Mothers neuer faile, to quash or flat downe that part of the face, which is betweene the eyes and the mouth, as the like hath bin done to little Dogges. And to speake truely, beeing thus dealt withall: they differ very little in their looks, from the resemblance of Dogges. But they meddle not with their eares, to make them pointed or hanging down, as commonly is vsed to those Creatures. Yet true it is; that when they are grown to manly stature; the bore or pierce holes thorow their eares (euen as is done heere among vs) to hang therein fine coloured stones, or else the bones of certaine Fishes.

On the other side, that they haue not (in part) reported any fable, is very certaine, when they say, that these people doe dwell in a part of *Scythia*: because all the Countries haue beene discouered, and doth not declare any deformity on the peoples bodies. But they of whom I make mention, are placed betweene the Equinoctiall, and the Tropice of *Capricorne*, on that side which is called *America*: because *Americk Vespucius*, a *Portugall*, was the first that discouered this Country, the length whereof containeth aboue fiue hundered Leagues, and is other-wise tearmed the Countrey of *Brasile*, *Caniballes*, or *Anthropophages*, that is to say; Eaters of Men. I would not bee thought to speake of all *America*, which is accounted to be the fourth part of the World: but only of that part, which containeth these *Cynocephales*.

Now, that they howle or barke, as Dogs do, is vtterly false: for they speak a Language distertly, briefely, and properly accented, which is supposed to be the Greeke tongue. And they are molourdens or lontish people, but of a liuely and chearefull spirit, quicke, cautelous, magnanimious, and taking knowledge (very well) of any pleasure or displeasure done them, as also the time and place. They goe starke naked, as we vse to say; onely accepted (as a token or note of their brauery) a Plumassery, or wreath of Feathers, which circkleth their heads, and a Cord or band of Cotten (hanging in manner of a Scarffe) which descendeth downe to the raines of the backe, there to sustaine other Plumasseries of diuers colours, that do round engirt them about the middle. They neuer walke along the Countrey, but they carry their Bowes, & Quiuers full of Arrowes, and many times a Club, containing eight or ten foote in length, of *Brasile* wood.

They eate not their Flesh or Fish (which they get in Riuers, or in the Sea, by helpe of their Arrowes, or other-wise) raw, as some Men haue imagined; but they vse both boyling and roasting of them. But true it is, that they eate the flesh of Men, yet boyled or roasted: and it is onely of their Enemies, against whom they war, and such as then can take Prisoners, but neuer any of their owne people or Country.

They

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 4. Aulus Gellius in Lib. 9. cap. 7

People discouered within these last 60. yeares. &c.

An auncient custome obserued amongst them, wherby their heads doe seeme like Dogs heads.

The situation of the Country, where the men doe inhabite that haue heads like vnto Dogges.

Americk Vespucius, the first discouerer of *America*.

What kind of Language is vsed among these men, and the manner of their behauiour.

Of their ornaments for pride and brauery.

Whatsoeuer flesh or fish they eate, it is not raw, but boyled or roasted.

The *Cynocephales* enemies vnto long beards, and how they vse to weare their haire.

They are very hatefull against such, as haue their Beards long, or suffer the hair to grow much vnder their arme pits, and in other places of the bodie, be they men or women, but pull and teare it away very stearnely. Yet the hairy locks on their heads, they weare somewhat long, hanging all downe behind, but none before: as for the women, they vse their haire of like length as we doe, and weare it both before and behinde. They are people of goodly stature, and sightly presence, all sauing the face, which much resembleth a flat-nosed Dogge, and is done by Artefice, as I haue already sayde. They obserue many of the fashions of the *Prouẽçaux*, and it is thought, that they dwell almost in the like Climate, beeing all of an Oliue colour. They haue no Cities or Townes, but dwell onely in Villages, which are not farre distant one from another.

Their stature and manner of dwelling.

Their warre with their Neighbours.

They maintaine war against a neighbouring people, whom they call *Margaias*, that haue the very same manners, behauiour of life, and Dogges heads, like theirs; and them they seeke to pursue, both by Land and sea. They make Boats or Vessels of the barkes of great Trees, like Shippes, ioyning one vnto another, without sailes: and they vse to surprize their enemies, without any seruice of Heralds of Armes, to denounce or proclaime their warre: yet their Armies do commonly consist of fifteene or twentie thousand men, and sometimes of lesse.

Their Ships, and the number of their men of warre.

What manner of Weapon they war withall.

The Weapons wherewith they defend themselues, are Bowes of a fadome and a halfe long; and their Arrowes halfe a fadome in length, which are sharp pointed with the bones of a certaine Fish, & woundeth very dangerously. They vse also great Maces or Clubbes of Brasile wood. And they neuer giue ouer battel, vntill the night doth hinder them: then each man returneth to his abiding, leading his prisoner (if he haue anie) along with him.

No vse of Gold, Siluer, or any other mettall among them.

They haue not any vse, either of gold or Siluer, or any other Mettall, neyther of any Cloath, Wollen, or Linnen. The reason why these people with Dogges heads, do war one against another, being of the same Language, complexion, or colour, and custome in life; is not to vsurpe on their Lands, or the riches of eyther, or to make them tributarie, or for glorie and honor, neither doe they eate their prisoners for gourmandize, or thorough want of victuals. But it hath been held from all Antiquity, as well on the one side, as the other, and stil they continue the same opinion, that they did eate each others predecessors. And therefore he that is the Conqueror, bringing prisoners from the warre, whether they bee men or women, they kill them, and solemnly eate them with their friends boyled and rosted on a grate of green wood, made in forme of a Gridyron, exalted somewhat higher from the ground, then our custome is, and he that hath doone most seruice, slaine and eaten, is the most honoured.

The reason of this peoples warring one with another.

They haue no vse of bred also among them, as we in these parts: but in steade thereof, they haue two kinds of Rootes, which they call *Aypi* and *Maniot*, the nature whereof, is, to grow in the Ground (within the space of three or foure Moneths) as great as a mans Thigh, and in length a foot and a halfe, som more, and some lesse. VVhen they are gathred, the women (for the men are not busied therabout) after they haue dried them ouer a Fire, on their high wooden Gridyrons, by brusing them vpon certaine sharpe-pointed stones while they are greene, or else punning thẽ on pieces of flat smooth wood, they bring them to resemble meal or Flower, which they seeth with water, in a great earthen Vessell, stirring it still with a good bigge staffe, till it bee like a Poultresse, or very pleasing boyld meat, light and crusty, answereable in taste to the * *Pain Mollet* of *Paris*. As concerning this *Aypi*, it is not only very good in Dough or Flower, and so to be boiled: but also being sodden to dry dust, it then hath the relish of Chestnuts, as the *Marrons* of *Lyons*. They can neuer make any bread of the Flower of those roots.

No bred vsed among them, but matter made of Roores and after boyled.

The manner how they vse those Roores.

* A very light, crusty and sauoury white bread, full of eyes, leauen and salte.

They haue a kind of Grain or Corne, which they call *Anaty*, and they of *Peru* tearme it *Maiz*, but elswhere, they name it Corne of *Turkey*, or of the *Sarrazins*. For wantonnesse and curiosity, it is sown in many parts of *France*, it being a flatte Graine, Tawny of colour, and somtimes very ruddy. They boyle that also with water, but it is nothing so pleasing as the other, made of the fore-named Rootes. They sometimes do eate the raw Paste of the Roots, and of *Maiz* likewise, though it

Anaty and *Maiz*, a kind of Corne which they vse to eate, and some of it is sowen in *France*.

it be very thinne: yet they can conuey it dexterioufly into their mouths, without any fhame or foyling themfelues.

What flefh of Beafts are moft common among them, for their chafe and hunting.

They haue no foure-footed Beaftes, Domefticke, or made tame, but the men do exercife Hunting, not only for Venifon, but alfo to kill other moft harmefull Beafts. The firft and cheefeft Beafts of chafe among them, and tearmed by the name of Venifon, is one that is halfe a Cow, and halfe an Affe, pertaking of both thofe Natures, being of the greatneffe and groffneffe of a Cow, but without any Hornes, and they call him a *Tapiraffou*. And heere is it to be remembred, that they haue not any fuch Beafts there, as are among vs. They hunt alfo another Beaft, which they call a *Seouaffous*, participating in the kinde of a Hart and Hinde: yet nothing fo great as thofe among vs, nor horned likewife. Another they haue, which is a kinde of Wilde Boare, and they call him *Toiaffou*, that hath a hole in the Chine bone of his backe, whereby he refpireth and receyueth winde. Then they haue a ftraunge kinde of Pigge, which they term *Argonti*. Alfo, a kinde of Hare, cald by them *Tapitis*. More, they haue great ftore of red Rats, that liue in their Woods, and the flefh of them is very delicate to eate. Then they haue another Beaft, tearmed *Pag*, about the bigneffe of a mean Maſty Dog, his head being of diuers colours, and he is able to do much harme; yet his flefh hath almoft the felffame taft as our Calfe or Veale. There is alfo another creature, called *Taton*, which is a kinde of Hedge-hogge.

Tapiraffou, halfe an Cow and halfe an Affe.

Seouaffous, like a Hart and Hinde.

Taiaffou their wilde Beare.

Argonti a Pig. *Tapitis* a Hare. Red Rattes.

Pag a kinde of maſtiue Dogge.

Taton a Hedg-hogge.

They do commonly eat Crocodiles, which are no way hurtfull to them: for, as they take them out of the Riuers, they giue them to their children to play withall, before they kil them, beeing of the bigneffe of a mans Thigh, and more in length, and they cal them *Iacaraes*. They eat alfo great Lizards, not green as ours are, but Gray; hauing their skins as flick as our little Lizards, and they take them on the Riuers fides, like as wee doe our Frogges.

They eate Crocodiles, Serpents, Lizzards, Toades, and fuch like with out any danger.

They mingle likewife amongft their meats, Serpents, as great as a mans arm, and as long as an Eele of **Paris* meafure: they haue no venom in them, and they feeth them in great wodden Trunkes. I do not inferre heereby, that they haue no other Serpentes; and principally in their Riuers, where they are to be found of great length and bigneffe, as green as Graffe, and the byting of them is verie dangerous.

* Three foot, two thirds of an inch, and the fiftieth part of a foot.

They haue Lizards alfo, Venomous and horrible, as bigge as the bodye of a man, and they make a dreadfull noife or hiffing. Their Toads are as great as the head of a man, yet they ſerue them for food, without taking away either the skin or belly, as they do of other beafts. They vfe to hunt another Beaft, which they do name *Ianouara*, and is a great deuourer, killer, and eater of men: this Beaft, they purfue to his Denne, and there kill him, by multiplicity of Arrowes fhot at him. They haue Apes, Monkies, and Marmofets; but they are little, in compariſon of others.

Venemous Lizzards.

Toads as big as a mans head, and good meate.

Ianouara a rauenous Beaft that feedeth on men.

They feede alfo on Fowles and Birds, as Turkey hennes, and their owne common Hennes: but they hold their Egges to be Venomous; and therfore eat none of them, neither do the Hennes lay any, but very ſeldome. There is great ſtore of *Indian* Duckes or Mallards, but they eat none of them, neither any other heauie Fowle whatſoeuer it bee, becauſe their gate and flight is very lumpiſh & heauy. They vſe to feed on Phefants, which are as groſſe and great as our very biggeſt Capons heere among vs. And of two kinds of Partridges, woodculuers, Turtles, and of many other Fowles, far differing from thoſe in theſe Countries, that haue their feet and beakes very crooked, like vnto our Parrats, and other of that kinde, and aboue all thinges elſe, they are very fairely plumed with feathers. In like manner, the beſt and goodlieſt Parats of the World, are in thoſe Countries both great and ſmall.

Of what kindes of Fowles and Birds they vſe to feed on.

Indian Ducks or Mallards. Phefants. Partriges. Woodcockes. Turtles.

The fayreſt Parrats in the world, are among theſe people.

There are alſo Battes, or Reremice, no way like to ours but very great, which enter into their houſes in the night time; and if they finde any one ſleeping, that hath his feet naked or diſcouered out of his lodging, they will pecke and ſuck the blood betweene his great toes, in great quantity, without the parties feeling any thing. There are Scorpions likewiſe, as poyſonous as thoſe in theſe partes; and they know how to kill by picking, as others naturally do.

Battes or Reremice, that ſucke mens blood.

And as they are thus ſtored with four-footed Beaſts, Fowles, Birdes, and creeping

How and after what manner they catch Fiſh.

ping Creatures, though different from ours: so we are to credit the like, concerning Fishes, as well in the fresh Riuers, as the Sea. Which they vse to take, some with their Bowes or Arrowes, baites of fat Lard, and others, by swimming, whiche they diue for into the bottom of the Waters. Some also, doth make vse of the Line, after the order of Angling, and they make Flower of some Fishes, after they haue well dried them ouer the fire, and then they eate it so, or else baked or boyled. Their Fishing hookes are made of Thornes, and we must know, that they are the best swimmers in the world. We may constantly credit as much, concerning the diuersitie of their trees & fruits; as of the contrarietie of their beasts.

Flower for Bread made of Fishes.

Cynocephales the best Swimmers.

I haue seene a Dozen of these men at *Rouen*, which the Normans brought home with them, who had a braue and Soldierlike behauiour, yet neuer would be couered with any garments, how hot or cold soeuer it were. They are not vnder obedience to any Kings, but the most ancient of them doth command in their warres, and make Orations to the rest, that they may fight the more valiantlie. And aboue all they assure them, that if they behaue themselues Couragiously, their soules shall passe ouer beyond the Mountaines, to dance, leape, and leade a sprightly & Iouiall life, with their worthy predecessors. They also that are ancient and eldest among them, doe prohibit the beating of their Wiues, because they will (many times) smite them down to the ground, with vnreasonable blows of an vnfitting staffe, especially, when they are iealous of them. He that marrieth most Wiues, is the most esteemed, and yet we must not conceite, that a man may lawfully take what Maid he pleases, but hee must require her first of her Parents, as we do in these parts, and if refusall be made, there must not any quarrell grow thereon, but vpon agreement, the Nuptials are performed.

Cynocephales seene at *Rouen*, by the Authour.

Of their Commaunders in warre, and their Orations.

Against beating their wiues.

He that marrieth the most wiues, is the most commended.

In the interim while, and very respectiuely, they do naturally obserue some degrees of Consanguinity, for the Son neuer marrieth with his Mother, nor the Brother his Sister; other degrees of Parentage they do not keepe. They hate to the death a couetous miser, that wil giue nothing: but they are glad and reioice in liberal minded men, and such a one, as wil talke or discourse with them; Also, they are verie knowledgeable of any kind of fauour done them.

Degrees of Marriage among them.

Couetousnes hated among these people.

They content not themselus, no more then other Nations do, to vse water only for their drinke, but haue an artificiall kind of Beuerrage, which they make in this manner. The Women cutte the Rootes of *Aypi* and *Maniot*, into smal slices, or champe them in their mouthes, without swallowing down; or tear them with their fingers, and then put them into an Earthen Vessel, boiling them ouer a fire, and stirring them continually with a sticke. But being boiled a-while, they take it from off the fire, and then it purifieth it selfe like vnto wine. They doe the like, with the graine of great * Miliet, or Hirse. Heere wee are to vnderstand that before they mash these Roots, or *Sarrazin Millet*, they cut them in halfes, and hold this superstition; that if [illegible] meddle in the making of this drinke, it is not worth anie thing. These Beuerages haue a good strong taste, and if anie one take more thereof then reason requireth, it wil make him drunke. They drinke not in their time of eating; but, after they haue dined or supped: and they terme it by the name of *Canouin*.

What manner of drink they vse, and how it is made.

* Called by some *Sarrazin Millet*, French wheat, Buckwheate, or *Boymong*.

There are manie of the minde, that these *Cynocephales* are verie hairy, saying; that they haue heard it credibly reported by some of credite, that they haue seene them. Most certaine it is, that the brauest and lustiest men among them, that would prepare themselues to be present at some marriage feast, or the eating of a taken prisoner by some intimate frend of theirs in the warre; and thereuppon had made a solemne inuitation, doe vse to chafe and rub their bodies with a certain Gumme, whereon afterward they softlie sticke Feathers in the Gumme; and being thus furnished, men would imagine them to be hairie; and this is the truth of their hairinesse.

A lye and fable, that these people are very hairy.

Before the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugals* frequented with them, they knew no vse of Axes or Sawes, whereby to fel their woods, but onely made a fire at the roote of a Tree, which beeing burned, caused the whole bodie to fal Then, setting the trunkes of Trees one against another, intending them to serue for their dwelling Houses, they couered them with the broad large leaues of certaine Trees

No vse of Axes or Sawes among them.

How they vse to build their dwelling houses.

Trees, which they wrought together so industriously, as no raine could fall in vpon them any way. They do yet continue this manner of building among them, hauing no wals or other defences to their houses.

Commerce betweene thē and the Christians.

The Christians in their Commerce with thē, do giue them Kniues, Combs, Belles, Pins, Points, Fish-hookes, little Looking-Glasses, and other Wares of slender value: and they (in recompence of them) do returne vnto the Christians diuers kinds of victuals, which they very gladly do bring them aboord to their Shippes: As also Brasile Wood, cut into round Blockes or Trunkes, as we see them heere among our Merchants. For if they were not cut round in that manner; the people (beeing naked) should hurt and wound their Armes and bodies very grieuously.

Goodes and victualles brought to the Christians.

No vse of Candles among them, till of late time.

They were not wont to haue any vse of Candles; but contented themselues with such light, as they receiued from Fires made of Wood in the night time. But now (of late) they haue bin taught to make Candles of Waxe: for in that Country they haue Bees, which resemble our little Flyes in these partes, that make their Waxe and Hony, in hollow Trees in their Forrests. They haue no other Iustice among them, but if any one doe offend another in quarrelling, as by breaking a Leg or Arme, beating out an eye, or any other iniury: he rendereth the like to him againe, if he can, and all his Kinred and Friendes are assistant to him in the cause, which beeing so done, they remaine satisfied: This is all their forme of Iustice.

What manner of Iustice is vsed among them.

Now, as I haue already saide, there are many Prouinces that liue after this manner, without Temples or Churches, and without assemblies, eyther for Prayers to God or Idolles: as they doe in other Countries, fiue hundered Leagues off from thence. Some of of which Countries are called *Ouetacas*; others, *Margaias*; others, *Tououpinambouts*; and many other, that manage Warre one against another, as hath beene declared.

They pray not to God, neyther in assemblies, nor in perticular.

Their beleefe and Religion.

They beliue the immortalitie of the soule, and that such Men as haue fought brauely for the defence of their Countrey: shall goe and liue with * *Topan*, after their decease, and dance and drink in goodly Gardens, with their Predecessours and Friends. And on the contrary, that Theeues and Villaines shall bee tormented of * *Aygnan*, that is a Deuill: of whom, such persons haue visibly beene seen to be beaten and tormented in this World, in company among many others, as some haue faithfully auouched, that haue seene it. Behold what I haue gathered from the Writings of *Plinie*, and other good Authors, that spake of a certaine people which haue Dogges Heades: beside, what I haue else collected out of faithfull Writers, that haue frequented with these people, and spoken and conuersed with them; as the Lord of *Villegaignon*, and of *Lery*.

* The God of Peace and Ioy.

* A Deuill visibly seene of them sometimes.

Marcus Paulus the *Venetian*, assureth vs, that there is an Island, named *Dagamian*, the Inhabitants whereof haue heades like vnto Dogges, and liue by feeding on humaine Flesh. And euen now it appeareth vnto me (as a matter nothing differing from our purpose) to set downe a Historie, not of Men that haue Dogges Heads: but of a people, who are crediblie auouched, to be originally descended of a Dog and a Woman.

Marcus Paulus Venet. in Lib. 3. Cap. 21. The Isle of *Daganian*.

The Historie which *Ioannes de Barros*, Chronickler vnto the King of *Portugall*, hath Written, is much more strange and wonderfull, then all that hitherto hath beene said, if wee had as sufficient Testimonie to beleeue it. Writing on the affaires of *Pegu*, as also that of *Sian*, which are on the other side of the Riuer *Ganges*, he saith; that all the people of these Kingdomes doe hold it for a matter most certaine and indubitable, that this Countrey was wholly desert and Mountainy, not inhabited by any person, but generallie possessed by sauage Beastes, so that a great number of men were not sufficient to dwell there, without vnauoyable daunger. It chaunced, that a Shippe, which came from the Kingdome of *China*; by torment and tempestuous violence of Weather, was driuen vppon this Coast, all the people in the Shippe beeing dead and lost, onely a Woman, and a great euill fauoured Dogge excepted. This Dogge defended her from

Ioannes de Barros Chronographer to the King of *Portugall*.

Of a strange People descended of a Dogge and a woman.

from the sauage beastes, which else (by many fierce attempts) had surely deuoured her. She beeing of young and tender yeares, and not acquainted with the courses and modesty becomming Women: permitted the dogge to haue vse of her body, and so conceiuing, was (at due time) deliuered of a Sonne. Hauing brought vp her Son to good and able yeares, he likewise had knowledge of his Mother, and begat diuers other Children of her, that afterward multiplyed in such liberall manner, as these two great Kingdomes grew to be inhabited. And for this cause, they holde Dogges in very reuerent respect, by beleeuing most assuredly, that they had their originall and beginning from thē. I am very certaine, that (at this instant) the people of these Kingdoms are most ciuill, not partaking any way in a doggish nature, and each man may credit this, as himselfe best liketh.

A bruitish behauiour among saluage people.

Hermippus, alleadging *Aristotle* for his Authour, saith; that there is a people in *Æthiopia*, which are ruled or commanded by a Dog, euen as if they were to obey his iniunctions.

Vollateranus in Lib. 25.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Omphale, a Lady of Lydia, who by the helpe of other Weomen, made her selfe Commaunder of that Prouince, by reason of the insolent liues of the Lydians.

Clearchus in Commen. ca. 14. The *Lydians* vsed Eunuchs in stead of weomen.

Clearchus in his *Commentaries*, hath left written, that the *Lydians* were the first that expelled Weomen, and made choyce of Eunuches (to sport withall) in stead of them: proceeding on also in such licentious follie, especially such as were the mightiest among them; that they would vse the Wiues and Daughters of other Men. And to a certaine place, tearmed by them Dovx (it may be on the same occasion) they would conuey them by force, or faire meanes, and their violate their chastities: growing to such a beastly and dishonest manner of life, as making spare of no body, or without any difference of Sexe; they dealt with men and Boyes, in stead of their owne Wiues. For which cause, *Omphale*, a Lady of stout and manly courage, not forgetting such a dishonourable iniury; grew offended at this brutish kinde of life. And procuring the assistance of other Weomen of that Countrey: shee became Lady and Mistresse ouer the Men, onely through their basenesse and negligence, and exercised (deserued ie) no meane punishment vpon them.

Omphale taketh on her to reforme the mens brutish liues.

Moreouer, to reuenge the disgracefull wrongs done to Weomen, and to pay them in Coyne of the same valuation: the Women assembled with their Daughters, in the same place called Dovx: where, in meere despight of their Husbands, they suffered themselues to be dishonored by their Slaues and Seruants, or any other that would abuse them. In this sort she reuenged her Sexe, and remained Gouernesse of all *Lydia*.

CHAP. XX.

A notable sleight or Stratagem, performed by Melanthus the Athenian, being in single Combate with Xanthius, Lord of the Beotians.

THe *Athenians* being in controuersie with the *Beotians*, concerning their Confines and Limitations, and could haue no agreement together: after they had fought many battailes, both sides concluded, that their Princes combatting body to body; should cease all the difference, and the Conquerour to enioy the Landes that were in controuersie. *Xanthius* was then Gouernour of the *Beotians*, a man verie valiant, and well experienced in Armes: and *Thimetes* ruled the *Athenians*, a man more apt for matters of peace, then any way disposed to Warre. Yet being desirous of his Countries Welfare, though himselfe refused the Combate: hee proclaimed by the sound of Trumper,

Discord betweene the *Athenians* and *Beotians* about their lands.

The difference betweene the two Gouernours.

pect, that whosoeuer had the courage to fight against *Xanthius*, he would surrender the principalitie of *Athens* vnto his good successe. Which being vnderstood by *Melanthus*, a man of doubtlesse Spirit: he accepted the Combate, and the day being come whereon it was to bee performed; they both entred the Lists, and began to declare their manhood each against the other. But *Melanthus* finding *Xanthius* to bee ouerstrong and hardy for him: deuised a suddaine shift to help himselfe withall, said: *I maruaile thou camest not alone into the fielde, according to our compact, but hast brought another to helpe thee? Xanthius* crediting the words of *Melanthus*, turned his face, to see who durst offer him such an iniurie to his reputation: in which little space, *Melanthus* (taking aduantage therof) gaue him a great stroke with his Cemitarie, which cleauing his head, caused him instantly to fall down dead in the fielde. By this meanes hee got the Empire of the *Athenians*, who (in memory of his Act) instituted certaine Feasts, that lasted for foure whole daies together, which they called *Apathenores*, or *Apatenores*, that is to say, of fraud and deceit.

An ingenious stratagem to ouer-reach an enemy.

Feastes of Fraude.

CHAP. XXI.

The pollitique deuise of Anaximenes, of Lampsacum, which he vsed to Alexander the Great, for the safety and freedom of his Countrey.

Alexanders cruell intent against the Subiects of *Darius*.

*A Towne by *Hellespont*, on the coast of *Asia*.

ALexander the Great, hauing vanquished *Darius*, and ouerthrowne all his countries: determined to reuenge himselfe on the Inhabitants, that had giuen ayde to *Darius* against him. Which when the people of *Lamsacum* heard, not knowing what councell to take against the anger of *Alexander*: concluded in the end, to send *Anaximenes* on Ambassage to him, who formerly had beene well knowne to *Phillip*, *Alexanders* Father, & also himselfe. He had commission, to appease his fury by all the best meanes he could deuise, as also to craue pardon of him in their behalfe, for whatsoeuer offences they had committed against him. *Alexander* hearing of his comming, began to consider with himselfe, wherfore *Anaximenes* was thus sent vnto him: and therupon, that he might haue a iust and lawfull excuse, to refuse all grace and fauour; he sollemnely sware an oath, not to graunt any thing that *Anaximenes* desired. This likewise came to the eares of *Anaximenes*, a Man of prompt, ready, and dexterious capacity; who as readily bethought him of a subtile inuention, to crosse the inconuenience purposed by the King, and as his refusall should be rash and peremptory, euen so would he meete with him, by applying a contrary sense in wordes, to the true intent of his Embassie. Beeing brought before *Alexander*, hee humbly declared the cause of his comming, and to desire an especiall fauour of him. Which was, to destroy and ruinate the Citty of *Lampsacum*, from the toppe to the bottome, and to make publique sale of all, as well Cittizens, as other men, Women and Children. When *Alexander* had heard the Ambassadors request, deliuered with such earnestnesse of spirit: hee qualified his intended rage, perceiuing that (against his will) he must needs be charitable, and maintaine his owne oath, and so pardoned the people of *Lampsacū*. Thus *Anaximenes*, by wisedome and good discretion, saued his Country worthily, and was most honourably receiued by his fellow Cittizens at his returne: and so long as he liued afterward, was iustly reuerenced of them all, as the sole preseruer of them and theirs.

Alexander preuented in his owne bloody purpose by *Anaximenes*.

Wisedome doth easily foresee and preuent the greatest dangers.

Alexander conquered very honourably by *Anaximenes*.

CHAP. XXII.

An excellent example of faithlesse and double dealing, in a Wife towards her Husband: Approued by the memorable Historie, of Canarus the honourable Celtique Gaule, and Erippe the Mylesian, Wife to Xanthius.

After

Read *Parthenius Niceus*, a learned *Greek* Author.

AFter that the *Gaules* had trauerſed thorow *Italy*, *Pannonia*, and *Greece*; they came to *Ionia*, a Prouince of *Aſia*, ſcituate on the Sea, which they likewiſe ranaged, robbing and pilling there many Citties and Townes. It hapned, that in the yeare of our ſaluation, 300. the ſacrifices of *Ceres*, called *Theſmophories*, were celebrated in the Citie of* *Miletum*: the wiues and women being then aſſembled in the Temple, ſom little diſtance off from the Citty. During the Feaſt time, a troupe of *Gauls* came running vpon the vnprouided *Myleſians*, and caried their wiues away with them: the moſt part whereof were ſoone after redeemed, by payment of great ſums of Mony for them. But ſome of thoſe men that belonged to *Celtique Gaule*, would not part with their prizes of Weomen: but led them thence into their owne Countrey, and brought them to familiar conuerſation with them. Among theſe thus conducted thence, was a moſt faire young Lady, named *Erippe*, wife to one *Xanthus*, a man of Noble birth, and one of the worthieſt perſons in the whole Country. She had left a young Son of hers, aged about two yeares, with his father at *Myletum*, who was vtterly comfortleſſe and deſolate, for the loſſe of his faire wife, whom he loued moſt intirely, & ſold the moſt part of al his goods, conuerting them into a great ſumme of Gold and Siluer, wherewith he betook himſelfe to trauaile, in hope to recouer againe ſo deare a loſſe. Being ſhipt to Sea, he firſt came into *Italy*; where hee was knowne by ſome that were kinde well-willers to him. From thence, accompanied with ſome of thoſe friends, he went to *Marſeilles*, and then into *Celtique Gaule*, directly to the houſe of him that had his wife; who was one of the greateſt Lords in the Country, named *Cauarus*, and whoſe ſeruants (according to the gracious cuſtom of the country) granted him friendly entertainement.

So ſoone as he was entred into the Houſe, he beheld his Wife, and ſhe her Husband; who ran and embraced each other very louingly, ſhe conducting him further into her Chamber. When the Lord of the houſe was come, *Erippe* acquainted him with the arriuall of her Husband, that he had trauailed thither for her ſake, and to pay her ranſome: which he no way gaine-ſaide, but commended the louing mind of *Xanthus*, that he wold oppoſe his life to ſuch dangers, both by Sea & Land, and make ſo long a iourney to recouer his wife. So, calling his friendes together, he gaue him very magnificent entertainment: cauſing *Erippe* to lodge with *Xanthus* all the feſting time; for it was an anciẽt cuſtom obſerued among them, to eate their refections couched on their beds. Afterward, he demaunded of him, what ſum of Mony hee had brought for her ranſome? Whereto *Xanthus* replyed; That the vttermoſt he could make, was 1000. Crownes. The *Gaule* then commanded him, to make foure parts of the ſumme; and to take three of them for his Wife and Son, and to leaue him the fourth part, as the ranſom for his wife: wherewith the *Myleſian* was wonderfully contented, and returned him many heartie thankes. But *Erippe* ſleeping that night with *Xanthus*; was greatly offended with him, and vſed theſe words vnto him, in meere extreamity of anger. *Alas my huſband and friend, I am ſorry for the anſwere which you haue made to my Lord, becauſe you haue not ſo much Mony to pay him, as you promiſed, and he expected. It is impoſſible that you ſhould me thence with ye, for I perceiue we are both vtterly vndone, except you keep your word with him. Miſerable that I am, would it had pleaſed the Goddes, that you had not beene ſo liberall of your tongue: Good Wife* (anſwered *Xanthus*) *take you no care, for al things wil go well with vs, and now I wil diſcouer the truth vnto ye. I haue a thouſand Crownes more, beſide them promiſed to the Lord, which are ſowed vp in the ſhooes of my followers and friends. For I did perſwade my ſelfe, not to finde a Barbarian,* (ſo did the Greekes vſe to call all other nations) *ſo gentle and benigne as this man hath declared himſelfe, and that hee would demaund a much greater ranſome.*

Erippe committed this ſecret to memory, & the day following, ſo ſoone as ſhe was riſen out of her bed; ſhee went to find *Cauarus*, ſpeaking to him in this maner. *My Lord, ſo pleaſe you to credit me, I haue this night vnderſtood good tidings for you: For I haue ſo cunningly wormed my*

* A Towne in the borders of *Ionia* and *Caria*.

The *Gaules* carrie away with them the *Myleſian* weomen.

Xanthus, a man of great honour in *Miletum*.

Xanthus traualeth, to recouer againe his loſt wife.

The meeting of *Xanthus* with his wife *Erippe*.

An ancient cuſtome obſerued among the *Gaules*.

Extraordinary courteſie in *Cauarus* the *Gaule*.

The words of *Erippe* to her Husband.

The anſwere of *Xanthus* to his wife, wher by ſhe betrayed him.

The falſhood and treachery in a ſuppoſed louing wife to her husband.

husband in the nose; that he hath discouered vnto me, more Mony then hee acquainted you withall: as namelie, a thousand crownes, sowed vp in the shooes of his friends and followers. Wherein he hath villainously lyed to you, and mocked you heere in your own country and house, where you haue so honourably entreated and vsed him. Breake then your word with him, and take possession of all his Mony and furnishment; yea, kill him, for you haue iust occasion so to do. And for mine owne part, I most earnestly desire ye to doe it, because you shall therein performe the greatest good (beyond all thinges else) that can happen vnto me: for I beare him deadly hatred, and neither Country, or Child, do I affect or couet so much, as I am desirous of your company, and with you to finish the remainder of my dayes.

Most vile and wicked speeches in a wife.

Cauarus was greatly amazed at the words of this Woman, whom now he began to hate, and purposed to punish, as her double dealing and villainy iustlie deserued. When *Xanthus* prepared himselfe to depart thence, the honourable minded *Celte*, louingly graunted him leaue and licence so to do; both for his returne home to *Ionia*, and to take his wife *Erippe* along with. But to expresse his kindnesse the more, he called diuers of his friends and seruants, purposing to accompany them so farre as the Mountains, where ended the Confines of *Celtique Gaule*. Being come thither, he said, that there he would offer sacrifice to the Gods, before they parted from each other; which was much liked by all the company, who instantly prouided a very low Altar, and presented a Lamb, or som other beast for the oblation, bound in due manner for starting away. Neuertheless, he commaunded *Erippe* to hold it fast, whereto shee declared her selfe very obedient. Then, exalting his Courtlax to strike the stroke; in stead of letting it fall on the beast, he gaue it full strength on the necke of *Mylesian Erippe*, so that her head fell forthwith from her shoulders. *Xanthus* was not a little astonished, when he beheld the *Celt* thus to handle so bright a beauty; and now hee had no hope of his owne life, beside the losse of all his Mony, being thus alone in a strange Country, and in the power of a barbarous Man, who had committed such an inhumaine act. But he found himselfe deceiued, for the iust *Gaule*, not onely comforted him with most kinde words: but also related the double dealing, and wicked treason of his Wife towards him. And (quoth he) till thus she would haue betrayed so louing a Husband, I neuer conceiued a bad thought of her: but so vile a Wife deserued not to liue with a man of such vertue. Here, take all the Coyne thou broughtest hither for me, bear it all hence with thee, for I will not haue one farthing of thee. And if thou stand any way in neede of me; do but speake the word, & no spare shall be made, of whatsoeuer thou wilt desire. Depart (when thou pleasest) towards *Ionia*, and let the *Milesians* vnderstand, the deserued chastisement of thy disloyall wife, to remaine as an example for all wiues to their husbands. Let thē also know, that the *Gauls* (whom you vse to tearm *Barbarians*) are courteous: and do exercise no cruelty, except it bee on Women of such wicked minds.

Cauarus ceaseth to loue *Erippe*, and intendeth iust punishment for her double dealing.

Cauarus offereth sacrifice, before his departing from *Xanthus*.

The death of *Erippe* for her falshood.

The extraordinary loue and friendship of *Cauarus* extended toward *Xanthus*, and their courteous parting.

CHAP. XXIII.

The reuolt and rebellion of the first Slaues: and of Drimacus, a valiant Man, who was their Captaine.

THe first men that bought any Slaues, were they of the Isle *Chios*, who vsing them very inhumainely: gaue them occasion to reuolt from them, and hauing created a valiant man to bee their Captaine named *Drimacus*, they went to liue in craggy and stony Mountaines, for their better securitie against their Maisters; descending thence oftentimes vpon them, to work what villainies themselues pleased, bringing pillage and booties daily from them. The Inhabitants of *Chios* had many battailes with them, but perceiuing it impossible to ouercome them: they tooke a truce for a certaine time with them, during which cessation of warre, *Drimacus* gaue assurance by hostages on eyther side, and came to parle with them in this manner as followeth.

The men of *Chios* bought the first Slaues.

Truce taken with the Slaues for a limited time.

You men of *Chios*, I haue determined for your greater good, that for the time

The Oration of *Drimachus* to the men of *Chios*.

time hereafter, there shall be no more war or incursions among vs: prouided, that on your part, there be no defailance of preseruing our peace. And for this cause I am come hither on the behalfe of our whole Army, that haue reuolted and rebelled against you, only through the intollerable oppressions which you enforced them to suffer. I say to you, in name of them all, that if you will permit the Inhabitants of this Country, to furnish vs with necessarie foode, paying iustly and truly for all such prouision: we will cease our wonted ranages and Thefts, and make an inuiolable League of peace with you. And as an earnest or honest confirmation of my words; I will leaue this Ring with you, and while you keepe it, I will not at any time hereafter, eyther buy or receiue any Slaue or Seruant, that shall flye away from you, till I haue first vnderstood the cause of his departure. If then it shall appeare vnto me, that hee hath been misintreated by you, beyond measure or ability of sufferance: you must then (of necessity) yeelde consent, that he shall remaine among vs. But if I perceiue that hee hath no iust reason to forsake your seruice: I will not onelie seuerely punish him, but will send him also backe againe to his Maister. These conditions duely considered on: you are freely deliuered from our molestations, and we fully satisfied in all our requests.

Drimacus deliuereth them his Ring, as a confirmation of his promise

A league of peace established firmely betweene them.

The Inhabitants of *Chios*, hauing heard the honest demaunds of *Drimacus*: concluded to accept peace, on the forenamed conditions, by means whereof, they were neuer afterward assayled by the Slaues, but liued secure from all thefts and incursions. Neither did any Slaue (at any time) flye from his Maister: for they stood more in fear of *Drimachus* his seuerity, then the very hardest vsage, that could be inflicted vpon them by their Maisters.

Drimacus growing aged & weake, desireth to liue no longer.

This peace continued for many yeares, and *Drimacus* being growne very aged, his body also (by reason of many woundes formerly receiued) so disabled, that he found himselfe vncapable, of longer gouerning such an vnrulie Armie: on a day, he called a young man aside, whom he earnestly affected, and entreated him to cut off his head, and carry it to the men of *Chios*, for so hee should bee well recompenced and rewarded by the deede; because it would be most pleasing to them of *Chios*, and a fauour very acceptable to himselfe, dying by the hand of his dearest friend. He vrged moreouer, that he could not die at a more conuenient time: because the ouer-plus of his yeares were irkesome to him; and his daies full of paine and anguish, which he was no way able to endure.

Good natures are not easily wun to grant vnnaturall requests.

This strange motion of *Drimacus*, could not (at the first mouing) win any place, or induce the young man to so bloody an enterprise: as well, because he imagined, that *Drimacus* vsed these speeches but to try him, as also in regard that his heart would not serue him, to doe a deed so harsh and vnnaturall, because hee stood obliged to him by infinite fauours. Neuertheless, so often and earnest were his sollicitations, praying and re praying him (numberlesse times) to kill him, putting the weapon in his hand, and laying downe his head to endure the stroake: that the young man at length (seeing *Drimacus* so constant in his deliberation, and his importunities no way to bee auoyded) smote of his head from his Shoulders, and hauing giuen buriall to the body, he deliuered the head to the Men of *Chios*. Whereat the people were exceedingly ioyfull, applauding and clapping their handes iocondly, for deliuerance from so great an enemy. And as a deserued recompence, they gaue manumission and liberty to him that had done the deed, with a very bountifull summe of Mony beside.

The young man smote off the head of *Drimacus*, and gaue it to the men of *Chios*.

The vse of Slaues in *Greece*, was very great in elder times: as *Timotheus* writeth, that the *Corinthians* had aboue four hundred thousand Slaues. And *Eteficles* saith in his Historie, that in the Region of *Attica*, a description was made of such men; and the number was found to consist, of foure hundred and thirtie thousand Slaues. *Zenophon* declareth, that *Nicias*, the Sonne of *Niceratus*, had a thousand Slaues alone to himselfe, which he gaue vnto *Soscius*, a man of *Thrace*, to dig in his Mines, for finding the veines of Metrals. *Aristotle* hath recorded, that the *Ægenites* hadde more then foure hundred thousand

Timotheus of the *Corinthians* Slaues.

Eteficles in Hist

Arist in Lib 7. Cap. 4. de Mund.

Slaues: which number conferred with them of the *Romaines*, would seeme but small: for some one *Romaine* had tenne thousand, and some other 20000.

CHAP. XXIIII.

At what time Cookes (in daies of Antiquity) began to grow in estimation. Who were the first that began to vse multiplicity of meates: And of many Gurmands and grosse feeders.

The people of *Asia* were the first that liued out of order in diet.

THE people of *Asia* were the first, that began to liue void of measure, and without any discretion: which plague (as *Titus Liuius* declareth) entred into *Rome*, after the victory or Conqueſt of *Asia*, and then, Cooks, whom the men of precedent & auncient times, held to bee as most vile and vnnecessary Seruants, beganne to grow in some reputation, and the profession which formerly was reputed odious, began to be esteemed an honourable art. The care and endeuour whereof, consisted altogether, in seeking (euery where) appetites for the belly, and what quality of viands might be swallowed vp in gurmandise. *Apitius* the Romaine, vsurped the glory of this occupation, or beyond all other in his daies, according as *Seneca* recounteth, saying. *Apitius liued in our time, who taught publikely, the science of the Kitchin in that Citty, where Philosophers formerly had expelled it thence, as the only corruption of youth; and (by his discipline) infected the world, the end whereof was this. When he had spent a thousand Sestertiaes on a Kitchin Dinner, and afterward robd the publike purse, with the taxations of the Capitole, and in gifts to Princes: he saw himselfe pressed with debts, so that being constrained to cast ouer his accounts; that (al his debts deducted) there remained no more of his owne proper wealth, then an hundred Sestertiaes. Afterward, his credit not seruing to borrow an hundred Sestertiaes, and he ready to sterue with hunger, he dyed, by poysoning himselfe. Plinie* called him; *The bottomlesse Gulfe of all prodigality and wastfull spenders.*

Apitius the Romaine, famous for Gluttony. *Seneca in Lib. de Consolat. ad Albin.*

Read *Dion Nicenus* in the life of *Tiberius*

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 18.

One, named *Archistratus*, trauailed (very diligently) al Lands & Countries, and crossed the Seas, expressely, and to no other end, but to find out all voluptuous fare, and whatsoeuer might concerne exceesse in feeding. In his * *Gastrologie*, he writeth downe the places, where all the best viands are to be had: euen with no lesse study and dilligence, then they that make description of the World, and of their Nauigations. Finally, the diuersity of meates grew to such encrease, and so many Instruments were found out for the belly: that Law and order enforced restraint, of superfluous prouision in the Kitchin. Notwithstanding all which, these daies of ours, do surpasse (beyond measure) the great pomps and magnificent Feasts of former ages, when there were diuilliſhly (if I durst say so) inuented; so manie Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies of the Table, such store of seruices, different and disguised meats: that the most sumptuous banquets of the *Asians*, *Medes*. *Sirabites*, *Tarontines*, yea, of *Sardanapalus*, *Xerxes*, *Claudius*, *Tiberius*, *Vitellius*, and *Heliogabalus*, who (as all Historians doe auouch) exceeding all other Nations in the World, in costly preparations for the mouth; yet are valued as nothing, to the pride and prodigalitie of Feastes now-adaies vsed: in regard whereof, the very greateſt banquets, may stand as small Breake-feasts or collations, if they were to bee compared with ours.

Archestratus the belly trauailer.

* The Art of Gourmandise

The excesse of these times beyond all antiquity.

Nations and men of greateſt disorder in diet.

For, we stand not only, on the delicacy of eating and drinking; but the multiplicity of meats, euen in extremity of aboundance, able to tire and wearie * *Milo* the *Crotonian*, who at one Supper, did eate vp thirty Loaues of Bread, beside all his other meates. Or *Fagonius*, who at the Table of *Aurelianus* the Emperor, deuoured a whole wilde Boare at a meale, beside an hundred Loaues of Bread, and dranke afterward (with a kinde of Pepper or Powder) more then was imagined a whale could do. Moreouer, such feasts as are now vsed, would be irksome to *Albinus*, who (at one supper) did eate vp an hundred Fishes, ten Mellones, fiue hundred Figs, and three hundred Oysters. Also, to *Maximinus* the Emperor, who in one day, did eate vp foure hundred pound of Flesh, and dranke

* Who slew a Bull with his bare hand, caried him away on his shoulders, and the same day did eat him vp euery morsell.

Fagonius the great feeder.

Albinus.

Maximinus the Emperor.

Geta the Emperor. *Alexand. Neapolit in Lib. 5. Cap. 21.*

drancke the eight part of a Tun of wine. And *Geta*, another Emperour, who ſate at the Table three daies togerher, without riſing, and all his meats were ſerued in according to the order of the Alphabet. To wit, ſuch whoſe names began with each Letter of the Alphabet; as for example, the Letter P. Pullets, Partriges, Pheſants, Porke, Pyes, Plouers, &c. and ſo of the other. Seeing then that God and nature hath ordained, that we ſhould eat and drink, for the maintenance of health & ſtrength: what more hurtful and dangerous thing can we do, then to fill the belly with ſuch a number of meats, arteficially compoſed, and to take more then nature can carry. In the doing wherof, we diſtemper our bodies with incurable diſeaſes, and by that meanes, procure the ſhortning of our daies.

Meats ſerued into the Table, according to the order of the Alphabet.

CHAP. XXV.

Of thoſe cauſes, wherby the life time of men or women, are lengthned or ſhortned.

The Ayre is the operatiue and inductiue inſtrument of life.

THe naturall cauſe, of the length or breuitie of mans life, according to the iudgment of ſom Philoſophers, is the ayre: becauſe wee know & perceiue it to be the operatiue and inductiue Inſtrument, of the vertue of life. Wherfore, according to the proportion of the ſpirit or ayre; life it ſelfe is alſo ſquared and proportioned. For, when it is ouer-little; then (by weakenes) it abridgeth life, as in mellancholy bodies. And when it is ouer aboundant: it quencheth heat by blowing, as we ſee the wind to extinguiſh a Torch or Candle: if it be groſſe and thicke, certainely it hindereth the operations of the vitall vertues. Likewiſe, when it is ouer-thin or ſlender, then the party breatheth and reſpireth very eaſily. Now, the vndoubted concluſion of *Ariſtotle*, & the whole Schoole of other Philoſophers, is: that heate and humidity are the beginners and cauſes of long life in men. That it muſt needes bee ſo, for ſo long time as heate can continue with moyſture: it neyther conſumeth nor corrupteth; and ſo long as moyſture can be brought and conuerted by the heat; ſo long (doubtleſſe) the life of euery mortall body laſteth. The which meaſure conſiſteth principally in three things: to wit, in the quantity; ſecondly, in the quality of the ſelfeſame heat and moiſture; and thirdly, in the quality of the members and veſſels, wherein they work together, as more amply is declared by *Ariſtotle*, in his Booke of life and death.

The proportion of life anſwerable to the proportion of Ayre.

Heate and moiſture the beginning & cauſes of long life.

Three things wherein the meaſure chiefly conſiſteth.

Ariſt. in Lib. de Mors et vita.

When then in the body of a Man, any diſcordance is found, or that the heate and drineſſe deuideth it ſelfe, from this radicall moyſture, or conſumeth or corrupteth: it followeth then neceſſarilie, that the life of the man muſt needes be ſhortned. And this diuiſion or deprauation commeth by the humor of diuers cauſes, according to the Writings of Phiſitions, and naturall Philoſophers. And yet notwithſtanding, we may note this moſt eaſily in Princes, who imagin themſelues to bee as good Maiſters and Commaunders of their ſtomackes and bellies, as of all their Subiects. Euerie day, and in all places, they feed only on precious delicates, and ſauoury meats, diuerſly prepared, & drink diuers kinds of Wines. Now, becauſe a man eateth in much greater quantity, and feedeth beyond meaſure on meates, which hee findeth to bee ſauoury and delicate; it neceſſarily enſueth, that by this diuerſity of viands, the ſtomack muſt needs be grieued. For by this kind of feeding, the appetite looſeth it ſelfe, ventoſities blow vp the belly, trembling of the members are occaſioned, Feauers engendred, and in the end death entreth. For this cauſe was it, that *Ariſtotle* ſaid. *There is not any thing, that more prolongeth the life of man; then to ſhun the ſuperfluitie of meats. And nothing more ſhortneth life, then to adde meate to meate, and continue at banquets. A man ſhould eate to liue, and not liue to eate.* *Hippocrates* kept ſo good a dyet, that hee could well endure the weakneſſe of his body: affecting rather to liue weake and leane, then to dye fat and fulſome.

The deprauation happeneth by diuerſity of cauſes.

An obſeruation concerning Princes.

The dangers enſuing by curioſity in diet.

Ariſt. vbi ſupra.

Hippocrates his care of dyet.

Men then, but Princes eſpecially, ſhold not place their affection on eating and drinking; as did the Emperour *Gallien*, who when he brought him tidings, that the *Romaine* people were much diſpleaſed, becauſe his Father *Valerianus* was

Princes ſhold not delight in groſſe feeding.

Captaine to the *Parthians*: turned himſelfe to them that ſtood about him, ſaying. *How now? Haue wee nothing to dine withall?* Oh abhominable anſwere. The ſame gurmand Emperour, being plunged in numberleſſe voluptuous diſſolutions (for from the paunch, comes your daunce, according to the common Prouerb) when newes were brought him, that *Ægypt* was reuolted againſt him. *What* (quoth he) *ſhal we ſpread our Table-cloths no more in Ægypt?* He was ſo drowned in belly-delights, as hee cared for nothing elſe, but to make good cheare, and feed his owne guts, being whollie addicted to drunkenneſſe. Moreouer, he ſuffered weomen (before his face) to gouerne moſt ignominiouſly the Empire. And theſe thinges were the cauſe, that the *Romaine* Empire was inuaded by thirty Tyrants, and that their owne people murdred them.

The Emperor *Galien* minded nothing more then his belly.

The Romaine Empire inuaded by thirty Tyrants.

I will conclude this Chapter, with thoſe reaſons deliuered by *Seneca*, concerning the ſhortneſſe of humaine life. Phiſitions (ſaith he) cry out, that life is ſhort, and their Art long. One complaineth, that nature hath granted beaſtes, to liue fiue or ten ages; & to men, born for many great matters, a ſhort tearme of life is ordained. We haue no long date of time, and yet we looſe the moſt part of it, for life were long enough, if it might all be wel imployed. But when it glides away by acceſſe & negligence, and no good action is performed therein: at length, by conſtraint of the lateſt neceſſity, if we haue not learned how to walke, wee ſhall feele the payment for what is paſt. For life is not made ſhort to vs, but we haue made it ſo our ſelues; and wee are not needy, but prodigall thereof. Like as magnificent and royall riches, comming into a bad Maiſters managing, are ſuddenly waſted and conſumed, and ſmal ſtore amounteth to infinites, being in the cuſtody of a diſcreet Guardian: euen ſo the age of man is of long continuance, to him that is a good diſpoſer thereof. Wherefore then ſhold we make any complaint againſt nature, who hath carried her ſelfe louinglie on mens behalfe? Life is long enough, if thou know how to vſe it.

Seneca writing to *Paulinus*, concerning the breuity of mans life.

Life is not ſhort to men, but they make it ſhort to themſelues

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Lawes and Ordinances, appointed by our Auncients, for the cutting off of exceſſe in feeding, and ſuperfluities of wearing Garments.

IT is no matter to bee meruailed at, if our fore fathers in the firſt Age liued ſo long: for they fed on the fruits of the Earth, and contented themſelues with very ſparing dyet. But after that inordinate appetite, to feede and drinke (beyond compaſſe or meaſure) came into vſe and frequentation: the life-time of men began to diminiſh, and not to containe a quarter of the former ſpace. Which ſome wiſe and excellent men (among thoſe reuerend Auncients) wel obſeruing: they eſtabliſhed good and wholeſome Lawes to moderate the ſuperfluity of groſſe feeding. *C. Fannius*, the *Romain* Conſul, ordained by a Law, which was receiued and embraced before the third *Punick* warre, in the yeare twenty two, after the Law *Orchia*: that no Romaine ſhould vſe at any meale, any other Foule or Bird, then a Hen, not fatted (as in theſe daies, pulling out their eies to fatten their bodies, and cooping vp Geeſe in Pens, to make them fat.) Alſo, that in their banquets, no exceſſe or diſſolution ſhold abound: except in the time of the * *Saturnalia*, and the Playes of the *Romaines*. Whoſoeuer did other-wiſe, was ſure to bee mulckt at a great payment.

Difference betweene the diet of our fore-fathers of the firſt age, and ours.

Macrobius. Saturninus in Lib. 3. Cap 17.

*. Feeſts kept in December, in the honour of *Saturnus*.

The occaſion of this Law (as *Sammonicus Serenus* ſaith) was, in regard that the *Romaine* Common-wealth endured great damages, only thorow the exceſſe of Feaſts and banquets: And it grew to ſuch extreamity among them, that many Sons and Daughters of free condition, luſting after lickoriſh deſire of gurmandiſe; would thereby make ſale both of their liberty and honeſty. Beſide, too many of the *Romaine* people, when their heades were much diſtempered with wine:

Sammonicus Serenus, for the reaſon of this Law.

wine: would preſume in to the Senate, and being drunk, deliuer then their opinions, in matters concerning the weal-publike. The ſeuerity of this Law, went beyonde that of *Orchia*, in that by the precedent; the number of Banquets only were reſtrained, accordingly it was permitted to euery man, to ſpend his goods among a few people. But this Law, tearmed *Fannia*, limited the meaſure of expences. The Law *Didia*, made on the ſame occaſion eighteene yeares after; and the *Licinia*, made by *P. Licinius Craſſus* the Rich, followed it. Afterward, that of *Cornelia*, ſo tearmed of *Cornelius Sylla* the Dictator, and cauſed it to be put into execution. Yet in theſe there was no prohibition for the magnificence of Banquets, nor any certaine rule eſtabliſhed: but all kinds of victuals were put to a taxation, and vnder-prized; which ſauoured not of any good care, for by this meanes, men were incited to buy great quantities of meates, and ſo gaue themſelues the more to gluttony, though their faculties were neuer ſo great or vnable. *Sylla* being dead, the Conſull *Lepidus* made another Law, which was called *Cibaria*, that is to ſay, appertaining to food.

The excellent wiſe man *Phocion*, inſtructed his Son, to liue ſoberlie, conſidering that nature is contented with little: but if ſhe be ouer-charged with too many meates; paine and annoyance is euermore ready at hand. As daily wee may obſerue in our fields, where a horſe is at continuall feeding, without any other exerciſe or imployment; which encreaſeth in him diuerſity of noyſome diſeaſes. Our venerable Ancients, and ſome great perſonages among them, made as great ordinances and conſtitutions, concerning the ſuperfluitie of Habits and Garments, as for meates. *Ælianus* ſaith, that the *Lacedemonians* did not onely make Lawes againſt the exceſſe of wearing Garments: but alſo commandement was giuen to the *Ephori* (Magiſtrates of *Lacedemon*) to haue daily an eye, on the manner of the Cittizens garments; and puniſh rigorouſly (by the Lawe) ſuch as were noted, to wear any thing vnbeſeeming, or repugnant to modeſt ornament and clothing. *Solon*, the *Athenian* Law-maker, prohibited by Lawe, that no perſon ſhould haue any more then three Garments. *Dyoniſius*, the younger *Syracuſane*, puniſhed all delinquents in this caſe, verie grieuouſly: and yet notwithſtanding, he would pardon all ſuch as were Theeues and ſtealers of Garments; to the end, that the *Syracuſanes* might the more eaſily abſtaine from the ſuperfluity of them.

Tiberius Cæſar inhibited the wearing of Garments of Silke. *Statilius*, and *L. Libonius* beeing Conſuls; *Alexander Seuerus*, *Cæſar*, would not permit his Wife to weare any richer Ornaments, or any other Iewelles, then the other Ladies did. And when any pretious Stones or Iewels were giuen her: hee cauſed them to bee ſold, or elſe to bee placed in Temples, for the better beautifying of them, ſaying; *It is not my mind, that any example of ſuperfluitie or expence, ſhall be deriued from my Wife*. *Ioannes Ducas*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, beholding the Riches of the *Romaine* Cittizens, to be waſted and ſpent on ſtrange Silken Garments, faſhioned after the manner of the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Italians*, by ingenious art and cunning: ordained by an eſpeciall Edict, that not any of his Subiects, of what eſtate or quality ſoeuer, ſhould weare any ſuch Habits; on paine to bee noted of infamy, and obſerued the ſame in himſelfe, and familie. Commaunding them further, to content themſelues with ſuch Garments, as the Romaine Prouinces had formerly made vſe of, and were framed by their owne handes. *Lewes* the Debonnaire, Emperour and King of *France*, Sonne to Great *Charlemaigne*, tooke away the wearing of Golde and Silk from his Souldiors, and if he eſpied any one in his Armie, to haue a Silken Garment, or any Gold embelliſhed on it; he would ſay vnto him. *Thou art the veriеſt Foole among all Mortals. Is it not ſufficient for thee to dye; except thou leaue ſuch a ſpoile to the Enemy, to make him ſo rich therby, that (in the end) he ſhal the more eaſily, and at his owne pleaſure, not onely be able to reſiſt, but alſo to conquer vs?*

In a Synode of many Biſhoppes, which was helde at *Aix la Chapelle* in *Germanie*, it was decreed, and enioyned to all Byſhoppes, and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, of what order or decree ſoeuer; to weare any ſumptuous habite, as

Difference betweene this Law, and that of *Orchia*.

Of the Lawes *Didia*, *Licinia*, and *Cornelia*, and the makers of them.

The Law *Cibaria* made by the Conſull *Lepidus*.

Stobeus in Serm. 17.

Lawes againſt the ſuperfluity of Garments.

Aelianus In Lib. 14. The *Lacedemonians* care of their Cittizens apparell.

Solons Law for apparell.

Alexander Alexandrinus in Lib. 5. *Cap* 18.

Dion in the life of *Tiberius Cæſar*.

Baptiſta Fulgoſo in Lib. 1. *ca.* 4

Iohn Ducas, Emperor of *Conſtanſtinople*.

Read the Chronicles of *Conſtantinople*, where more is to be obſerued of this famous example.

Lewes the meeke, Emperor and K. of *France*, his words to his Souldiors.

This was in the yeare of Chriſt. 820.

A decree concerning Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

of Silke, or Scarlet, or to wear any precious Stones on their fingers, as Diamonds, Rubies, Topazes, Saphires, or Emeralds, ſet in Rings of Gold: except when they were ſacrificing to God at the Altar.

The vnruly and miſgouerned world wherein we now liue, not able to yeeld any diſtinguiſhing of perſons.

If all theſe honeſt minded people, were liuing now in theſe times; I beleeue, they would bluſh (with meere conceite of ſhame) to ſee vs liue in ſuch an vnruly World, euen from the greateſt to the leaſt, and the exceſſiue liberty of the meaner people, without any exception in degree; to weare ſuch rich garments, Imbroydered with Veluet, in a thouſand iagges and cuts, and lacing their Cloakes, Doublets, and Hoſe, with paſſement laces of fine Gold. So that now-adaies, we can hardly know a great Lord, Duke, or Earle, from a common Souldiour, or ſome other meaner man, that hath no greater Wealth, then his Cloake and Sword, and with them to giue his attendance too. And if we ſpeak of the habite of one man only; the King himſelfe hardly weareth any fairer, then ordinarily doth a ſilly Courtier. Which ought not to bee ſo permitted, for it is eaſie to iudge, that ſuch ouer-braue new vpſtarts, not hauing wherwithal to furniſh their expences: this coſt muſt needs be ſupplyed by vnlawfull means. Or elſe, they are tearmed * *Enfans de la matte* (ſo called, becauſe they mate all ſuch as they can cozen or cheate) or Court-Stables, Theeus, Robbers, Murderers, or Ruffians. King *Phillip le Bel*, in the yeare 1294. made an ordinance, for the abridging of ſuperfluities in meats and Garments, which I found among ſome auncient papers of my Predeceſſors, and becauſe it had neuer bin formerly printed: I was the more willing to inſert it heere. To the end, that ſuch as are deſirous of note-worthy obſeruations, might perceiue thereby; how much the prices of thinges are enhaunced, ſince thoſe daies; and how the exceſſe of meates haue alſo encreaſed, to the detriment and ruine of mens bodies. For all that *France* can boaſt of, ſince thoſe times; is only her language, which by little and little) hath greatlie enriched it ſelfe, euen to the bright luſter of perfection: but al good manners are quite out of vſe. Theſe are the verie words of the fore-ſaid ordinance.

A meane Courtier as richly inhabited as the K. himſelfe.

* A Raſcally place in *Paris*, whereat common Gameſters, Cheaters, Conycatchers and Cutpurſes vſually met.

A worthy Ordenance of King *Phillip le Bel*.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Ordinance of King Phillip le Bel, *againſt exceſſe and ſuperfluitie in al manner of perſons in the yeare* 1294. *Extracted out of a little Book, in the chamber of Accounts at Pariis, the forty foure Leafe.*

NO Cittizen, or Cittizens Wife, ſhall weare any Greene or Gray, neither any Ermines: but ſhall free themſelus from ſuch as they haue, from Eaſter next, within a yeare. And ſhall not weare, or cauſe to be worne, any pretious Stones, neyther any Girdles, adorned with Gold or Pearles.

For Cittizens and Cittizens wiues.

Item, no Clearke, if he be not a Prelate, or eſtabliſhed in a Parſonage, or in ſome dignity; ſhall weare any Greene, Gray, or Furre of Ermines, no, not ſo much as in his hood onely.

For Clearks being no Prelates.

Item, Dukes, Earles, and Barons, of ſixe thouſand pounds yearely Rent, or more: may make foure paires of Roabs yearely, but no more, and as many for their Wiues.

For Dukes, Earles and Barons.

All the Prelates ſhall haue two paire of Roabes only, allowed them for each yeare.

For Prelates.

All Knights ſhall haue but two paire of Roabes onely, yearely, neither by guift, buying, or any other manner.

For Knights.

The Knight that holdeth three thouſand pounds in Lands, or beareth moſt Banners: may haue three pair of Roabs yearely, and no more, and one of thoſe three paires of Roabs, he may make for his Summer wearing.

A Knight of moſt Banners.

No Eſquire ſhal haue aboue two pair of Roabs, either by guift, by buying, or in any other manner.

For an Eſquire.

Boyes or Lads, ſhall haue but one paire of Roabes yearely.

For Boyes.

No Gentlewoman, except ſhe bee a *Chaſtellaine*, or Lady of two thouſand pounds in Lands, or more: ſhall haue aboue one paire of Roabs yearely; but if two paire bee permitted her, ſhee muſt not then vſe any more.

For Gentlewomen.

No

For wax Torches.

No Cittizen, or Cittizens wife, neyther any Esquire or Clearke, except hee be in preferment, or in a Parsonage, or in a greater condition, shall wear or carrie any Torch of wax.

Orders for dyet in feeding.

None shall addict themselues to great feeding, but of two meats only, and one kind of fat pottage, without any fraude, and in the least eating, to vse one kinde of meat, and some one other choyse dish. If it be vpon fasting dayes, he may haue two Pottages made with Herings, and two other like Meats. One manner of Flesh, shall also serue for one Dish only, and likewise one kind of fish, without any other fraud. Grosse flesh also shall be accounted for good meats, and we do not allow Cheese for a seruice, except it be made into Paste, or boyled in water.

For fasting dayes.

One manner of flesh in one dish only, and so of fish.

The price of Cloth by the Elle of *Paris*.

It is ordained by our declaration, concerning that which hath beene spoken of Garments, that no Prælates or Barones, how great soeuer the person be, shal haue any Robe belonging to his body, valuing more then 25. *Sols Tournois*, the *Paris* El. The Wiues of Barons also, according to the same rate.

Liueries for Seruants.

Earles and Barons shall giue no Liueries to their followers, to cost more then 18. Sols the *Paris* Ell.

Bannerets & Castillians.

Bannerets and Castillians, shall haue no Garmentes for their bodies, costing more then eighteene Sols the *Paris* Elle, and their Wiues at the same rate; theyr followers at xv. Sols the Elle.

Allowance for Esquires.

Squires, the Sons of Barons, Bannerets, and Castillians, must wear no Robe of greater price, then xv. Sols the Elle of *Paris*.

Liueries for attendant Esquires.

Prelates, Earles, Lordes of Royalties, and Castillians, shall giue no Garments to their Squires, valewing more then seuen or eight Sols *Tournois*, the Elle of *Paris*.

Esquires no household attendants.

Other Squires, that are not household Atendants, but cloth themselues of their owne proper cost and means, shall wear no Garment of more then ten Solles the Elle.

Clearkes and Canons of Cathedrall Churches.

Clearkes, that make robes for themselues, shall weare none to exceede the price of twelue Solles, and sixe Deniers *Tournois*, the Elle. But if they be Canons of a Cathedrall church, of fifteene Sols, and no more.

Cittizens, that may spend the value of two thousand poundes *Tournois*, and aboue, may make Robes of more then xii. Sols, and nine Deniers *Tournois*, the Ell of *Paris*, and their Wiues of 16. Solles at the most.

Cittizens of good valie, and their wiues.

And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vppon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shal pay an 100. poundes *Tournois*, as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds *Tournois*. And Knightes & their followers 25. pounds: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 pounds *Tournois*. And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of *Paris* mony, they shal pay fiue and twentie pounds each man. And if of lesser value, they shal pay an hundred Sols *Tournois*. Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols *Tournois*, and so for others.

Penaltie enioyned vpon breach of these Ordinances.

Dukes, Earles &c.

Lords of Royalties.

Knights.

Deanes, Archdeacons, Priors, Clearks.

Lay men of account.

Lay men of lesse value.

Clearks without dignities.

Also the penalties for all maner of lay-people, transgressing against the establishment, shal be leuied on those Lordes, in whose Lands & Seigneuries the forfeites are committed: And the fines of clerkes shalbe imposed on their Prelats, or their soueraigne Gouernors. And he by whose meanes the forfeites commeth vnto the lords knowledge, shal haue the third part of the penaltie. If it doe happen that any Clearke or Lay person, of what condition soeuer, being charged with offending against this ordinance, and is desirous to purge himselfe by Oath in such maner as euerie one is wont to sweare, he shall bee admitted, beleeued, and acquitted of the penalty, vpon his purgation made before the Lord of the place where he dwelleth. This Law was made and ordained at *Paris*, in the yeare of Grace, 1294.

Lay people of all degrees.

Impesition of the fines and forfeits.

For the accuser.

Purgation by Oath, before the Lord of the soyle.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *Of a Law made by* Solon, *and the* Corinthians; *concerning ydle and negligent persons: And such as would weare braue Apparrell, and make great cheare; yet themselues hauing no goodes or meanes, whereby to maintaine such expences.*

THe famous Law-giuer of the *Athenians*, *Solon* made a Law, whereof it is saide, that *Amasis*, King of Ægypt, had formerly been the Author, according as *Herodotus* reporteth in his *Enterpe*, and these are the very words of the Law. ἀποδημνύναι ἔτεος ἑκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντυ τὴν ἀ Αἰγυπτίων, ὁθεν βιᾶται. μηδὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίως ζόλω, ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. That is to say. *That euery one shall yearly declare and shew how, and in what manner hee liueth, euen before the Magistrate: which if he refuse to doe, he shall be punished with death.* This Law is recited by *Diodorus Siculus*; and was also obserued by the *Corinthians*, as *Diphilus* saith in his *Senaries*, alleadged by *Atheneus*, and traduced by *Erasmus* in his *Adages*, whereof the substance is thus.

Herodotus in Enterpe.

Diodor. Sicul. in Lib. 2. de Antiquit. Diphilus in Sen. Athenæus. Erasmus in Adag.

It was ordained heretofore, as a Law to the Corinthians, *that if any one were noted to make great cheare daily, and to spend largely; we are then to enquire of his means, and to demaund of him, if he know what he doth? If we do perceiue, that he hath goods, and that the reuennues of them is sufficient to discharge such expences; we are to suffer his proceeding therein. But if it so fall out, that he spendeth more then his Reuennues will amount vnto: we must commaund him to leaue off such waste, and neuer afterward to doe the like againe. If he refuse, and will not be obedient; he is to be condemned in a great penalty. And if he that hath nothing at all to maintaine him, doe liue excessiuely; he is to be deliuered to the Hangman or Executioner, vnder this Oath:* * *By Hercules. For the presumption is great, that a Man cannot lead such a kind of life; without committing Thefts, and other wicked actions. For it will be necessarily supposed, that hee hunteth in the night time, to catch his prey; that he hooketh in at houses, or breaketh the walles of them; or else is a complice and Companion with them that doe so, and then hath his share with them. Or else, that hee is a false Witnesse, or false Accuser. All such manner of people are to be chased from our Cittie, as hatefull and abhominable.*

The very words of the Law.

* This was an Oath obserued among our Auncients.

CHAP. XXIX.

How excellent a thing Friendship is; What they are, that may be termed true friends: How many friends a Man ought to haue, and of what condition; with many notable examples thereof.

GOld is good, so is Siluer; Kinred & Allyes is good, and Mony is good: but true Friendes are much better, and there is no comparison betweene them. For all the fore-named thinges are not sufficient, but must be taken from vs on necessity: but true Friends, in regard of any thing, wherein consisteth the interest of a Friend; will admit no pardon to their purse, nor spare the expences of their goods; yea, feare not to expose their liues to dangers; to take long voyages, on them, to vndergo quarrels, & suites, to embrace voluntary paines, and to imploy the vttermost of their power, for the assistance of a Friend. *Spartianus*, in the life of the Emperour *Traiane*, reporteth, that one euening, as the Emperor sate at Supper, they that were admitted to sit at his Table; entred into discourse, concerning the fidelitie of Friends. During this conference, hee told them: That he could not remember, in all his life time, that he euer had any one Friend, which might not haue beene iustly tearmed good, loyall, and sincere. Then they humbly entreated him, that, if it stood with his liking; he would acquaint them with the reason of this his extraordinary happinesse. Whereupon he thus aunswered. *The cause*

No comparison with true and faithfull friends.

All worldly thinges are defectiue, except a true friend.

Spartianus in vit. Imp. Traian.

An extraordinary happinesse in a man.

The answere of the Emperor *Traiane.*

cause why I haue beene so happy in this matter, was in this respect: that I would neuer admit any Man to be my Friend, if he were couetous, or a Lyer. For in that man, in whom auarice or lying reigneth; neuer can dwell true and perfect friendship.

The comming of King *Herod* to *Rome*, and his wordes to *Augustus.*

King *Herod*, after that *Marke Anthony* was conquered by *Augustus*, came to *Rome*, and hauing layed his Crowne at the feete of *Octauius*; with a bold and vndaunted courage, hee spake these wordes. *You must know (O Great Augustus) that if Marke Anthonie would haue beleeued me, and not Cleopatra: you should haue made better proofe, how great an enemy he was to you; and you should well haue vnderstood beside, how loyall and faithfull a Friend I was to him. But he that would rather be gouerned by the will of a woman, then follow those courses which reason commaunded: tooke onely Mony of me, and all his Counsels of Cleopatra.* Herod continued yet on further his speeches in this manner. *You behold at this instant* (quoth he) *that my Kingdome, person, and crown, is laid by me at your feet, and I offer them all at your seruice, at all times, and as often as you shall make acceptance thereof. But yet, vpon these conditions (Inuincible Augustus) that you shall neuer commaund mee to heare, nor speake any euill of Marke Anthony, my Lord and deare Friend, although he is dead. For you know right well, that true Friendes ought not to be forgotten, eyther by absence or death.* *Iulius Cæsar* held such intire friendshippe with *Cornelius Faber*, the Consull, that they passing the Alpes together, and darke night hauing stolne vpon them, they being vnprouided of any other lodging, then a little narrow Grot or Caue in the side of a Rock, which they found out by chance, and *Cornelius* being then sickely and ill: *Iulius Cæsar* left al the Caue to him, that he might the better repose at his ease, walking himselfe (all the night) in the frost and Snow, without any shelter or couerture to shield him.

The harme of being gouerned by a womans will.

A memorable example of a faithful friend indeed.

The friendshippe betweene *Iulius Cæsar* & *Cornelius Faber.*

Friendship is true and perpetuall, and holdeth no contraction with many persons.

It is also a matter worthy of our knowledge, that friendshippe maketh it selfe true and perpetuall, and ought not to be contracted with many persons, according as *Seneca*, Writing to *Lucillius* saith. *My Friend Lucillius, I councell thee to be a Friend but to one, and Enemie vnto none.* To haue many Friends, it bringeth with it some kind of importunitie, which must needes (of it selfe) diminish friendshippe. For, if we consider the liberty or freedome of the heart; it is a matter impossible, that one onely thing should conforme it selfe, to the conditions of many: much lesse, that manie can bee satisfied & contented with those of one alone. *Cicero* and *Salust* were two Oratours, the most renowned among the Romaines; and yet deadly Enemies to each other. *Cicero* had all the whole Senate as his fast Friendes; and *Salust* (throughout all *Rome*) had no one but *Marke Anthony* only. Vpon a day, some cause of quarrell or contention happening between these two men, & words on eyther side entercourst: *Cicero*, in great anger and disdaine, spake thus to *Salust.* *How darest thou any way contend with me? What power art thou able to raise against me? Full well thou knowest, that in all the Citty of Rome, thou hast but one Friend onely, and that is Marke Anthonie; and I haue no Enemy, but he onely.* Whervnto *Salust* thus answered: *Thou gloriest thy selfe (ô* Cicero) *in hauing but one Enemy onely, and taunt est mee, because I haue no more but one Friend onelie. But I hope (the help of the immortall Goddes assisting) that this one enemie of thine, shall be sufficient to ouerthrow thee; and this one onelie Friend of mine, will bee enow to warrant me from all harmes, and to defend me in all mine affaires.* After these words passing thus betweene them, within some very few daies: *Marke Anthony* declared the friendshippe which he bare to the one, and his hatred against the other. For, he caused *Ciceroes* Head to bee smitten off, and exalted *Salust* vnto great Honors.

The freedom and liberty of the heart.

The enmity betweene *Cicero* and *Salust*, two famous Oratours.

Cicero his words to *Salust.*

Salust his answere to *Cicero.*

An euident proofe of Friendship and hatred.

Many do commend themselues, and hold it as a great glory to them, to haue multiplicity of friends: but, when they haue well surueyed, to what end this aboundance of Friendes serueth; they shall finde their help to no other effect, but onely to eate, drinke, walke, sport, and prattle together. Not to succour one another with Monies in their necessities; or to lend any fauourable assistance in trauailes; nor to giue reproofe of such vices, as may (perhaps) too much abound on either side. For where true and intimate friendshippe is mutually embraced: neyther my friend to me, or I to him, ought to vse any dissimulation,

The end and effect of hauing many Friends.

The Office and duty of true friends one toward another in aduesity or prosperity.

on, or to conceale one anothers faultes and vices, which we may euidently see in each other; that amendment may ensue vpon friendly admonishment. There is no riches or treasure in this world, that equalleth the worth of a true and loyall Friend: because, when a Man hath a faithfull Friend: he may safely discouer the secrets of his hart vnto him; recount his passions; trust his honor in his brest; yeilde his goods to his keeping; receiue succour from him in his trauailes; haue councell and comfort in perils; he will reioyce in his prosperities, and greeue when any inconueniences doe afflict him. Finally, I conclude, that hee will neuer cease friendly seruices to him during life, and mournfull complaints for his misse, after death.

Friendship ceaseth not after death.

Of electing one friend among many, and the danger therein.

Being then to make choise of a friend, and of no more then one, euerie Man ought to bee very carefulll, that he bee not deceiued in his election. For many times it falleth out, that such as vse but slender consideration heerein: doe but bestow their friendship on him that is ouer-couetous, impatient, a pratler, contentious, arrogant, and presumptuous; yea, and in such sort, that it is more safe for him to entertaine a knowne enemy, then such a halfe-harted Friend. Among other conditions, which ought to be in him that is elected as a Cordiall Friend, these are the principall. He must be humaine of nature; of stout courage in trauailes; patient in iniuries; honest in dyet; modest in talke; graue in councell and aduise; and (aboue all) constant in amitie, and faithfull in secrecy. We may vndoubtedly accept such a man for a frend, who we know to be prouided of these qualities: but if he be defectiue in any one of them; we are to shun his society, as a pestilence. For we hold as a thing most certaine, that the friendship of a fantasticke and variable Friend, is worse then the hatred of a discouered Enemy. Wee may assuredly trust our hart in the hands of the one; but we shal hardly defend our lines, against the trecheries of the other.

The principall conditions which ought to be in a friend.

CHAP. XXX.

¶ *Of many very strange and meruellous things, recorded by diuers good and credible Authours, and here collected together in one Chapter.*

HErodotus writeth, that the Sunne did two seueral times, set and hide it self, in that place which at this present, is the East. *Seruius*, the Commenter vpon *Virgill*, saith, that the Army of *Xeuxes* being vnder ful sail, did drinke dry the Riuer *Symoenta*: and the like is recorded (by *Herodotus*) to be done on the Riuer *Scamander*. *Pliny* writeth, that the great or formost Toe, of the right foote of King *Pyrrhus*; gaue present helpe to such that were pained with the Spleene, and that it could not be burned (with the rest of his body) in the Obsequies. *Cœlius Rhodiginus* affirmeth, that Elephants haue sometimes beene knowne to write. *Milo* the *Crotonian*, as *Aulus Gellius* auoucheth, did breake a great Iron Chaine into diuers pieces, with his hands onely. The hart of *Aristomenes*, was found to be all hairy. Many Oblations and Sacrifices of of Beasts, were found to haue no harts in them. *Pliny* reporteth (if it be a matter to bee credited) that *Lelia Cossuria*, being a Woman, was turned into a Man, vpon the day of her mariage. The blacke Statue of *Memnon* deliuered an audible voyce, at all times when the mouth thereof was touched with the beames of the Sunne. The Ants in *India*, are greater then Foxes. In the second *Punick* Warre, an Oxe was heard to speake, and saide to *Cneus Domitius*: *Take thou heed ô Rome!* The Partriges in *Paphlagonia*, haue two harts in their bodies, according to *Theophrastus*.

The *Babylonians* being great Hunters, when they are in some Forrest, or place of sollitude, where they haue no means of boyling their meat: they set an Egge vp on end in the Sand, which they turn and

Herodot. in Enterpe.

Seruius in Commet. Virgil.

Herodot. in lib. 7 Plin. in Lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Coel. Rhodigin. in Lib. 12. cap 3

Aulus Gellius. in lib. 15. ca. 16 Valer. Max. in tit. de Mirac.

Cicero in Lib. de Diuinat.

Herodot. in Lib. 3.

A Rhod. in Lib. 5. Cap. 12.

Theophrast. in Lib. 7. Cap. 17.

A. Rhod. in Lib. 7. Cap. 1.

and rowle about, vntill it bee baked by continuall turning.

Diodor. Sicul. in Lib. 4. Cap. 18. The Tortoises in the *Indian* Sea, are so great, that the people Saile in their shels on the Riuers, euen as well as in little Cock-boats, according to the report of *Diodorus*: *Nilus* falling from the hie Mountains, yeeldeth thereby so great a noise, that it maketh the Inhabitants of those places, to bee starke deafe. *Cicero in Somn. Scipionis.* The Sonne of *Cræsus* beeing dumbe by Nature, seeing a Souldier of the *Persian* Troopes, that would kill his Father; yet hee not knowing him, as hee offered hte Weapon to his throat, hee cried out allowd in this manner, *Oh doe not Kill the King.*

Aulus Gellius. in lib. 4. Cap. 9

In *Selencia*, after that the Romaynes had ruined the Temple, there was found a narrow strait passage, which the Diuines of *Chaldea* had formerly stopped vp: but when by Military Engins it was opened, there yssued foorth a deadly vapour, which infected from thence (being in *Persia*) so farre as to the Gaules. *A. Rhod. in Lib. 7. Cap. 2.* In the City of *Hermynta*, the people worshipped a Bull, that changed his colour euery houre in the day. *Macrob. in Lib. 1. Cap. 27.*

FINIS.

A Table of all the seuerall Bookes and Chapters, with their perticuler Arguments, contained in this Volume.

The First Booke.

Of God. Chap. 1.

Of the Workes which God created in sixe dayes. And what dayes the Angels were created, with diuers other high and special matters, worthy our knowledge. Chap. 2.

Of the good Angels, and of their orders and Offices. Chap: 3.

Of the Earthly or Terrestrial Paradise, &c. Chap: 4.

Of the difference betweene the Celestial Kingdom, and that of Paradise, &c. Chap: 5

Of Hell, and of the fire that is saide to burne there continually. Chap: 6

Of Man (the Image of God) to what end he was created, with the signification of those two wordes, Image of God, and Similitude or Likenesse of God. Chap: 7.

Of the Age of man, &c. Cap: 8.

That the opinion of such, as supposed the yeares in elder times to be shorter then now they are at this instant, is vtterly false. Also, of the first Cittie that euer was in the world. Cap: 9

Wherefore the deuil made choise of the Serpents shape, when hee tempted the first woman, &c. Cap: 10

Of Death, & that God neuer was the Author thereof. Cap: 11

The strange opinion of the Egiptians, concerning the scope of a mans life, iudging it to be the proportion of the hart, &c. Cap: 12

The reason wherfore man goeth vpright, &c. Cap: 13

Of the supreame dignity of the head aboue all the other members of the bodie, &c. Cap: 14

Whither euil Daemons or spirits can forctel things to come, they hauing no certaine knowledge. Cap. 15

Of the sign of the Crosse, that it was in great estimation long before our Sauiour Christ was crucified theron, &c. Cap: 16

The excellency of Secrecy, and with what care it is to be kept, &c. Cap: 17

How commendable it is to speake little. Cap: 18

Of the famous Phylosopher Plutarch, his learned Letter to the great Emperor Traian, &c. Cap: 19

The Original of the Art Military, &c. Cap: 20

The rare fortune of two Women, who by wearing the habits of men, the one atained to be Pope of Rome, & the other to be Emperor. Cap: 21

The first beginning of the Amazons, &c. Cap: 22

Of the Antiquity of Constantinople, and howe it became conquered by the Turkes Cap: 23

Of what Nation & race the Imposture Mahomet was. &c. Cap: 24

The Original of the Turkes, and their first gouernment, &c. Cap: 25

That the death of man or woman, is to be reckoned happy or vnhappy, according to the estate wherein the party dyeth &c. Cap: 26

How many Bishoppes and Popes of Rome there hath bin since Saint Peter &c. Cap: 27

The cause of those daies which are called Dies Caniculares, or Dogge-dayes, and wherefore they are so called, &c. Cap: 28

Of the admirable Art of Man in swimming, with the Fable of the Fish Colas. Cap: 29

Of men liuing in the Sea, called Mare-men, or Seamen, &c. Cap: 30

The Second Booke.

What maner of speech was vsed at the beginning of the world: And of the diuision of languages. Ca: 1

Of the diuision of the worlds Ages. Also the beginning of Kingdomes and Commonweales. Cap: 2

Of the Gouernement of the Spartanes, &c. Cap: 3

Of the Gouernment & Laws vsed among the ancient Athenians. Cap: 4

In which of al the seuerall Heauens, God is said to abide. Cap: 5

Of the error committed by the auncient Mathematicians & Astrologers, yea, and such as haue continued to this day, in calling the Planets by Diabolical names, and attributing a Diuinitie to them. Cap: 6

Of the cause why the christian Philosopher Origen did dismember himself. Cap: 7

The reproach which the Emperour Cublay gaue to the Iews, Mahumetists, and Pagans, &c. Cap: 8

From whence the name of Sarazins came at the first, &c. Cap: 9

Of the Title or name of Seruaunt, Slaue, Bondslaue, & such like. Ca: 10

Of Slaues made by the Turkes and Mahometans, &c. Cap: 11.

Of the subuersion of the most potent Empire of the Chaldens, and of the City of Babylon. Cap: 12

Of the destruction of Ierusalem, & the woful calamities of the Iews euer since Cap: 13

Of a crafty Physition, who gouerned or ouerswayed Lewes 11. King of France that was accounted the most ingenious Prince of his time Cap: 14

That, Princes and other persons of great degree, ought not to giue ouermuch confidence vnto Tasters, nor to the wearing of precious stones or Annelets. Cap: 15

Why the liues of Princes are more attempted by poysons, then by Armes, &c. Cap: 16

Of impoysoning by sweet Pommanders, Fumes of Torches, Tapers, Candles, &c. Ca: 17

That all venoms and poysons haue not the power to kil the hart, &c. cap: 18
To know if an impoysoner can so artificially accomodate his poisons, that he may limit the houre, day, week, month, and yeare, &c. cap: 19
What maner of people they were, that had the Title of Gymnosophists. cap: 20
Of such men as do thinke, that the Septentrional Countries which bee vnder the North, are vnfruitful and vninhabitable. cap: 21
A Paradox approuing, that the meaneſt place of birth, maketh a man to bee truly most Noble. cap: 22
A pleasant Allegorical description of Charon, called the Ferryman of Hell. cap: 23

The third Booke.

Of Old Rome: And of her first Religion Lawes, Magistrates, Ciuil Policies, &c. cap: 1
Of Rome in hir Moderne estate, since the Pope came to keepe his Court there. &c. cap: 2
A briefe Collection of the Originall of the Knightes of the Order of S. Iohn of Ierusalem, who were afterwards called the Knights of Rhodes and of Malta, &c. cap: 23
The seueral Orders of Knighthoode, both Ecclesiastick and Secular. cap: 4
Of a straunge Custome vsed by the people of Cathay, for the marriage of their daughters, when they want meins of dowry. cap: 5
Of a good Custome made among the Locrians &c. cap: 6
Of the strange life of Diogenes the Cynick Philosopher, &c. Cap: 7
Of variable Natures in men, beyond vsual and natural inclination, &c. Ca: 8
Of the great and large extendure of the Roman Empire, &c. Cap: 9
The History of the Romaine Empyre further prosecuted, with the surprizall of Rome by the Gothes. Cap: 10
That there is no valour, courage, or Manhood (truly commendable) but such as is necessary, and grounded in Vertue. Cap: 11
That those which had no other Vertue but meere valiancy, haue ended theyr daies very vnfortunately. Ca: 12
Of a strange accident happning in the Islandes of the Muloccoes, about the yeare, 1525. Cap: 13
Of some, who haue counterfeted sicknes, to exempt themselues from busines. &c. Cap: 14
Of the Vertue and excellency of Hony, &c. Cap: 15
How Honey is made, whence Manna proceedeth, of ayry Hony, and of Sugar, Cap: 16
How the Gothes elect their Kings fat and corpulent. Contrarywise howe the Sarazins choose their Kings Meager, lean, and low of stature. Cap: 17
Of the abuse committed, in wearing Drugs, powders, perfumes, &c. Cap: 18
Of Amber-Greece, from whence it is brought, &c. Cap: 19
Of Muske, Ciuit, &c. Cap 20
Of an Edict made by Dyonisius the elder, King of Sicily, &c. Cap: 21
Of the word or name Gramarian, and what it is truly and properly. Cap: 22
A paradox, maintaining, that speedye death is more to be desirous, then a long and tedious date of life. Ca: 23
The saying of Plato interpreted, that Kings should be Phylosophers, or Phylosophers raigne. Cap: 24

The Fourth Booke.

OF the kingdom of Persia, &c. Ca: 1
Against Iulius Cæsar, in calling the Gauls (at this day Frenchmen) Barbarians. Cap: 2
How long it is since the Switzers wer Cantonned, &c. Cap: 3
Of the Excellency of Trauel, and what great dangers do ensue on ydlenes. C: 4
The reason why the Palm-tree was giuen to Conquerours, and Lawrell as a signe of victory. Cap: 5
Of Cruelty, how horrid it is to humain Nature, &c. Cap: 6
How that oftentimes, wicked Kinges and Tyraunts are Gods Minsters, and yet commonly come to euil ends. Cap: 7
The strange fortune which hapned to the Son of Croesus King of Lydia, and likewise to the son of another king, &c. Cap: 8
Of a Woman that was married diuers times, and of a man that hadde manie wiues: and hapned (at length) to ioyne in wedlocke together. Cap: 9
The straunge fortunes which hapned to two Princes of Castile. Cap: 10
The strange complexions of two Philosophers, &c. Cap: 11
Of some perticuler occasions, hapning in one and the same manner, &c. Ca: 12
That diuers men haue been so really alike, that they haue bin many times taken one for another. Cap: 13
Of a strange and admirable fortune hapning to two Knights of Rome. ca: 14
The Ages of Man seuarally distinguished, &c. Cap: 15
Of certaine yeares in the life of man, iudged by our Ancients, to be more dangerous then any other. Cap: 16
That Orpheus, Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, & others, did read the Books of Moyses, and haue taken perticuler points out of them. Cap: 17
A Mystical signification, concerning the body of Elisæus, &c. Cap: 18
The Interpretation of Nabuchodonosors dreame. Cap 19
Of the end of the world, &c. Cap 20
The conquest of the kingdom of Naples, by Charles 8. King of France. ca: 21
Of a Courtier, and what manner of man he ought to be. Cap 22
How a man may commend himselfe without preiudice to others. Cap 23
How Frances Sforza and Nicholas Pichiniue won the renowne of beeing the most skilful men in the Art Military. Cap 24
That the Lyon naturally feareth the Cocke, &c. Cap 25
Who was the first man that tamed the Lyon, &c. Chap 26
That the most part of the people in the world spake at the first but one Language onely, &c. Cap 27
Of Grauing or caruing, & of Painting, which of them is the most ancient and excellent. Cap. 28
Against such aged persons, as thinke nothing to be wel done, but what vvas doone by themselues, &c. Cap 29
A comparison between the buildings Feasts, Garments of men and Weomen, Armes, and maner of making warre in the dayes of our fore-fathers; and those that are vsed in these daies. Cap 30
Of the Antiquity of Fraternities, Brother-hoods, Fellowships, Societies or Companies, &c. Cap 31
Of Polybius the Romaine Ambassador, &c. Cap 32
Of a strange opinion in the women of Mosco.

Moscouia, &c. Chap:33
That those thinges which some Authors haue left written concerning the destruction of Troy, are true. Chap:34
How a man may know what kind of drinke wil sooneſt make a man drunke, &c. Cap:35
Againſt the Axiome, which maintaineth, that all Repletion is naught, &c. Cap,36
Of the Swallowes properties, & the Nature of the Bird. Cap 37
A Paradox in defence of hard lodging, &c. Cap 38
Of some, that haue bin puniſhed, for hauing done better then they wer commanded: And others becauſe they did wel without command. Cap 39

The Fift Booke.

OF *the Emperor of* Ethiopia, *called* Prete-Ian *or* Preſter-Iohn, *of his Original, &c.* Cap: 1
Of the ouergreat Superſtition of the Queen of Maugy, *&c.* Cap: 2
Of the order and Knighthood of the Templers, &c. Cap: 3
By what means the holy Apoſtolicall Seat was transferred into France, how long it continued there, and how it returned againe to Rome. Cap:4
How daungerous it is to murmure againſt Princes, &c. Cap: 5
That Imagination is one of the moſt principal inward powers, &c. Cap:6
Of Portius Pilate, *of the Lake named* Pilates Lake, *&c.* Cap: 7
Of negligence of Iuſtice in Offenders, and for the ſins of the fleſh. Cap:8
Of the inuention of Bels. Alſo, who were the firſt that coniurd diuils. Ca:9
Of a combate fought betweene two Knights of Caſtile. Cap 10
Of many admirable things hapning in diuers part: of the world. Cap: 11
The variable opinion of Phyloſophers concerning humaine Lignage, & of the original of Mariage. Cap: 12
Of what yeares or age a man ſhould be married to a woman. Cap: 13
Of the cordial loue and amity which ought to be in marriage, &c. Cap: 14
Diuers Cuſtomes obſerued by our ancient forefathers in their Marriages, &c. Cap.15
Who were the firſt Inuenters of Letters, and of Latine Syllables Cap:16
Of Valaſca *a Lady of Bohemia &c.* Cap: 17
Of the firſt Inuenters of Hoſpitals, at what time, and on what occaſion. C:18
Of an Embaſſage ſent to Hipocrates *the Phyſitian, &c.* Cap: 19
How Hippocrates *found* Democritus *continualy laughing, and of the Conference they had togither.* Cap:20
Of the two excellent Painters, Apelles *and* Protogenes. Cap: 21
Of what forme a Man ought to bee, to appeare in his true proportion. C:22
Of three Princes, who ended their daies miſerably, for diſobeying their fathers. Cap:23
From whence it enſueth, that ſome Dreames are ſad, and others ioyful. 24
Of ſome Princes Drames, which afterward came to paſſe. Cap:25
Of three ſeueral perſonnes, that thorough Melancholy, fel into very admyrable imaginations. Cap: 26
Of a ſtrange maner of Banniſhment vſed by the Athenians. Cap: 27
Of many worthy men, that by the ingratitude of their Countries endured baniſhment. Cap: 28
Of two ſeueral men, who being apprehended for Homicides, were neuertheleſſe made Kings, &c. Cap: 29
A Paradox maintaining, that the wounded man is better then hee which is whole and ſound. Cap: 30
Of the Crocodile, with the refutation of ſundry of that Beaſt. ca:31
How to take and kil Crocodiles, & alſo the properties of the Ichneumon *or the Rat of India.* Cap: 32
Of ſtrange accidents hapning to a priſoner, & how he was deliuerd. ca:33
That the blood of a Bul is death to ſuch as drinke thereof, &c. Cap: 34
Who was the firſt eſtabliſher of Religion in Rome, and ordained chief byſhops, Prieſts, Veſtal Virgins, &c. C:35
Of ancient mariages, aſwel among the Romanes, as diuers other Nations, &c. Cap, 36
How manie Armies the Romayne Emperors kept, and where. Cap, 37
Whether the Romans did generally ſpeake Latine, or whither they had two ſeueral Languages. Cap: 38
How neceſſary water is for the life of man, &c. cap:39
By what meanes a good quantit of freſh water may be hadde out of Sea, &c. Ca
The reaſon why al Creatures h many feet on the one ſide, as &c.

The Sixt Boo

OF *the Kingdom of* Fez, *&c.* Ch.
Of diuers Cuſtoms and maners of burying the dead, &c. Chap.2.
Whence the Cuſtom grew, of ſaying to ſuch as Sneeze, God ſaue yee, *or* Chriſt helpe ye, *and for what reaſon a man maketh the ſigne of the croſſe on his mouth, when he yawneth.* Chap: 3
Concerning the Original of vſing of theſe words, Ie vous baiſe les mains, I Kiſſe your hands. Chap: 4
Of the diuiſion of the yeare. Who firſt found out the houres, and made Clockes and Dials, &c. Chap: 5
Why the dayes of the week were called Feriæ, *Holydayes or Feaſtiual daies* Chap: 6
How Phyſitions learned to take b ound from the diſeaſed; & who firſt wrote concerning hearbes. Chap: 7
A true Hiſtory of a Maid in Poictu, *who for the ſpace of three yeares, liued without any ſuſtenance.* Cap: 8
A further diſcourſe on faſting, Ca:9
The maner of ſo ſtrange faſting, diſputed betweene Ioubert *&* Haruet, *&c.* Cap: 10
Of the Authority giuen to the Germaines, *to make election of the Emperor; &c.* Cap: 11
Who firſt found out the Art of Nauigation, deuiſing ſhips, Gallies, Oars, &c Cap: 12
Whence the cuſtome came of giuing New-yeares guifts, &c Cap: 13
At what time Hereſies had their Original. &c Cap: 14
Of the ſottiſh opinions obſerud among the Phyloſophers, diſcouering briefly, al Sciences, Artes, and Doctrines, with their abuſes and vanities. Cap: 15
A profitable Interpretation of ſome words, being Hebrue, Greek, *and* Syrian, *contained in certaine places of the ſacred*

sacred scriptures. Cap: 16
Examples of gresse errors in politi-
us. Also how farre a man may trust a
ciled enemy. Cap: 17
Errors committed by whole Se-
c. Cap: 18
blick & generall Councelles
den, &c. Cap: 19
ch was decreed by the
e, held by Constantine
he yeare 325, &c. Cap: 20
hich was decreed and orday-
he councel holden at Rome, in
yeare, 376, &c. Cap: 21
The confession of a Christian, to the confutation of al Atheists. Cap. 22
A briefe discourse against Atheistes, &c. Cap 23
An excellent discourse of Hermes Trismegistus, *approuing what God is.* Cap 24
The Atheist further confuted, &c. c: 25
Of Apelles Table, the most excelleni Painter of the world, &c. Cap 26
The Morrall of Apelles Table, is by the Authour more significantly Interpreted. Cap 27
A Paradoxe in praise of imprisonment, &c Cap. 28
Of the first Booke of Ciceroes Tusculanes, concerning the mispriz all and contempt of the world. Cap 29

The Seuenth Booke.

OF the Kingdome of Tunis, *with their Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies, &c.* Ca: 1
Of the most potent King, called Great Tamberlaine, *&c.* Cap; 2
Of Heliogabalus Emperour of Rome, his most strange vices, and deformitie of life. Chap: 3
The admirable continency of Alexander *and* Scipio, *&c* cap: 4
Of diuers Lakes, Springs, Fountains, Wels, Riuers, and their properties. ca: 5
On what day of the yeare was the incarnation, Nativity, and Passion of our Lord Iesus Christ, &c. cap: 6
Of many thinges that hapned at the birth and death of our Sauior, & c. c. 7
Of many places quoted by diuers lerned Authours, which make mention of Christ and his life. Cap: 8
What opinion the ancient Emperors held, concerning such as followed Christ and Christianity, &c. Cap: 9
That a man of mean birth, should not therefore desist from honourable Attempts, &c. Cap: 10
Of diuers things which happened to the Emperor Iustinian, *&c.* Cap: 11
What opinion the Romaines, and others (our Ancient predecessers) had of Fortune, how she was numbred among the Goddes, &c. Ca: 12
That there are great store of other wonderful properties, which remaine not of the Elements. Cap: 13
Of many meruailous properties in sundry things, &c. ca: 14
That brute Beastes haue instructed many men in sundry Medicines for hurts receiued, &c. Cap: 15
Of many Beasts and other creatures, that by instinct of Nature, haue foreknowledge of things to com, &c Ca: 16
How Archimides *the Phylosopher, knew howe much Siluer was mingled with Gold, in a Crowne of Golde (by a Goldsmith) without any iniury done to the same in the trial.* Cap: 17
How Socrates *perswaded* Alcibiades *to become an Orator.* Cap: 18
The beginning of the factions of the Guelphs *and* Gibelines. Cap 19
Of the first Martyrs, and the persecutions of the Christians. Cap 20
Of such men and nations as are said to be the first inuenters of diuers things
Of the Contempt of Riches. Chap, 22
The Sentence of Apollonius Thianeus, *against an Eunuch to the King of* Babylon, *&c.* Cap: 23
An excellent example of continency in the famous Prince Sforza. Cap: 24
Of many worthy men whose deaths haue bin wretched & miserable. ca: 25
Of a simple Groome, who vainly perswaded himselfe to be Pope, &c. Ca, 26
Of diuers men and women, that voluntarily slew themselues. Cap: 27
How good and profitable it is for a man to liue soberly, &c. Cap: 28
Of Rodericke *the last King of the Gothes, &c.* Cap: 29
Of Sarqua, *who craftily deceiued* Stirades *a Noble yong Gentleman, & put him to death.* Cap 30
Of three Gentlewomen, who becam al amourous of a Gentlemen at one instant time, &c Cap 31
That the change of Apparrel, taken by one people from another, hath oftentimes turned t their destruction. c. 32
A Discourse on the life of S. Luke, *Physition, Euangelist, and Scholler of the Apostles, &c.* cap: 33
Of the great Prouince of Moscouia, &c. cap: 34
Concerning those clauses inserted by the Roman Emperors in their edicts to wit, Such is Our pleasure, *and of* Our Owne meere Motion, Cap: 35
That Orators, Pleaders, & such like may easily ouerthrow a Commonwelth, Cap: 36
A contradiction of the common Prouerbe, aprouing it not likely to bee true when we vse to say, That the Viper neuer seeth his Mother aliue, nor the Wolfe his Sire. Cap: 37
Whether Lucius Apuleius, *Sirnamed* Platonicus, *were transformed ix to an Asse, or no, &c.* Cap: 38
Of a Taylor named Iohn Leyden, *a Hollander, &c.* Cap: 39
Of Laughter, and the causes thereof, Ca: 40
Of the Nature of Commonweales, &c cap: 41
Who was the first that inuented circumcision, from whence it proceeded, &c. Cap 42
A Paradox in the defence of Bastardy, Approouing that the Bastard is more worthy to be esteemed then hee that is lawfully borne or Legittimate. ap, 43
Of the disastrous death, of two Mahometan *rich* Caliphes. cap: 44
Of certain Beasts, and other creatures, that beare enuy to man, &c. cap: 45
The vnfortunate Loues of Strabo *&* Aristoclia, *&c.* Chap 46

The eight Booke

OF the Kinges of Poland, *their Lawes, customes, administration of Iustice, &c.* Cap: 1
Of many famous men, who haue lefte their gouernment, and retired to a solitary life. Cap 2
Of the imperfection of Political Science with the imbecility of Lawmakers. ca: 3
Certaine wicked and absurd Lawes of Lycurgus, Plato, *and* Aristotle. Ca: 4
What Law is, wherefore it was ordained, and what it can her form in a Commonwealth. cap: 5
Of sleepe and what manner of sleeping

ought to be obserued therein,&c. C:6
Concerning the constancy of fme Lacedemonian, Roman, *and* Frech *women, at the decease of their children,&c.* Cp:7
Against Obtraction or detration &c. Cp:8
Howe Pythagoras *founde out the measure of Great Hercules.* Cp:9
How the Ieues did continuall giue Law and Religon to their Conquerors or Commaundes. Cip10
Of Sorrowing for the dead, and the obseruations thereof,&c. Cp:11
Of diuers Pagans, that took thimatter very offensiuely that any one bould contemne their Rdigion. Cip:12
Of the Seian *Forse.&c.* Cap:13
Of Lais, *the famous Curtezane of Greece,&c.* Cap:14
Of two Ladies that for the safety of their Country slew themselues Cap.5
Of the Orange and Cedar Trees & how the Cedar is very good against the poyson of Serpents. Cap: 6
How hurtfull it is to endure long fasting,&c. Cap: 17
That there is nothing more hurtful & dangerous to man, then the tongue, with many notable examples to that effect. Cap:18
Of Feasts and Banets vsed in Ancient times,&c. Cap:19
Of many men that by their Prodigality, made expence of all their faculties in short space. Cap:20
The magnificent triumph of Antigonus Epiphines, *for his victory against the Macedonians.* Cap: 21
That Gold and Siluer were not frequent among our reuerend ancestors, &c. Chap:22
How commendable it is to speake the truth, and how hateful a vice lying is, &c. Cap:23
What benefit the inuention of letters was to man,&c. Cap:24
How and with what instrument our Auncients wrote, before Paper was knowne,&c. Cap:25
Of the first Libraries in the Worlde, &c. Cap:26
The Interpretation of the Impertall Titles, heretofore giuen by the Roman Emperors,&c. Cap:27
What benefit Musicke bringeth vnto a Commonwealth,&c. Cap: 28
Of Gold, the properties and excellencie thereof,&c. Cap: 29
How Mines of Gold are to be found, &c. Cap: 30
Whence Gold proceedeth. And of visions that are seene in Mines. Cap:31
The interpretation of these three words, Democratia, Aristocratia, & Monarchia, *&c.* Cap:32
That Monarchy *ought to be preferred before* Democratie *or* Aristocratie. Chap:33
Of the Vertues and secret properties of the Nutmeg, &c. Chap 37
A Paradox, maintaining war to bee much more famous and honorable then peace. Cap 38
Of the Indian Beare, &c. Cap 39
Of a Lady of Swetia, *that was conceiued with child by a Beare,&c.* C:40

The Ninth Booke.

Of the Great Turkes Court, nowe called the Court of the Great Signeur &c. Chap: 1
Of he lawfull meanes, whereby to compasse the esteeme of being truly valiant Chap: 2
Of those meanes which Princes ought to obserue in his Attendants. Chap: 3
Of Visedome, Prudence, and Pollicie. Also a consideration of the matters incident to State. Chap:4
Certaine general rules for the instruction of such as desire to manage state, that they may deale therein with lesse danger and difficulty.&c. Cap: 5
Other general rules for yong Statists, as what heis to consider in himself, in his Prince, and in the matters that are to be consulted. Chap:6
What a Counsellor ought to consider in his Prince,&c. Cap: 7
What a Councellor is to consider in the matters which are to be consulted. C:8
For the better instruction of a young Councellor, a matter of State is debated, to wit; What is to bee considered, touching the maintenance of a Ciuill war, in a forren countrey. chap:9
Of wicked Policies,&c. Cap: 10
Of Loue and Hatred, Amity, and Enmity,&c. Cap: 11
By what meanes the natures of Amity and Enmity are said to proceed from the Celestial influences,&c. Cap:12
Whence it ensueth, that a way of like length being euen and euen, seemeth more short and is lesse offensiue, then that which is euen. Cap: 13
Of the excellency of Memory, &c. Cap: 14
How the Memoy may be both offended and comforted,&c. Cap:15
How the auncient Prouerbe is to bee vnderstood, That a bad man may bee a good King. Cap:16
Whether Constantine were the first Christian Emperor, or no. Cap 17
Who they were, that first discouered the people cald Cynocephali men hauing heads like to Dogs,&c. Ch.18
Of Omphale a Lady of Lydia, who by the helpe of other women, attained to the command of that Prouince. Ca:19
A notable stratagem, performed by Melanthus the Athenian, being in single combat with Xanthus, Lord of the Boetians. Cap: 20
The politicke deuise of Anaximenes, of Lapuscum, which he vsed to Alexander the Great. cap: 21
An excellent example of double dealing in a Wife towardes her Husbande, &c. Cap. 22
The rebellion of the first slaues, and of Drimacus their Captaine. Cap: 23
At what time Cookes (in daies of Antiquity) began to grow in estimation. Who were the first that beganne to vse multiplicity of meates: And of many Gurmands and grosse feeders. Cap:24
Of those causes wherby the life time of Men or women are lengthned or shortned. Ca:
Of Lawes and Ordinances appoin by our ancients, against excessiue ding and Apparrel. Cap, 2
The Ordinance of Phillip le Bel, &c. Cap,27
Of a Lawe made by Solon, concerning negligent and idle persons. chap: 28
Of the excellencie of friends and frendship,&c. Cap: 29
Of marueilous things, recorded by edible Authors. Cap:30

FINIS.

Date Due

MAY	'41		
[illegible]	'46		

Form 335—40M—6-39—S

808.8 fT784 v.1 377014